Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

Volume 4, No 1–2 (2019)

Table of Content:

Articles

Forum

Book Reviews

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

Do Forms of Knowledge Production Circulate?

Argentinian Anthropologists in the Master's and PhD Programs in Social Anthropology at the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ)

Nicolás José Isola
nicolasjoseisola@gmail.com

Abstract

Forms of knowledge production adopted by academics in a given national space do not emerge without the right circumstances. Student circulation has a bearing on knowledge import processes. Opening with an overview of the field of Argentinian anthropology in the 1970s and 1980s, this article looks at some of the consequences of the international circulation of Argentinian students through the Social Anthropology Master's and PhD Programs at the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ) from the late 1980s to the present. Based on documents in the PPGAS-MN archives, interviews with lecturers and former students and a review of PPGAS-MN and Argentinian university syllabi, this article: (i) provides a historical description of the agreement between institutions that has facilitated this flow; (ii) describes how this circulation has given these students a new perspective on the ethnographic approach and on classical anthropology; and (iii) describes how, from a student viewpoint, this shift has altered their way of thinking about social anthropology research and given them a new habitus. The results hint at a new approach to classical anthropology and the use of ethnographic data. There were three main drivers: (i) PPGAS-MN lecturers' emphasis on the relevance of empirical data and the primacy of theory prevailing in Argentina; (ii) the renewed deep reading of classic ethnographical texts; and (iii) the development of a new habitus as a result of socialisation in the ensuing social space.

Keywords

Internationalisation; International Circulation; Academic Mobility; National Museum; Argentina; Anthropology

INTRODUCTION[1]

Social science knowledge is produced by academics rooted in given national spaces with particular social and cultural backgrounds (Bourdieu 2002; Siméant 2015). Certain social and international connections influence and shape the ways these producers and disseminators of knowledge work. Analysing the actions and agents that contribute to the specific configuration of exchanges and transformations in research among countries deepens our knowledge about the circulation of ideas across different national fields (Heilbron et al. 2008; Sapiro 2013-5; Gingras 2002). The time people spend in other national spaces brings to light new production formats (Almeida et al. 2004; Fry 2004; Garcia 2009a and 2009b; Keim et al., 2014), and differences in the understanding of the profession contribute to different outlooks, world-views and habitus (Bourdieu 2000). Analysing the reception and appropriation of ways of production, which are frequently linked to personal relationships, facilitates the understanding of cultural, social, scientific, political and institutional dynamics connected with certain flows of knowledge, as well as the possible disputes behind them (Bourdieu 2001).

This paper deals with circulation processes between two strikingly different Southern Cone countries (Beigel 2010; Beigel and Sabea 2014) and describes some of the characteristics and possible consequences for social anthropology students who left Argentina for Brazil – non-central countries in terms of scientific production (Cardoso de Oliveira and Ruben 1995) – to pursue master's and doctoral studies. Such scientific mobility has (i) specific directionality between two neighbouring countries with a certain cultural distance (Grimson and Semán 2006; Sikkink 2009; Lovisolo 2000) and (ii) limited duration (with the exception of Argentinians remaining in Brazil).

Studies have shown that international circulation has on several occasions also been connected with national economic crises (Heilbron, Sorá and Boncourt 2018; Fleck, Duller and Karády 2018) that encouraged the brain drain (Didou Aupetit and Gérard 2009). Democracy was restored in Argentina in 1983, after seven years of dictatorship, but society suffered massive inflation and an energy crisis. As there were no grants for scientific projects or for new research posts, the future outlook for science seemed unpromising. These problematic circumstances created an opening for Argentinian researchers to take their studies to Brazil. In 1987 the Department of Anthropological Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires' School of Philosophy and Letters (UBA) and the Post-Graduate Program in Social Anthropology of the National Museum of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ) signed an agreement that enabled dozens of Argentinian anthropologists to pursue their Social Anthropology master's and/or doctorates in the latter program, which was more highly rated at the time by the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES). This agreement authorised Argentinian students to take the PPGAS-MN examination in Buenos Aires. Upon returning to Argentina, some of those students – now doctors and strongly influenced by this experience of internationalisation – created and institutionalised the new Post-Graduate Programs in Social Anthropology in Argentina, at the University of San Martín, at the National University of Córdoba and so on.

[1] A preliminary version of this text was presented in the session 'The Circulation of Ideas, Intellectuals and Texts: The Geopolitics of Knowledge Production in Social Sciences', at the ISA World Congress, Toronto, in the July 2018. I thank Fernanda Beigel and Ana Maria F. de Almeida for their suggestions. As always, responsibility for any errors in the final work remains my own.

This article describes the following: (i) a historical overview of the agreement that facilitated this flow; (ii) how this circulation gave these students a new perspective on the ethnographic approach and classical anthropology; and (iii) how, from a student perspective, this passage changed their way of thinking about social anthropology research and gave them a new habitus.

METHODOLOGY

This article is based on qualitative research, using in-depth interviews and archival research as a data collection technique. I conducted twenty in-depth interviews with PPGAS-MN lecturers and former students in Buenos Aires and Córdoba (Argentina), and in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). Questions for the lecturers focused on their understanding of Argentinians students, their behaviours, and their adaptation to the program. Questions for the former students focused on their experiences and the impact that such knowledge circulation had on their careers.

The archival research was carried out in the PPGAS-MN Record Office in October 2016. This office burned down in the fire of September 2, 2018, making this research impossible today. Archival resources include: (i) correspondence between Brazilian and Argentinian lecturers discussing ways to sign agreements for the official circulation of Argentinian students in Brazil (these letters are important in understanding how agreements between PPGAS-MN and UBA authorities were negotiated); and (ii) a list of students, including Argentinians, and examinations taken by Argentinians in Buenos Aires (these documents are key in describing the evaluation process for Argentinians entering the PPGAS-MN). Lastly, I reviewed the PPGAS-MN's and Argentinian universities' syllabi in order to understand possible ideas that influenced the students.

THE ORIGINS OF AN INSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT

The origins of the agreement signed between the PPGAS-MN[2] and the UBA can be traced to ties between young Argentinian researchers who passed through the Brazilian institution in the early 1970s (Isola 2018): Omar Gancedo, Martín Ibáñez Novion, Roberto Ringuelet, Luis María Gatti and Beatriz Heredia from the National University of Córdoba. All were master's students and received grants from the Ford Foundation through their connections to Richard Adams, who taught at the National Museum (Velho 2012; Cardoso de Oliveira 1992) and later worked at the foundation (Heredia 2009). Heredia, Ringuelet and Ibáñez Novion completed their masters at the PPGAS-MN.

Some of these students were invited by Moacir Palmeira, who was in northeastern Brazil at the time to coordinate the project "Comparative Study of Regional Development" led by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira and David Maybury-Lewis, and was associated with the PPPSA-MN and the Latin American Research Centre in Social Sciences (Leite Lopes 2013). Maybury-Lewis had drawn up the Harvard-Central Brazil project in 1962 for the study of indigenous Gê groups under an agreement between the National Museum and Harvard (Garcia 2009a). The National Museum was Brazil's international benchmark institution in anthropological research.

[2] On the beginnings of PPGAS-MN, see Cardoso de Oliveira (1992), Leite Lopes (1992), Garcia (2009a).

In August 1986 PPGAS-MN lecturers were invited to participate in the Second Argentinian Congress of Social Anthropology held in Buenos Aires. As a result of fruitful exchanges, some academics agreed on the possibility of establishing an institutional agreement between the PPGAS-MN and the UBA. This agreement allowing Argentinians – not necessarily UBA students – to join the Brazilian program was signed in 1987. The first examination was held in 1988 and the last one in 1997. However, the flow of Argentinians through the Program has continued to the present (Annex I): thirty years of exchanges, with dozens of Argentinian students passing through these classrooms. To understand some of the consequences of this circulation of students and knowledge, it is necessary to understand the complex development of the field of anthropology in Argentina in the preceding years.

ARGENTINIAN ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE 1980S

What was the atmosphere like in the discipline during this period? On one hand, the military dictatorship's violence brought about a disruption in institutional processes by invading universities and persecuting and killing students and lecturers.[3] On the other hand, internal tensions emerged out of the scholars' theoretical-methodological and political-ideological positions within this disciplinary space.[4]

The dilemma of who funds the research cut across the social sciences. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, a consultant to the Ford Foundation, recalled (Guebel et al. 1996) that Richard Adams was rejected in his attempt to establish ties with Social Sciences at the UBA but not at the Torcuato Di Tella University. He then went to Brazil, where he was warmly welcomed by Brazilian anthropologists (Garcia 2009a).

Anthropology in Argentina during the 1980s was an eroded scientific field, highly resistant to certain theoretical-methodological approaches. Some ethnologically-minded lecturers at the UBA in the 1970s and early '80s were exiled from the Axis countries and had settled in Argentina during and after WWII. These scholars took late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century German, Austrian or Italian anthropologists as their theoretical benchmarks (Perazzi 2003; Neufeld et al. 2015). Perhaps the most emblematic cases were the Italian Marcelo Bórmida and the Austrian Oswald Menghin, former Education Minister in Austria under the Third Reich (Fontán 2005).[5] This involved a different type of international circulation, linked to the darkest history of the twentieth century. These lecturers approached the classic works of anthropology from a culturalist, phenomenological perspective, with a racist framework that objectified the indigenous population

[3] For a history of Argentine Anthropology, see Ratier and Ringuelet (1997), Perazzi (2003), Guber (2010 and 2014), and Bartolomé (2007). Regarding the comparison between Argentina and Brazil for the case of anthropology, see Ratier (1983), Ratier and Guebel (2004), and Grimson and Semán (2006), among many others. For more information on the Social Sciences under Dictatorship, see Kirtchik and Heredia (2015).

[4] Guber (2010) wrote how the researcher Esther Hermitte, a PhD at the University of Chicago, received complaints concerning her theoretical perspective from her young collaborators at the Torcuato Di Tella Institute. Some of the research projects were cut short due to "the structural-functionalist theoretical framework, connoted as colonialist, and the permeability to foreign funding, predominantly American" (Guber 2010:16). Many criticisms of functionalism focused on its methodological and positivist emphasis, which was catalogued as scientism.

[5] Bórmida was director both of the Institute of Anthropology of the UBA's Department of Anthropological Sciences and of the Ethnographic Museum (Silla 2012).

by turning them into a hermetic cultural space, closed in on itself and disconnected from other contexts.[6]

The generation of Argentinian students who finished their careers during the dictatorship (1976–1983) or the early years of democracy had been taught by the likes of Bórmida, whom they reviled and did not respect intellectually. Two criticisms were made: one was linked to Bórmida's reductionist theory, his way of approaching phenomenology and his background in the historical-cultural school; the other was ideological – his fascism.[7]

In 1984, in an effervescent climate over the restoration of democracy after the military government, the first anthropology cohort at the UBA had 1,500 students, contrasting with entry quotas during the dictatorship (1976-1983) and forcing the hiring of new lecturers.[8] In fact, the conditions for the professionalisation of the anthropological field[9] were weak: master's degrees were practically non-existent, as were doctorates; CONICET research degrees were underfunded and there were practically no incentives to conduct research, while attempts to establish scientific publications were just starting. As Axel Lazzari, a student of those years, pointed out:

[6] The omnipresence of Marxist social thought in the curriculum from the mid-1980s was due to the historical tradition that specific left-wing intellectual groups had in Argentina of fighting against capitalism, especially in the 1960s and 1970s. They had been censored by the dictatorship but, with the new beginning of democracy, Marxist social thought went on to play an important role in sociological theory. In the words of Rolando Silla, a student of those years: "I decided to do fieldwork in '95 or '96: it was frowned upon. It's really crazy. Doing fieldwork was what Bórmida did, it was collecting data, and it sounded right-wing. From Marxism, there are texts by Godelier [Maurice], saying that it's bourgeois to do fieldwork, because: 'If Marx has already told us what the world's like, why are we going to do fieldwork? The empirical is bourgeois, it's from Anglo-Saxon liberalism.' At that time, ethnography only meant collecting data, separated from theory, nobody in the UBA wanted to be a mere collector of data. We were all great theoreticians [laughs]."

[7] Sergio Visacovsky (2017:69), currently Principal Researcher of the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET) and Director of the Social Research Centre of the Economic and Social Development Institute (CONICET), writes: "Until 1984, the subject syllabi excluded Boas, Margaret Mead, Durkheim, Mauss, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, Gluckman, Levi-Strauss, Godelier, Victor Turner, Mary Douglas or Sahlins. The stellar authors of those years prior to 1984 were, among others: the German Protestant theologian Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) with his idea of the sacred as the numinous; the Dutch historian Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950) and his phenomenology of religion; the historian of Romanian religions Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) and the manifestation of the sacred (hierophany); the German ethnologist Adolf Ellegard Jensen (1899–1965); the philosopher and historian of French ideas Georges Gusdorf (1912–2000); the Austrian neurologist and psychiatrist, and founder of logotherapy, Viktor Emil Frankl (1905–1997); the Italian ethnologist Ernesto de Martino (1908–1965); and mainly the Italian Marcelo Bórmida (1925–1978), who, from his place in the Institute of Anthropological Sciences of the University of Buenos Aires, called on the majority of these authors to produce what he called a "phenomenological approach to mythic consciousness." Those of us who were students – and many of our lecturers even before 1976 – ignored the crisis of structuralism in Britain and the emergence of the Manchester School, neo-evolutionism, cultural materialism, ethnoscience, French structuralism or the interpretive turn."

[8] The young lecturer Mauricio Boivin was named Academic Secretary of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. An Anthropology graduate from the UBA, he completed a master's degree in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics (LSE), with Chris Fuller as tutor of studies and Michael J. Sallnow as director of his thesis in the field of Development Anthropology.

[9] The professionalisation and institutionalisation of disciplines imply the emergence of a certain type of institutional position (bureaucracy and professions) for which specific knowledge and qualifications are required (Wilensky 1964; Brunner and Flisfisch, 1983; Abbott 1988; Sarfatti Larson 1988 and 1989; Dubar and Tripier 1998). The institutionalisation of a professional space occurs when it generates stable areas of legitimacy in relation to the market, politics, and the state, its administrative needs, and also to other professions.

> When you see it in perspective, we're talking about almost thirty years, and you say: "Yes, Argentinian anthropology was being reinvented." I didn't realise: I was in my twenties, I was being born to life and with me Argentinian anthropology was reborn.

A young faculty took shape during this period, which Ringuelet (2010) calls the period of general reconstruction of social anthropology. Recent graduates abounded in the lower echelons. Many exiled lecturers returned to Argentina and others moved on, some of whom had supported the dictatorship. Researcher Roxana Boixados, a student in those times, said:

> You look back and those subjects were initially taught by lecturers reincorporated after the dictatorship and by teachers just starting out. It wasn't a great professionalisation of anthropology. Anthropologists were rare, and were trained with all these limitations: syllabi were changing, there was no funding and books were expensive. In that respect, the PPGAS-MN was a blow, a shock.

Anthropologists had serious structural difficulties establishing long-term research projects (unstable institutions, incipient professionalisation and scant funding). Universities and the scientific field lacked the resources to promote internationalisation, which, on occasion, encouraged a localist view that hindered dialogue with the central countries. In Visacovsky's view (2017: 71):

> A hostile view of so-called 'Classical Anthropology' prevailed in our anthropology. […] With some exceptions, the predominant trend in those years was a reduction of theories and research by North American and British cultural and social anthropology to a sort of collection of naive empiricism and colonialist ideology. Both the analytical reading of classical ethnographic monographs as fieldwork and the production of knowledge based on ethnographic research did not constitute legitimised practices. In short, it dominated in the early '90s; there was widespread resistance to these topics and, as a consequence of the disconnection from other anthropological productions, there were enormous difficulties accessing updated academic production.

In fact, students of the UBA, who a few years later became Auxiliary Professors in the restoration of democracy, disapproved of classical anthropology, the ethnographic method and functionalism. As one student said:

> I have a vivid memory as a student: it was the holding of a funeral rite for Functionalist Anthropology in the corridors of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, with a mortuary cage and everything, staged by students from some group in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters. In many of the classes, the contents had nothing to do with Anthropology but with readings of Marxism. For me it was training in Marx, Lenin and many of their intellectual heirs. I could recite the Marxist creed by heart but knew nothing about anthropology.

The ideological approach prevailed in this environment, with the assumption that functionalists were in favour of capitalism and were therefore colonialists. Another student, Rolando Silla, described what the atmosphere at the UBA was like:

> There were no incentives for lecturers to graduate, but neither was graduating welcomed among the students. There are still many people my age [47] who didn't graduate […] I did a course on Marxism and Structuralism rather than learning Anthropology.

This bias extended to other universities. Laura Masson, who studied at the National University of Central Buenos Aires, recalled that in the PPGAS-MN,

> The emphasis was on reading the authors and not commentating on the authors. Well, for me it was rediscovering Durkheim, rediscovering Lévi-Strauss, starting to love Max Weber, all things I'd learnt, like 'Durkheim is conservative', but to the point that we laughed at classmates for quoting Durkheim. All that pigeon-holing and moral condemnation instead of saying, 'What are you trying to say? What did he do?' or 'What's he trying to understand at that time?' Or 'In what historical and political context was he?' Or 'What was he thinking at that moment?' Well, I learnt all that in Brazil. I didn't learn it at any other time.

Although certain groups in the 1980s, like the ones directed by Mauricio Boivin or Hugo Ratier, conducted fieldwork nurturing the ethnographic perspective and reading classic authors, this was not the norm. Virginia Vecchioli, a student in those years, stated:

> University entrants were inculcated in the same creed. In my experience as an entrant in 1984, interest in the indigenous world automatically made you an accomplice of the Nazi-Fascist alliance embodied in the figure of Bórmida.[10] In this context, my goal changed drastically and I channelled my interests into what was then presented as a legitimate space: social anthropology. In the context of the subject areas, my first fieldwork essay was not about indigenous populations but settlers in flooded areas of Quilmes [a town in Buenos Aires Province].

The extent to which this hostile environment adversely affected different career paths remains to be studied. Anti-pluralism and constant suspicion towards discursive alterity prevented the strengthening of more professional areas of debate. The circulation of anthropologists in Brazil partially helped to change this landscape.

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SPACE IN BRAZIL

A comparison with the Brazilian space provides a clearer idea of the effects of these circulation processes. On one hand, there was no specific anthropological degree in 1980s Brazil (just a generic "Social Sciences" degree) – which was a clear difference between Argentinian and Brazilian PPGAS-MN students. On the other hand, the discipline displayed greater organisation through the development of a post-graduate system subject to evaluation processes and financed by the state through scholarships and incentives.

In Brazil, a PhD had already been established as a pre-requisite for research by the 1980s; in Argentina, this would only be the case in the 2000s. Several master's and post-graduate programs in Social Anthropology had been created in Brazil at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (1968), the Campinas State University (1971), the University of Brasilia (1972), the University of São Paulo (1972), the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (1979) and others. In Argentina anthropology graduates had no real chance of pursuing their academic careers in their own country. Beyond the fleeting life of the master's degree program at the Argentinian branch of the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), which opened in 1982 and closed in 1985, or the National University of Misiones in Posadas, located a thousand kilometres from Buenos Aires and started in 1995, there was no opening to become professionals. The availability of scholarships was insignificant and university teaching salaries were precarious to say the least.

[10] Both the Italian Marcelo Bórmida and the Austrian Oswald Menghin were connected with the ideology of the Third Reich and promoted a sort of reification of indigenous populations.

If the institutionalisation of a professional space occurs when it achieves a level of autonomy and legitimacy regarding the market, politics, state and other professions, Brazilian elites have been enhancing the public status of anthropological discourse since the 1960s. In Velho's view (2003: 18), the anthropologist in Brazil was "integrated into a great national enterprise, often to the envy of colleagues from other disciplines. Anthropology itself becomes almost a mass phenomenon." The space of social anthropology in Brazil seemed to show "a high degree of internal, organisational and intellectual homogeneity" (Velho 2003: 18). While some Brazilian academics acted as expert advisers in various organisations and state agencies (Silva et al. 1994, Pacheco de Oliveira 2005, Rego 2007), the media played a significant role as a disseminator of the discipline's debates. The broadening of audiences fostered the valorisation of anthropology as a discipline and of anthropologists as bearers of an active social discourse with the power to influence at the national level (Feldman-Bianco 2013).

This disciplinary status contrasts with what happened in Argentina. One Argentinian research student from the PPGAS-MN has said:

> Today everyone wants to be an anthropologist, even an economist. They all claim they have something of an anthropologist, right? In the '80s [in Argentina], nobody wanted to be an anthropologist, not even anthropologists. So, we were all looking at Economics or Political Science or Sociology, we were all looking abroad.

This process of international circulation between Brazil and Argentina must be interpreted with this structural asymmetry in mind.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTRAST

The flow of students to an excellence-training centre located in another national space can stimulate the circulation of ideas, theories and methodologies. This can become especially significant in a discipline such as anthropology, where scientific work requires a large amount of training time in a specific school with its own readings. It generates differentiated production processes, fieldwork dynamics, and writing and socialisation habits. It also requires funding – non-existent in Argentina – for travel and accommodation at research sites.

The relationship between theory and data as well as the ethnographic method, in all its complex nuances (Peirano 1994, Guber 2001, Balbi 2012, Ingold 2014), take on substantial value in the discipline's scientific work. This was emphasised in the National Museum. As one interviewee stated:

> Above all, there's an ethnographic perspective [in the PPGAS-MN] that I didn't have in my undergraduate training, which went something like 'Ethnography is doing interviews.' In the PPGAS-MN, there was a kind of revaluation of fieldwork, a requirement to do fieldwork and very high value placed on the data and the new perspective that ethnographic research brought to your theoretical training. It isn't the application of the theoretical framework to the [empirical] data but the reading of the data with a theoretical perspective that is debatable in itself.

This data-focused ethnographic approach changed many Argentinians' view of the importance given to theory in their undergraduate years (Heredia 2005). It was a conceptual and empirical rearrangement of the relationships between theory and data. In Buenos Aires, classical English and French Anthropology circulated in small groups. One student reviewed the literature included in

the undergraduate syllabi during the democracy in the 1980s and recognised the scarcity of such readings:

> In fifteen specific subjects of social anthropology I never read an entire ethnography: in the entire degree [program], you read certain chapters or ethnographic articles, usually as examples of what was not to be done, accompanied by manuals that saw this as colonialist. They only taught us the criticism and barely taught the original authors.

Ideological stances permeated the discipline's discourse. An anti-imperialist outlook in a country with a nationalism ingrained in academia relegated ethnography to mere colonialism. Roxana Boixados, a student in those years, stated the following:

> When I was trained here, it wasn't about going straight to Malinowski. It was Malinowski through commentators – the odd introductory chapter, very little. There were no books. It was a surprise to me that [in the PPGAS-MN] in our day they made you read especially the functionalist authors that weren't read or skimmed, or they read with bias, without rescuing the genuine contribution.

As can be seen, there were several rejections within the discipline: functionalism, classical anthropology, ethnography and, with them, various authors and theories that were deprecated. It would be interesting to establish to what extent such rejections were a mirror response to certain lecturers' behaviour in the dictatorship towards, for example, Marxist theories. Some Argentinian anthropology lecturers had a rather rebellious adolescent past and solved these conflicts by means of binary diatribe.

The circulation of Argentinian scholars through Brazil moderated these ideas. In the PPGAS-MN, these criticisms had to have solid historical foundations and contexts, and, above all, had to be made after showing an overall understanding of the author or theory criticised. In this sense, the subordination of theory to empirical research – and not vice versa – was one of the issues that most affected young Argentinians when they came into contact with the PPGAS-MN. It was a substantial and performative professional shift. One Argentinian anthropologist stressed the "capacity that the Brazilians had of employing classical theory to think about research situations new to anthropology also had a strong influence."

Unlike most post-graduate studies in the social sciences in Argentina, there was a decision in the PPGAS-MN not to have specific methodology courses. Gustavo Blázquez describes the situation:

> In the PPGAS-MN you learned to do fieldwork by reading ethnographies, not manuals, and it was very different. I think it was to do with the different way the classics were read: in Argentina they were dead, so methodology had to be taught; in the PPGAS-MN they were alive, and we learned methodology from them.

The first cohorts of Argentinians were accustomed to a theoretical approach far more focused on philosophical or sociological perspectives. In the PPGAS-MN theory was bound up with an ethnographic outlook that was already present in the entrance examination.[11] During their studies at the PPGAS-MN, students had to read many complete ethnographies, generally in their original

[11] Students had to read Edmund Leach's *Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Jeanne Favret-Saada's *Les Mots, la mort, les sorts, la sorcellerie dans le Bocage*, or a Max Gluckman text entitled "Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand," where ethnographic details were key.

languages, and they had access to all those books in the copious library.[12] While some Argentinians were familiar with ethnographic texts, others "hadn't read anything from this bibliography" before entering the program. By examining the syllabi available for the years Argentinians studied at the PPGAS-MN (http://www.ppgasmn-ufrj.com/cursos-anteriores.html) and conversing with these students, it was possible to verify the work with ethnographic texts and the importance of the ethnographic approach (Annex II).[13]

Although some lecturers had been promoting fieldwork and the writing of ethnographies in their research groups since the 1980s,[14] thus strengthening and relaunching the tradition of the ethnographic method, this was not the discipline's norm. Rather, it was an exception in the late 1980s and '90s following a period when such a perspective had been marginalised. One Argentinian researcher has stated:

> The most important influence of Brazilian Anthropology was to nurture a generation of researchers who capably passed on the ethnographic method. You could do ethnographic work in Brazil better than anywhere else in the world. In short, to all of us trained in Brazil, I think we were attracted by the chance to use categories from classical anthropology to analyse contemporary urban societies.

Former student Gustavo Blázquez recalled:

> There was a new way of reading the classics that involved not reading them as systems of the past, or part of a history of anthropology. The PPGAS-MN cultivated a fertile reading of the classics. So it was crucial for me to discover that ethnography could be done not only with people, but with texts too; that "natives" could be "texts", ask questions of texts, look for structures of meaning, recover local categories of texts and authors, and so forth. That was quite a discovery.

This revitalized vision of the classics in a university context, which recognised the creative and productive use of these works and allowed for greater freedom of thought, would not have been common in Argentina. It was a new intellectual adventure for the Argentinian students.

This systematic use of the classics in master's and doctorate training at the National Museum and other Brazilian post-graduate programs had repercussions for Argentinian anthropology. One was the incorporation and debate of classical anthropology authors in the bibliography of specific syllabi, the writing of projects and the discipline's scientific output.[15] The time spent at the PPGAS-

[12] Faced with partial and biased readings in Argentina, the PPGAS-MN's updated bibliographic collection impressed the Argentinians when it came to carrying out their research: 'I went in [to the library] and started to review the card index, and they had all the things I'd ever wanted to read and never been able to get hold of here in Argentina. There it was: the whole classical literature. I was fascinated. Even the library was a dream for me. I don't know how many kilos of photocopies or excess baggage I paid for on my successive trips to Buenos Aires to bring back that material.'

[13] The influence can also be seen in the theses of many Argentinian students, who feel that their master's and/or doctoral works are ethnographic (https://minerva.ufrj.br/F).

[14] In 1994, the Institute of Economic and Social Development (IDES) Social Anthropology Centre held the First Conference on Ethnography and Qualitative Methods "with the aim of opening up a space for theoretical-practical discussion of the different modalities of qualitative fieldwork and its use in the production of knowledge for teaching, academic research, and management" (http://cas.ides.org.ar/jornadas-y-seminarios/jemc). Further editions of the Conference appeared in 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013 and 2016.

[15] Anthropological Theory seminars administered by tenured lecturers of the PPGAS-MN, where Classical Anthropology is relevant, include: Gustavo Sorá at the National University of Córdoba; Gustavo Blázquez also at the National University of Córdoba; Axel Lazzari at UNSAM; and Fernando Balbi and Boivin, at the UBA. Classical anthopology is important, too, in the course 'Classical Anthropological Theories' by Laura Masson for the UNSAM/IDAES Social Anthropology doctorate program.

MN wrought changes among Argentinian anthropologists in, for example, different ways of embedding theory and data. Virginia Vecchioli points out that "This was a reason for constant discussion of how we had changed our minds; it was also a topic of conversation when we returned to Argentina. What do we do now? How are we going to submit projects?".

The changes in research methodologies became a problem, namely the question of how to apply the new ways of production in such a different context. The change was so radical that it sparked conflict with the previous paradigm and produced greater cohesion among those who had been through the PPGAS-MN experience. Upon their return, these changes in habitus impacted the way students shared with their former thesis directors and the previous generation. The students' mobility through Brazil had thus allowed a circulation and revaluation of authors, methodologies and ways of doing research in Argentina.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GROUP TIES

Internationalisation processes are originated and sustained by specific actors. It is not surprising that the idea of an agreement with the National Museum was linked to a group of researchers who reclaimed both classical anthropologists and the ethnographic method, the cornerstones of the National Museum.

Hugo Ratier, who had studied at the PPGAS-MN in the early 1980s, developed a research project on his return to Argentina with Federico Neiburg, who was studying a cement factory in a workers' village in Olavarría. This project had the same grant as "Economic Structure and State Intervention Policies in the area of the Entre Ríos Paraná" on fishermen's cooperatives. Contributing to the project were: Mauricio Boivin (director); Ana Rosato and Sofía Tiscornia (researchers); Cecilia Ayerdi, María Laura Furniz and Gabriela Scotto (scholarship holders); and Fernando Balbi, Jorge Gancedo, Claudia Guebel, Carlos Kuz and Axel Lazzari (research assistants). Later, when Scotto, Guebel and Kuz moved to the PPGAS-MN, Virginia Vecchioli and Sabina Frederic also joined the project.

These researchers maintained ties with Moacir Palmeira, a PPGAS-MN lecturer, and Beatriz Heredia. Axel Lazzari points out:

> The pivot of the agreement [between the UBA and PPGAS-MN] is the research group of Mauricio [Boivin], Sofía Tiscornia, etc. The first students recruited in the PPGAS-MN are those working on the fishermen's cooperatives project. This is essential. Why does Beatriz Heredia find affinities beyond the political and so on? Because we worked with peasantry models within the horizons of problems in rural anthropology concerning the social, political and economic organisation of fishermen.

As assistants in the "Systematic Anthropology I" course under Boivin, this group taught authors from British Social Anthropology, like Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard, Edmund Leach, Meyer Fortes, Julian Pitt-Rivers and Victor Turner. Many students in this group close to Boivin took the entrance examination for the PPGAS-MN. The closeness of these two research teams was one of the stimuli that provoked this internationalisation strategy at first (Siméant 2015, Dezalay and Garth 2002).

THE PPGAS-MN: A TERRITORY OF CONTRASTS

Although the body of PPGAS-MN lecturers actively participated in Brazilian national scientific policy discussions and was consulted over the expansion of post-graduate programs, PPGAS-MN lecturers' levels of academic autonomy was higher than those of lecturers in the politicised Argentinian university space, from the Argentinian students' perspective (Isola 2014; 2018). In the PPGAS-MN the discipline's scientific language was less influenced by the political climate and dispute, and gave primacy to a more scientifically classified and structured discourse framed in a less ideological perspective (Bourdieu 2000).

The international habitus (Xavier de Brito 2004) instilled by PPGAS-MN lecturers reflected their own academic mobility. Many teachers had studied or researched in major global centres and participated in exchanges in France or the USA (Fry 2004). Among many other exchanges, Gilberto Velho, for example, maintained a close dialogue with Howard Becker, with whom he taught the Anthropology of Complex Societies Seminary in 1990; Abdelmalek Sayad twice visited to give seminars in 1990 and 1994 (Garcia 2009c); alongside Lygia Sigaud and Elisabeth Claverie, Luc Boltanski taught the Political Anthropology seminar, again in 1990.

Many of the readings assigned in the PPGAS-MN seminars were in English and French, thus reflecting this international environment. This format incorporated a world of authors who were read in their own language and whose bibliography was available in the library. It also added the possibility of traveling abroad, especially to France, through "PhD sandwich scholarships" available in Brazil.

However, this circulation did not come about without asymmetries. Student testimonies make it clear that entering the PPGAS-MN was a culture shock. Other habits of socialisation were required to adapt to their new environment: university rituals and lecturer-student relations in Brazil were more distant and less informal than in Argentina. At the same time, there was a freedom to pursue any topic of study, often forbidden in Argentinian university spaces. These issues made the relationship between students and lecturers asymmetrical, which was quickly read by Argentinians as a mark of authority and a hierarchy of relationships and languages within which they had to move.

Student testimonies also reveal a culture clash. When one PPGAS-MN lecturer asked the students if they had read the texts of the day, only one student had completed the readings. Disgusted, the lecturer decided to cover the topics briefly and terminate the class. Student Carlos Kuz recalled that: "In this symbolic and political micro-world it was a scandal. He was furious. If you didn't do the reading, it was better not to turn up. I didn't go once, pretending to be ill. It was a white lie. You couldn't not answer a question." This testimony reveals how some PPGAS-MN lecturers were trying to standardise a type of practice and student participation that was alien even to Brazilian students. Another student described symbolic violence in pursuit of rigorous thinking. Gustavo Sorá recalled:

> We arrived with Argentinian mindsets: a theoretical framework. In Moacir and Afrânio's seminars, I had to present something about Redfield and peasant society. "Redfield is a North American culturalist who…" They let me talk, then said: "We don't think like that here." Blood, sweat and tears: a violent transformation.

This process of transformation consisted of the PPGAS-MN lecturers categorically establishing common scientific parameters and challenging the students' intellectual frameworks. Several students felt overwhelmed and intimidated by this context; some expressed how the stress of academic pressure made them ill. For the professional habitus of Argentinian students who were accustomed to being critical of authority, the intellectual infrastructure of these Brazilian researchers was a determining factor in changing the students' systems of assessments, norms and expectations.

These Argentinian anthropologists had to enter a new ethos seen as, following Bourdieu, a unifying principle of behaviours conceived as a certain system. The interpersonal contact and socialisation that took place within the National Museum brought them into other possible orientations towards the actions, logics and ethics of the profession. This, according to the students, acted as a hallmark of this imagined community's identity. María Gabriela Lugones, who studied at the PPGAS-MN, feels that:

> The PPGAS-MN left an indelible sacramental mark on me. After being at the Museum, the possibility of thinking only in terms of a theoretical framework and methodology for me is over.

These anthropologists were enlisted in new ways of being and doing academia, which functioned as a new code and included them in the new community. One student recalls:

> A great Brazilian friend made me understand. We lived a block away, then we went to the National Museum and came back together. She told me: "You can't come dressed like that." I was wearing shorts and flip-flops. She kindly taught me the rules of the game and made me see where I was.
>
> The first time I rented an apartment, they asked me where I was studying. When I said I was studying at the PPGAS-MN, they didn't ask for any more documents. I realised there was something about the game rules in the PPGAS-MN that was different [in comparison with the Argentinian academic style].

Those rules made the PPGAS-MN students' assessment of the academic game and the desire to play it – the *illusio* – more significant (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1995). It was about more than doing a post-graduate degree. It was a process of initiation into a field with different, hitherto unknown regulations. For some, it was about the acquisition of a new academic habitus.

These processes of change were combined with an exercise performed at the PPGAS-MN that was infrequent in Argentina, namely, the moral relativisation of authors: do not judge them, for example, on their alliance with international "imperialist" organisations but rather on the basis of their production and ideas. This intellectual freedom seems to have influenced and broadened the research spectrum in Argentina. In Nicolás Viotti's view:

> At the PPGAS-MN there was more pluralism about anthropology and the legitimacy of issues than in Argentina, where religion, indigenous cosmology and aesthetics weren't legitimate. In Argentina, studying a popular religious festival was not a scientific matter. The mobility of Argentinians in Brazil altered the criteria for evaluating and validating these subjects.

Another Argentinian anthropologist who studied in the PPGAS-MN felt the same:

> In Argentina, I felt crushed by the scant freedom of thought there. At the PPGAS-MN, I learnt to work differently, I learnt that theory is really something that helps me think, not a limitation. It became something very creative. There was a lot to say.

In Argentina, many biases were internalised, preventing greater pluralism in university discourses (Terán 2002). Training in Brazil was hierarchical in its pedagogical forms, but pluralistic in thinking about possible approaches and topics. For many, this freedom was a relief that allowed creative thinking outside of certain ideological straightjackets.

CONCLUSIONS

Interpersonal relationships were a good gateway to begin this circulation flow, which ended up crystallizing in an institutional agreement between the UBA and the PPGAS-MN/UFRJ. This involved a mutual strategy (Dezalay and Garth 2002). On one hand, after a highly professionalised and internationalised stage, the return of Argentinians, to important academic positions facilitated the revival of social anthropology in the country, especially regarding the uses of classical anthropology and ethnography. On the other hand, this flow allowed PPGAS-MN to attract graduates from anthropology rather than the "social sciences" as Brazilian students tended to be, and favoured a greater diversity in student profiles, which PPGAS professors appreciated. Some Argentinians remained as professors in Brazilian universities; this meant that Brazilian anthropology also reaped the benefits of these academic exchanges. It was a game in which both sides won.

Internationalisation is above all a relationship between national contexts. In this interplay between the non-national and the national, there are many personal and institutional processes involved. This is why internationalisation must also be thought of as a temporal relationship that changes and may even become contradictory.

In this complex relationship with the international, some Argentinian researchers migrated abroad to survive in times of economic crisis and institutional weakness. This internationalisation for academic survival can be read as a strategy to move from spaces of relative institutional weakness to more stable or prestigious spaces. Circulating in renamed spaces may eventually be a kind of professional salvation.

Generally, in the research on international academic circulation, outgoing flows are more researched than the process of return of researchers and the effects produced in their country of origin.[16] As other international studies have shown (Heilbron, Sorá and Boncourt 2018; Fleck, Duller and Karády 2018), cases of regional circulation (Beigel 2014) enable us to think about the different ways the international circulation of scientists affects academic practices in the country of origin.

In the case of Argentinian anthropologists and their academic mobility, the effects on the country of origin include: (i) a new articulation between theory and data; (ii) a new vision of classical anthropology and the ethnographic method; and (iii) the promotion of a decisive scientific task, in this case the institutionalisation and professionalisation of the Post-Graduate Programs in Social Anthropology in Argentina. The socialisation of Argentinian researchers within the framework of an internationalised pedagogical space was significant in providing a different model for thought,

[16] In truth, many changes may be due to the dynamics and transformations of the national space of origin themselves rather than to innovations directly caused by this academic mobility. Undoubtedly, it is a hybrid and nuanced process, where certain parameters and comparisons can help conceive the origin of such changes.

perception, and action that broadened their choice of research topics and their approaches to solving particular anthropological problems (Bourdieu 2000).

The personal ties among scholars and the institutional agreement described herein were followed by various institutionalised spaces for dialogue, such as the meetings of the National Association of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (ANPOCS), the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA) and the MERCOSUR Anthropology Meeting (RAM). Brazilian academics visiting the new Argentinian post-graduate programs also stimulated the circulation of texts and experiences. In addition, the flow of Argentinians to other Brazilian post-graduate programs of excellence in social anthropology, like the ones at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul or the University of Brasilia, further strengthened ties between researchers from the two countries. This network is still strong today.

The 2000s in Argentina was a "period of institutional consolidation for social anthropology" (Ringuelet 2010) characterised by the incorporation of Argentinian master's and PhD students who circulated in Brazil in the new social anthropology post-graduate programs created in the period. This was one of the tangible after-effects of this flow. Two examples are the anthropology master's program created in 2000 at the National University of Córdoba and the post-graduate program created in 2001 by an inter-institutional agreement between the Institute of Economic and Social Development (IDES) and the Institute of Higher Social Studies (IDAES) of the National University of San Martin (UNSAM). The role of Argentinian researchers at the PPGAS-MN was important in the founding and institutionalisation of both of these programs. Scholars such as Gustavo Sorá, Gustavo Blázquez and María Gabriela Lugones were at Córdoba, while Axel Lazzari, Laura Masson, Rolando Silla and Pablo Semán were at the IDES/IDAES-UNSAM.

These are just some of the palpable consequences of this circulation. Although there are other variables, there is no doubt that students' mobility in Brazil has made a substantial impact on the landscape of Argentinian social anthropology.

References

Abbott, Andrew (1988) *The System of Professions*: *An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Almeida, Ana Maria, Letícia Canedo and Agueda Bittencourt (Eds.) (2004) *Circulação internacional e formação intelectual das elites brasileiras*. Campinas: Unicamp.

Balbi, Fernando Alberto (2012) La integración dinámica de las perspectivas nativas en la investigación etnográfica, *Intersecciones en antropología,* 13(2), 485–499.

Bartolomé, Leopoldo (Coordinador general) (2007) *Argentina: la enseñanza de la antropología social en el contexto de las ciencias antropológicas,* World Anthropologies Network, http://www.ram-wan.net/old/documents/06_documents/informe-argentina.pdf.

Beigel, Fernanda (2010) *Autonomía y dependencia académica: Universidad e investigación científica en un circuito periférico: Chile y Argentina (1950–1980),* Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos.

Beigel, Fernanda and Hanan Sabea (coords.) (2014) *Dependencia académica y profesionalización en el sur. Perspectivas desde las periferias,* Mendoza: EDIUNC and Río de Janeiro: SEPHIS.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2000) *Los usos sociales de la Ciencia*. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2001) Postscriptum. Del campo nacional al campo internacional, in: *Las estructuras sociales de la economía*, Buenos Aires: Manantial, 253–262.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2002) Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées, in : *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 145, 3–8, DOI : https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.2002.2793.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loic Wacquant (1995) *Respuestas por una antropología reflexiva* México: Grijalbo.

Brunner, José Joaquín and Angel Flisfisch (1983) *Los intelectuales y las instituciones de la cultura*. Santiago de Chile: Flacso.

Cardoso de Oliveira, Roberto (1992) Depoimento: rememorando um Programa, in: *Antropologia Social. Comunicações do PPGAS*, Vol. 2, 45–56.

Cardoso de Oliveira, Roberto and Ruben Guillermo (comps) (1995) *Estilos de antropologia*. Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP.

Dezalay, Yves and Bryant Garth (2002) *La Mondialisation des guerres de palais,* Paris: Seuil.

Didou-Aupetit, Sylvie and Gérard Etienne (Ed.) (2009) *Fuga de cerebros, movilidad academica y redes cientificas : perspectivas latinoamericanas,* Caracas, Mexico: ISEALC; CINVESTAV; IRD.

Dubar, Claude and Pierre Tripier (1998) *Sociologie des Professions*, Paris : Armand Colin.

Feldman-Bianco, Bela (Ed.) (2013) *Desafios da antropologia brasileira*, Brasília: ABA.

Fleck, Christian, Matthias Duller, Victor Karády (Eds.) (2018) *Shaping Human Science Disciplines: Institutional Developments in Europe and Beyond*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fontán, Marcelino (2005) *Oswald Menghin: ciencia y nazismo*, Buenos Aires: Fundación Memoria del Holocausto.

Fry, Peter (2004) Internacionalização da disciplina, in: Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Wilson Trajano Filho (Eds.) *O campo da antropologia no Brasil,* Rio de Janeiro, Brasília: Editora Contracapa, ABA, 227–248.

Garcia, Afrânio (2009a) Fundamentos empíricos da razão antropológica: a criação do PPGAS e a seleção das espécies científicas, *Mana* 15 (2): 411–447.

Garcia, Afrânio (2009b). Les disciplines de la 'Mission française' et la réception de l'anthropologie structural au Brésil: retour sur un mythe d'origine, in : *Cahiers de la Recherche sur l'éducation et les savoirs*, Hors série N° 2, 57–92.

Garcia, Afrânio (2009c) Abdelmalek Sayad au Brésil: Les migrations, objet de choix pour comprendre les transformations du monde social, *Hommes et migrations* 1281 (5) : 20–29.

Gingras, Yves (2002) Les formes spécifiques de l'internationalité du champ scientifique, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 141-142 : 31–45, DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.2002.2816.

Grimson, Alejandro and Pablo Semán (2006) La antropología brasileña contemporánea. Contribuciones para un diálogo latinoamericano, in: *Journal of the World Anthropology Network* (2): 155–165.

Guber, Rosana (2001) *La etnografía. Método, campo y reflexividad*, Bogotá: Grupo Editorial Norma.

Guber, Rosana (2010) El compromiso profético de los antropólogos sociales argentinos, 1960–1976, *Avá: Revista de Antropología* 16: 11–31, argos.fhycs.unam.edu.ar/handle/123456789/252.

Guber, Rosana (2014) Leopoldo: inicios y formación de un creador de instituciones. Los comienzos en los confines: la no-opción por la Antropología social de Leopoldo J. Bartolomé y Carlos A. Herrán, *Avá: Revista de Antropología* 25: 35–62, argos.fhycs.unam.edu.ar/handle/123456789/660.

Guebel, Claudia, Valeria Hernández and Hugo Ratier (1996) Entrevista a Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira *Publicar* 5(6): 89–100.

Heilbron, Johan, Nicolas Guilhot and Laurent Jeanpierre (2008) Toward a transnational history of the social sciences, *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences* 44(2): 146–160.

Heilbron, Johan, Gustavo Sorá, and Thibaud Boncourt (Eds.) (2018) *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan

Heredia, Beatriz (2005) Ethos y Habitus en Antropologia. Reflexiones a partir de una trayectoria, *Avá: Revista de Antropología* 6: 1–15.

Heredia, Beatriz (2009) Conexões: Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira e o ensino da Antropologia na America Latina, *Anuário Antropológico* 1: 163–173.

Ingold, Tim (2014) 'That's Enough About Ethnography!' *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 4 (1): 383–395.

Isola, Nicolás José (2014) *Desarrollo y profesionalización del campo académico de la educación en la Argentina (1955–2013). Debates y tensiones en torno a un programa científico moderno*, Doctoral Thesis, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Isola, Nicolás José (2018) Argentinos à brasileira. A circulação de antropólogos argentinos pelo Museu Nacional (PPGAS-MN/UFRJ), *Mana* 24 (2): 68–108, dx.doi.org/10.1590/1678–49442018v24n2p068.

Keim, Wiebke, Ercüment Celik, Christian Ersche, Veronika Wöhrer (2014) *Global Knowledge Production in the Social Sciences,* London: Ashgate.

Kirtchik, Olessia and Mariana Heredia (2015) Social and behavioral sciences under dictatorship, in: James D. Wright (Ed.) *International encyclopedia of the social and behavioral sciences (second edition),* Oxford: Elsevier, 22: 139–146.

Leite Lopes, José Sergio (1992) 20 anos do Programa de Pós-graduação em Antropologia Social do Museu Nacional/UFRJ, *Antropologia Social. Comunicações do PPGAS,* Vol. 2, 1–8.

Leite Lopes, José Sergio (2013) 'Entrevista com Moacir Palmeira' *Horizontes Antropológicos* 19(39): 435–457.

Lovisolo, Hugo (2000) *Vecinos distantes. Universidad y ciencia en Argentina y Brasil,* Buenos Aires: del Zorzal.

Neufeld, Maria Rosa, María Cecilia Scaglia, and María Julia Name (2015) *'Y el museo era una fiesta …': Documentos para una historia de la antropología en Buenos Aires'*, Buenos Aires: Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, Editorial de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

Pacheco de Oliveira, João (2005) The anthropologist as expert: Brazilian ethnology between Indianism and indigenism, in: Benoît de L'Estoile, Federico Neiburg and Lygia Maria Sigaud (Eds.) *Empires, nations and natives: Anthropology and state-making*, Durham: Duke University Press, 223–247.

Peirano, Mariza (1994) A favor da etnografia, *Anuário Antropológico* 92: 197–223.

Perazzi, Pablo (2003) *Hermenéutica de la barbarie. Una historia de la antropología en Buenos Aires*, Buenos Aires: Sociedad Argentina de Antropología.

Ratier, Hugo (1983) Antropología Social en Argentina y Brasil: teorías y prácticas. Presentation at the *1ero. Congreso Argentino de Antropologia Social* in Posadas.

Ratier, Hugo and Roberto Ringuelet (1997) La Antropología Social en la Argentina: un producto de la democracia *Horizontes Antropológicos* 3 (7): 10–23, doi.org/10.1590/s0104-71831997000300002.

Ratier, Hugo and Claudia Guebel (2004) Las antropologías argentina y brasileña según algunos testimonios: exilios, tránsitos y permanencias, *Raízes* 23 (1-2): 140–158.

Ringuelet, Roberto (2007) Une perspective contemporaine de l'anthropologie sociale argentine, *Journal des anthropologues* 110-111 (3) : 131–159.

Sapiro, Gisèle (201) Le champ est-il national ? La théorie de la différenciation sociale au prisme de l'histoire globale, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 200 (5) : 70–85 doi.org/10.3917/arss.200.0070.

Sarfatti Larson, Magalí (1988) El poder de los expertos. Ciencia y educación de masas como fundamentos de una ideología, *Revista de Educación* 255: 151–189.

Sarfatti Larson, Magalí and Blas Cabrera Montoya (1989) Acerca de los expertos y los profesionales o la imposibilidad de haberlo dicho todo, *Revista de Educación* Nro. Extraordinario "Los usos de la comparación en ciencias sociales y en educación", 199–237.

Sikkink, Kathryn (2009) *El proyecto desarrollista en la Argentina y Brasil: Fondizi y Kubitschek*, Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Silla, Rolando (2012) Raza, raciología y racismo en la obra de Marcelo Bórmida, *Revista del Museo de Antropología* 5 (1): 65–76.

Silla, Rolando (2014) Etnologia e fenomenologia. Um comentário das obras de Marcelo Bórmida, Tim Ingold e Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, *Sociologia & Antropologia* 4 (2): 351–372.

Siméant, Johanna (Ed.) (2015) *Guide de l'enquête globale en sciences sociales*, Paris: CNRS Editions.

Souza Lima, Antonio Carlos (1995) *Um Grande Cerco de Paz. Poder tutelar, indianidade e formação do Estado no Brasil*, Petrópolis: Vozes.

Terán, Oscar (2002) La experiencia de la crisis, *Revista Punto de vista* 25 (73) 1–3.

Velho, Gilberto (2012) Homenagem a Gilberto Velho, *Mana* 18 (1): 173–212.

Velho, Otávio (2003) A pictografia da tristesse: uma antropologia do nation-building nos trópicos, *Ilha Revista de Antropologia* 5 (1): 5–22.

Visacovsky, Sergio (2017) Etnografía y antropología en Argentina: propuestas para la reconstrucción de un programa de investigación de lo universal, *Antipoda. Revista de Antropología y Arqueología* no. 27, 65–91.

Wilensky, Harold (1964) The professionalization of Everyone? In: *American Journal of Sociology* 70, (2): 137–158.

Xavier De Brito, Angela (2004) Habitus de herdeiro, habitus escolar. os sentidos da internacionalização nas trajetórias dos estudantes brasileiros, in: Ana Maria F. Almeida (Ed.) *Circulação internacional e formação intelectual das elites brasileiras*, Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 85-104.

Interviews conducted (chronological order)

Gustavo Sorá, September 11, 2015, Córdoba, Argentina.

Federico Neiburg, October 5, 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Moacir Palmeira, October 6, 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Hugo Ratier, February 27, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Claudia Guebel, February 27, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Mauricio Boivin, March 1, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Fernando Balbi, April 6, 2017 (teleconference) and on July 14, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Roberto Ringuelet, written interview by email on April 10, 2017.

Roxana Boixados, June 15, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Laura Masson, June 16, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina, and by telephone on September 28, 2018.

María Cecilia Díaz, June 22, 2017, Córdoba, Argentina.

Gustavo Blazquez, June 23, 2017, Córdoba, Argentina and by telephone on September 22, 2018.

María Gabriela Lugones, June 23, 2017, Córdoba, Argentina, and by telephone on September 23, 2009.

Carlos Eugenio Kuz, July 10, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Axel Lazzari, July 10, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Rolando Silla, July 12, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Pablo Semán,[17] July 18, 2017, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Virginia Vecchioli, written interview by email on May 3, 2018 and telephone interview on September 29, 2018.

Fernanda Figurelli, telephone interview conducted on September 26, 2018.

Gabriela Scotto, telephone interview conducted on October 1, 2018.

[17] He completed his post-doctorate at the PPGAS-MN.

Annex I

Argentine students who circulated through the PPGAS-MN between the years 1988 and 2016[18]

Year of Entry into PPGAS-MN	Took the Test at UBA	Name	Entry into PPGAS-MN	Thesis Supervisor	Current Institutional Position
1988	No	Federico Neiburg	PhD	José Sérgio Leite Lopes	Tenured Lecturer at PPGAS-MN/UFRJ
1989 *(First Test)*	Yes	Claudia Fabiana Guebel	Master's	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at UBA
	Yes	Carlos Eugenio Kuz	Master's	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at National University of de La Pampa
1990	—	—	—	—	—
1991	Yes	Axel Lazzari	Master	João Pacheco de Oliveira	Lecturer at IDAES-UNSAM/Conicet
	No	Román Goldenzweig	Master's and PhD [re-entered in 2015 – in progress]	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Human Sciences Department, INFES, UFF
	Yes	Gustavo Alejandro Sorá	Master's and PhD	M: Afrânio Garcia Jr. / PhD: Afrânio Garcia Jr. e Luiz de Castro Faria	Lecturer at Institute of Anthropology UNC, Conicet. Córdoba, Argentina
	Yes	Maria Gabriela Scotto	Master's and PhD	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at Nacional University Federal Fluminense
	Yes	Silvina Dezorzi	Master inacabado	—	—
1992	Yes	Roxana Boixados	Master's	Giralda Seyferth	Tenurer Lecturer at Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, UBA / Social Sciences Dept., UNQ, Conicet
	Yes	Nora Arias	Master's and PhD	João Pacheco de Oliveira	Deceased in 2011

[18] Information obtained from the researchers. Where this was not possible, CV and institutional websites were consulted. N.B. The Argentine-born siblings, Claudia and Fabio Mura, did their master's and doctorates at the PPGAS-MN. However, they arrived in Brazil from Italy, where they had lived from childhood, without having any link or knowledge of the circulation from Argentina resulting from the agreement. They are therefore not included in the list.

1994	Yes	Octavio Bonet	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences in Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (IFCS-UFRJ)
1995	Yes	Adriana M. Villalon	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Postdoctoral researcher at Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences in University of Campinas
1996	Yes	Gustavo Alejandro Blázquez	Master's and PhD	Antônio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer at Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities, UNC - Conicet
1997 *Last test (to 1998 entry)*	Yes	Hérnan Gómez	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Rural Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
	Yes	Jorge Pantaleón	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Anthropology Department, Université de Montréal
	Yes	Laura Masson	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at UNSAM
1998	Yes	Fernando Balbi	PhD	Moacir Palmeira	Lecturer at UBA – Conicet
	Yes	Sergio Chamorro	Master's	Lygia Sigaud	Lecturer at Social Sciences Department UNQ / Social Sciences Faculty UNICEN
1999	No	Fernando Rabossi	PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Cultural Anthropology Department – IFCS/UFRJ
	No	Virginia Vecchioli	Master's and PhD	Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at Social Sciences Department – National University of Santa Maria
	No	Mariana Paladino	PhD	Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer at Education Faculty in Fluminense Federal University
	No	Evangelina Mazur	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Master in Humanities and Social Sciences – UNQ / Social Work Faculty – UNLP
2000	—	—	—	—	—
2001	No	Rolando Silla	PhD	Otávio Velho	Lecturer at IDAES-UNSAM, Conicet
	No	Eloísa Martín	PhD	Otávio Velho	Lecturer at United Arab Emirates University
	No	Horacio Federico Sívori	PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Institute of Social Medicine – Rio de Janeiro State University
	No	Silvina Bustos Argañaraz	Master's	João Pacheco de Oliveira	—
2002	No	María Gabriela Lugones	Master's and PhD	Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer Faculty of Linguistic and Researcher of CIFFyH – UNC
2003	No	Laura Zapata González	PhD	Giralda Seyferth	Lecturer Nacional University of José C. Paz

	No	Andrea Lacombe	Master's and PhD	M: Otávio Velho / PhD: Adriana Vianna	Researcher at Center for Legal and Social Research – UNC
2004	No	María Laura Colabella	PhD	Lygia Sigaud	Lecturer Arturo Jauretche National University. Invited Lecturer in Master of Sociology and Political Sciences – FLACSO
	No	Julieta Quirós	Master's and PhD	M: Lygia Sigaud PhD. Lygia Sigaud e Federico Neiburg	Lecturer at UNC – Conicet
	No	Andrea Claudia Roca	Master's and PhD	João Pacheco de Oliveira	Lecturer at Department of French, Hispanic and Italian Studies – Univ. of British Columbia
2005	No	Fernanda Figurelli	Master's and PhD	Moacir Palmeira	Researcher at Conicet – Nacional University of Misiones
2006	No	Nicolás Viotti	PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at FLACSO and UNSAM - Conicet
	No	Salvador Schavelzon	PhD	Marcio Goldman	Lecturer at Federal University of São Paulo
2008	No	Laura Navallo Coimbra	Master's and PhD	Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima	Lecturer at Social Communication – National University of Salta
2012	No	María Cecilia Díaz	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	Lecturer at Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities – UNC
	No	Carolina Castellitti	Master's and PhD	Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte	—
2016	No	Nahuel Blázquez	Master's and PhD	Adriana Vianna	PhD Candidate at PPGAS-MN

Annex II

Below is a bibliography of some of the ethnographies included in PPGAS-MN seminars (in alphabetical order of authors and as they appear in the programs):

Andrade, Suzana (2004) *Protestantismo indígena. Procesos de conversíon religiosa en la provincia de Chimborazo, Ecuador*, Equador. Flacso/Abya Yala/IFEA.

Bateson, Gregory (1935) Culture Contact and Schismogenesis, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 35: 178-183, www.jstor.org/stable/2789408. Reprinted in *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1999, 61-72.

Beigel, Fernanda (2014) Publishing from the Periphery: Structural heterogeneity and segmented circuits. The evaluation of scientific publications for tenure in Argentina's CONICE', *Current Sociology* 62 (5): 743-765.

Benedict, Ruth (1932) *Patterns of Culture*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Boas, Franz (1887) A year among the Eskimo, in: George Stocking Jr., *The shaping of American Anthropology 1883–1911: A Franz Boas Reader*, New York: Free Press. [translation: A formação da antropologia Americana 1883–1911, Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto / UFRJ 2004, 67-80]

Bourdieu, Pierre (1962) Célibat et condition paysanne, *Études Rurales* 5-6: 32-135.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1970) La maison Kabyle ou le monde renversé, in: Jean Pouillon and Pierre Maranda (Eds.) *Échanges et communications Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss à l'occasion de son 60ème anniversaire,* Paris: Mouton, 739-758.

Bourgois, Philippe (2003) *In Search of Respect: Selling Crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comaroff, Jean (1985) *Body of power, spirit of resistance: The culture and history of a South African people*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff (1992) *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination,* Boulder: Westview Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent (1980) *Tuhami: portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Douglas, Mary (1967) *Purity and Danger*: *An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London: Routledge.

Dumont, Louis (1992) *Homo hierarchicus: le système des castes et ses implications*, Paris: Gallimard.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. (1978). *Os Nuer*, São Paulo, Perspectiva.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward E. 1978 [1937] *Bruxaria, Oráculos e Magia entre os Azande*, Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores.

Fortes, Meyer (1953) The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups, in: *Time and Social Structure and Other Essays*, London: The Athlone Press, 1970, 67-95.

Geertz, Clifford (1954) Form and variation in Balinese village structure, in: Potter, Jack M., May N. Diaz and George McClelland Foster (Eds.), *Peasant society: A Reader*. Boston: Little Brown 1967, 255-278.

Herzfeld, Michael (1985) *The poetics of manhood: Contest and identity in a Cretan mountain village*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Herzfeld, Michael (1997) *Cultural Intimacy: Social poetics in the Nation-State*, London: Routledge.

Gluckman, Max (1940) The Kingdom of the Zulu of South Africa, in: Meyer Fortes and Edward E. Evans-Pritchard (Eds.) *African political systems*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 25-55.

Ingold, Tim (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill,* London: Routledge.

Kulick, Don (1998) *Travesti: Sex, gender and culture among Brazilian transgendered prostitutes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Latour, Bruno (1984) *Les microbes: Guerre et paix suivi de irreductions,* Paris: A.M. Métailié.

Leach, Edmund R. (1954) *Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure*. London: Routledge.

Levi-Strauss, Claude (1955) *Tristes Tropiques*. Paris: Plon.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1991) L'ideologie bipartite des Amérindiens, in : *Histoire de Lynx*, Paris: Plon.

Lienhardt, Godfrey (1961) *Divinity and Experience: The Religion of the Dinka*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* [Translation: Argonautas do Pacífico Ocidental, São Paulo: Abril Cultural 1976].

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1927) *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, London: Routledge.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1935) The Method of Field-Work and the Invisible Facts of Native Law and Economics, in: *Coral Gardens and their Magic, Volume 1*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 317-340.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1954) Myth in Primitive Psychology, in: *Magic, Science and Religion and other Essays*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1959) *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. New Jersey: Littlefiels, Adams & Co.

Mead, Margaret (1953) National Character, in: Sol Tax (Ed.) *Anthropology Today. Selections.* Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1962, 396-421.

Mitchell, Clyde (1956) *Kalela Dance*: *Aspects of Social Relationships among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia*, Manchester: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. (1940) On Joking Relationships, in: *Africa* 13 (3): 195-210 [translation in: Estrutura e função na sociedade primitiva. Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 115-132].

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. (1975) El Metodo de la Antropología Social. Barcelona: Ed. Anagrama,

Redfield, Robert (1955) The Little Community, in: *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Robbins, Joel (2004) *Becoming sinners: Christianity and moral torment in a Papua New Guinea Society,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sahlins, Marshall (1979) *Cultura e Razão Prática*, Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores.

Sahlins, Marshall (1985) *Islands of History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sahlins, Marshall (1981). *Historical metaphors and mythical realities: Structure in the early history of the Sandwich Islands kingdom,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Strathern, Marilyn (1988) *The gender of the gift: Problems with women and problems with society in Melanesia*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wagner, Roy (1975) *The invention of Culture,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Pres.

Whyte, William F. (1973 [1943]) *Street Corner Society: The social structure of an Italian slum*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wolf, Eric (1956) Aspects of group relations in a complex society: México, *American Anthropologists* 58 (6): 1065-1078. [translation: Antropologia do Poder. Contribuições de Eric R. Wolf (Feldman-Bianco, B. and Lins Ribeiro, G. Eds.), São Paulo/Brasília: EduB/Ed. Unicamp, pp. 73–91].

Source: http://www.ppgasmn-ufrj.com/cursos-anteriores.html

N.B. This list is not meant to be exhaustive and some items may be debatable. Ethnography has been considered here in the broad sense given by many of the National Museum's lecturers. The syllabi for 1993 to 2003 are not available on the National Museum website.

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

Styles of academic production in the Argentine social sciences:

Heterogeneity and heterodoxy

Juan Ignacio Piovani
juan.piovani@presi.unlp.edu.ar

Abstract

Argentina is an appealing case for analyzing the social science system. In recent years (until 2015) there has been a robust increase in public funding, giving way to the expansion of research, the recruitment of hundreds of new full-time researchers and the consolidation of scholarships for PhD students. All this, in turn, has resulted in a remarkable increase in publications. Although these processes have occurred in the midst of professionalization (which implies higher levels of adherence to international academic standards), recent studies have shown that two contesting models within the social sciences continue to prevail in Argentina: one that conforms to international standards and practices, and another of a more endogenous nature, with its own logic for knowledge production, evaluation and circulation. In order to examine the impact of international standards in the Argentine social sciences, in this paper I analyze the styles of academic production. This implies the study of three closely related dimensions: research processes and models (theoretical foundations, methods, techniques, etc.); writing formats (structure and organization of academic texts); and publication logics (types of publications, profiles of the journals where the articles are published, etc.). The analysis is based on a large sample of publications selected by other researchers in order to carry out a comprehensive review of Argentine literature with regard to six key themes of the social sciences. These publications were also used to produce a dataset with several variables related to the three above-mentioned dimensions. In particular, this paper focuses on the publications grounded in empirical research, and compares qualitative with quantitative research and the various types of publications (journal articles, book chapters and conference papers). The results show that regardless of the recent process of professionalization, "heterodox models" of academic production are still largely pervasive within the Argentine social sciences.

Keywords

Argentina, social sciences, styles of production

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this article is to describe the styles of production within the social sciences in Argentina.[1] This involves analyzing three closely related dimensions: research models and processes (theoretical orientations, methodological strategies, research techniques, etc.); writing formats (structure and organization of academic texts); and logics of publication (types and profiles of the publications, etc.). The idea of looking at all these dimensions, instead of paying attention only to the theoretical and methodological aspects of research, is grounded in well-established studies. For example, Bazerman (1988) has advanced the importance of examining writing in science, and Collyer (2018: 59-60) has argued that "publication is a process that helps to structure knowledge production, both enabling and constraining specific knowledge practices."

In a broad sense, the concern about styles of production – as defined in this article – is connected to the growing professionalism of sociology worldwide, especially in the United States. Professional sociology "supplies true and tested methods, accumulated bodies of knowledge, orienting questions, and conceptual frameworks"; produces instrumental knowledge published in academic papers; and legitimizes knowledge by imposing scientific standards and control mechanisms, based on peer evaluation (Burawoy 2005: 10).

Regarding its historical development and consolidation as a hegemonic model of academic work, professional sociology – which can be extended to all empirical social sciences – cannot be dissociated from what Beigel (2014; 2017a) has termed the World Academic System. This system is characterized by an unequal structure of production and circulation of knowledge, with the so-called mainstream circuit as its dominant center. Within this system, the paper (or journal article) began to be prioritized over other forms of production and dissemination of knowledge from the mid-twentieth century onwards (Beigel and Salatino 2015). Although the impact of this process in the social sciences came later than in the natural sciences, the "culture of the paper" gradually gained dominance in the former fields during the 1990s. Furthermore, one of the main pillars of this system is the mainstream publication scheme composed of leading journals indexed in international databases (Beigel, 2017a), with a bias in favor of articles in English (Ortiz, 2009) and produced by scholars from the global North.

In the case of the social sciences, Heilbron (2014) has fostered the idea of an emerging global field with a core-periphery structure, in which the research capacity and output are concentrated in a Euro-American core. In fact, based on this hypothesis, Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras (2014) have shown that in the period 2000-2009, the Euro-American core accounted for 89.1% of the social science publications, according to the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI), and for 88% of the mainstream journals included in the Web of Science (WoS). On the contrary, the multiple peripheries are scarcely represented: the whole of Latin America, for example, accounted for just 2.2% of the publications and 2.8% of the journals.

The reasons for this marginal representation have been the subject of research and debate. Vessuri (1995) and Guédon (2011) have argued that within the mainstream circuit scholars usually assume that the peripheral production lacks academic value. This statement is related to intraversion, "a

[1] This article stems from a research program called PISAC (Programa de Investigación sobre la Sociedad Argentina Contemporánea [Research Program on Contemporary Argentine Society]), which has been implemented since 2012 under the auspices of the National Council of the Schools of Social and Human Sciences (CODESOC). More precisely, the paper is related to one of the Program's research lines, focused on the institutions, actors, practices and products of what could be labeled as the "national social science system."

process whereby scholars are inwardly focused, suspicious of knowledge from sources external to their own country." For scientists from the global South, this translates into an obstacle for publishing in international journals (Collyer 2018: 64). The language barrier has also been highlighted (Danell 2013), whereby the increasing importance of English – already deep-rooted in the natural sciences for decades – has become the *lingua franca* of the social sciences (Danell 2013; Heilbron 2014; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014). Nonetheless, all these factors must be considered in the framework of an academic publishing system which, apart from intraversion, has been increasingly subject to processes of market concentration, commodification, monopolization and standardization (Collyer 2018).

The standardization of academic publishing is also linked to the emergence of a "universal" language and style of writing (Beigel and Salatino, 2015). This writing style is based on a highly codified and institutionalized genre that Bazerman (1988) calls "experimental report," and which materializes, to a large extent, in the Introduction, Methods, Results, Discussion (IMRAD) model. According to Day (1989), the IMRAD format was consecrated as the standard model for the scientific article in 1972, after the approval and publication of the American National Standard for scientific papers. This 16-page document, prepared by the Committee on Standardization in the Field of Library Work, Documentation, and Related Publishing Practices of the American National Standards Institute (ANSI), outlined the expectations for preparing scientific papers for written or oral presentation. This standard was subsequently adopted by dozens of scientific organizations and specialized journals.

Day's statement about the consecration of the IMRAD model from the 1970s onwards is consistent with the results of empirical research by Sollaci and Pereira (2004). By examining scientific articles published between 1935 and 1985 in four leading health science journals, the authors have shown that the use of the IMRAD format, in a broad sense, began in the 1940s. However, it only became widespread in the 1970s, when it was used in 80% of the articles. And by the 1980s, this became the sole writing pattern adopted by all original articles published in the four leading journals analyzed by these authors.

Although this format has had greater impact in the natural sciences, it has also spread in the social sciences and been adopted even by some professionalized journals in the arts and humanities (Day 1989). This expansion can be explained by several convergent factors, such as the "imitation of the forms of argument developed within the natural sciences" (Bazerman 1988: 257) and the recommendations made by the editors of scientific journals (Sollaci and Pereira 2004). However, the influence of this model has been uneven across disciplines. Its impact has been particularly significant in psychology, in large part because the American Psychological Association (APA), in its world-famous *Publication Manual*, proposes the IMRAD structure for the section headings of an academic article. According to Bazerman (1988: 259) the "[m]anual symbolizes and instrumentally realizes the influence and power of the official style." As a consequence, social and humanistic empirical research in psychology and other social sciences frequently resort to a format *similar* to IMRAD, which also includes sections dedicated to the theoretical/conceptual framework of the research and/or to the literature review/state of the art.[2]

Within the framework of these global dynamics, it is worth analyzing the styles of production within the social sciences in peripheral contexts. This may help deepen the understanding of the core-

[2] Before its standardization during the 1970s, the literature review section was a common practice in the papers of the natural sciences under the title "Previous Work" (Brain 1965).

periphery relations, which some authors have described as "academic dependency" (Alatas 2003), by shedding light on the influence of the Euro-American social science model, the degree of academic autonomy in the global South and the practices of resistance against the international regime of publications that, according to Beigel (2014), have grown in recent years.

It is important to first consider several dynamics that affect the core-periphery interplay. On one hand, the scientific policies of the governments of the peripheries and their specialized institutions tend to orient the publication strategies of scientists towards the mainstream circuit – often thanks to reward schemes–, assuming its greater prestige and impact. On the other hand, although universities or associations traditionally publish peripheral academic journals (Vessuri *et al.* 2014), there has been a process of transfer to commercial property in recent years, particularly in some countries of the South. This transfer has had important consequences for knowledge production, particularly through the standardization of journals and the development of publication practices linked to the "imposition" of the American model (Collyer 2018). It is also worth mentioning the ubiquitous evaluative practices in science, which have a clear performative effect (Piovani 2015b). Evaluations influence researchers' decisions about writing styles and, more fundamentally, about how and where to publish (and possibly also the definition of research objects, theories, approaches and methods).

The implications of these processes, however, tend to be multifaceted and nonlinear. Martín (2013), for example, has argued that academics in the periphery have adopted two different strategies in the face of the above-mentioned dynamics. The first is an imitative one, which assumes the need to publish internationally and establishes it as a privileged goal (and where scholars must follow the problems, theories and methodologies of hegemonic academies and imitate their legitimated writing styles). The second approach might be called hyper-localist by rejecting the requirement to publish internationally (and in English), either based on a sophisticated critique of the indexation and impact measurement systems, or as a merely defensive and culturalist reaction. Similarly, Beigel (2017a) has argued that the supposed "academic dependency" actually alters national evaluative cultures and deepens structural heterogeneity, resulting in segmented circuits of recognition and consecration within the periphery.[3]

Various regional academic circuits are also being developed in the global South (Beigel 2014) as part of a new and broader phenomenon of internationalization. This process is defined by Heilbron (2014) as transnational regionalization, characterized by emerging regional structures such as research councils, journals, professional associations and databases. Particularly significant are the alternative publication circuits established "in response to the inequalities of global publishing" (Collyer 2018: 66). In the case of Latin America, Vessuri *et al.* (2014: 656) have highlighted the more than 30 digital collections that have emerged since the end of the 1990s, which reflect "the desire to give greater visibility to the region's scientific production," as well as the regional alternative indexing systems and digital platforms such as Latindex, SciELO, Redalyc and, more recently, AmeliCA.

Therefore, although the periphery is significantly exposed to the influence of dominant models of scientific production developed in the Euro-American core, new evidence shows that "autonomous knowledge is produced outside the 'centers of excellence.'" Furthermore, the fact that "theories and

[3] Hanafi's (2011) analysis of the production of social scientists from the Arab East shows somewhat similar results, insofar as Arab scientists who publish globally tend to "perish" locally, and those who work on locally relevant issues do not have access to the international mainstream circuit.

methods produced in the periphery have low possibilities for 'exports' to mainstream circuits [...] doesn't imply that this knowledge is the result of massive imports of central models" (Beigel 2014: 618).

The Argentine case is particularly interesting because following the economic crisis of 2001/2002,[4] and until the end of 2015,[5] its scientific system experienced a notable expansion. Immediately after the crisis, the then Secretary of State for Science and Technology began to elaborate a National Strategic Plan for Science, Technology and Innovation. Its main goals, among others, were to increase the public investment in R&D (up to 1% of the GDP) and to bring the number of researchers and technologists to 3 per thousand of the labor force (Unzué 2015). In 2007, the Presidency created the Ministry of Science, Technology and Productive Innovation (MINCYT),[6] which implied further recognition of the scientific agenda within the state's administration. This move also began the institutionalization of such an agenda through a specialized government body of the highest level (Ministry), responsible for planning and executing the scientific policies.

In this context, the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET), Argentina's main scientific institution, saw a notable increase in the number of researchers in the social and human sciences (from 705 to 2,245) and in the number of doctoral students with full-time scholarships (from 493 to 2,896) between 2003 and 2016.[7] Equally relevant was the development of doctoral training programs, especially in public universities, and the growth of financial resources to support research projects. Particularly in the case of the social sciences, there was also a revitalization of the publishing market, as well as the creation of new specialized journals, most of them edited by scientific or higher education institutions.

This expansion was accompanied by an increasing process of professionalization of academic and scientific practices that, albeit with its own dynamics, followed some of the main international patterns. Among other things, professionalization in Argentina reinforced the institutionalization of evaluation – complying, in general, with the criteria of the peer review model – and publications in prestigious mainstream journals (labeled as Type 1 by CONICET).[8]

[4] Towards the end of 2001, a severe economic, social and political crisis broke out in Argentina. Both in the social sciences and in the media, this crisis is considered to mark the end of the neoliberal cycle that began in the 1990s. For this reason, 2001/2002 is used as a milestone for the periodization of the country's recent history. The crisis involved, among other things, an economic collapse and widespread distrust of state institutions, politics and politicians. In the following years, governments characterized by anti-neoliberal policies and discourses (although the anti-neoliberal nature of their policies has been the subject of debate) led a "re-foundational" process of recovery, with strong implications in all spheres, including scientific and higher education institutions.

[5] In December 2015, after three progressive governments (often also called "populists") a new neoliberal phase began in Argentina. Among other things, the new government applied sharp budget cuts that particularly affected the scientific system. In addition, many of its officials criticized the financing of social research with public funds and, more generally, favored speeches of suspicion in relation to the social sciences.

[6] In 2018, the Ministry was downgraded to a Secretary within the Ministry of Education. And in December 2019, a new government with a progressive profile transformed this Secretary into a Ministry again.

[7] These figures refer only to CONICET researchers and to doctoral students funded by CONICET: https://cifras.conicet.gov.ar/publica/. Note that there are thousands of researchers based at universities that do not belong to CONICET, as well as thousands of doctoral students who do not have scholarships or are funded by other organizations.

[8] In this regard, we might also mention the work commissioned by CONICET, which prepared the Resolution 2249/14 with the *Guidelines for the Categorization of Periodical Publications in Social sciences and the Humanities* (Peirano, Freibrun and Sleiman 2015: 11).

However, recent research has shown that the diffusion of the dominant model of scientific production – centered on English-language papers published in mainstream journals – presents some peculiarities in Argentina. For example, Gibert Galassi (2013), in a comparative bibliometric analysis of the production of the social sciences in various Latin American countries, has affirmed that there has been a recent increase in the number of articles published in the international mainstream circuit. However, he shows that in Argentina this tendency has been weaker than in other countries like Chile and Brazil. All in all, he concludes that it is not clear whether local traditions will always lead towards increased participation in the international publication system. Galassi illustrates this with the Argentine case, by saying that the quality and strength of its traditions in the social sciences do not seem to be reflected in the international bibliometric indicators.

Beigel (2017a, 2017b) has shed light on this issue by highlighting the persistence of two models within the social sciences in Argentina. The first is represented by a minority of scientists (usually affiliated to CONICET) familiar with the dominant production styles of the World Academic System. The second is characterized by a more endogenous agenda, with scholars mostly from universities who tend to remain restricted to local circuits nourished by numerous non-indexed journals published in Spanish and often only in printed format. According to Beigel, the growth of the scientific system in recent years has deepened the polarization between these two models (CONICET vs. universities). Baranger and Niño (forthcoming) have added complexity to Beigel's analysis by introducing other variables. They propose a typology of five styles of publication: the standard (which conforms to the predominant profile of the natural sciences, hence the IMRAD model and the use of English as *lingua franca*), the proto-standard, two versions of a localist style, and finally the universalist (which implies a strong orientation towards international publications, not only in English and in mainstream journals, but also in other languages such as French, Portuguese, German and Italian). Baranger and Niño show that the field of the social sciences in Argentina is heterogeneous, with a strong influence of the standard style in disciplines such as economics and psychology, and a prevalence of the localist and/or universalist styles in sociology and other disciplines.

Gantman (2011) has scrutinized the CVs of 414 Argentinian CONICET researchers in the fields of economics, sociology, psychology and political science in order to examine their publication patterns. His assumption is that there is an idiosyncratic character in the social sciences according to national or regional origin. He shows that even though there is a general prevalence of local journals among the publications of these researchers, different PhD training trajectories are linked to diverse publication patterns. In this sense, he notes that having a PhD from the US or the UK has a positive effect in the number of publications in English and in mainstream journals, whereas having an Argentine PhD has a negative effect on this.

More recently, Calvo *et al.* (2019) have carried out an empirical analysis of the styles of research in Argentine sociology and political science, focusing on the three most cited publications of CONICET researchers – that is to say, those who are better integrated into the international scientific system and, therefore, more exposed to its influence. These authors have found that the field of social sciences in Argentina is more heterogeneous than expected, yet with a clear predominance of qualitative studies. The probability of using quantitative methods is higher among those who have received PhD training in the US, and quantitative papers are more likely to be published in international mainstream journals and to have more impact in terms of citations. In short, they have shown that the attachment to the IMRAD model has not been a uniform or an evolutionary tendency, and that it has not influenced the number of publications or the recognition by peers at the local

level. In this sense, they maintain that the Argentine social science circuit differs from other peripheral academic contexts that seem to be more polarized, like the Arab one (see Hanafi 2011).

Considering this set of problems and discussions as a general background, in a previous article (Piovani 2018) I had described a *corpus* of recent Argentine journal articles based on empirical social research, under the assumption that they better represent the knowledge production model fostered within the World Academic System. In order to deepen this line of research, this article extends the analysis to *all* the publications of the *corpus*[9] based on empirical research (not only journal articles). In short, I address the following questions: what are the main characteristics of these publications in terms of methodological strategies, writing formats, citations, publishing patterns and impact? To what extent do they comply with the international models and standards of writing and publication? Are there any differences between journal articles, book chapters and conference papers, and between qualitative and quantitative studies? In other words, I focus on key methodological and technical aspects of the research in which the publications are based, their formal structure (organization and sections of the written report), the citations and bibliographic references included in them, the characteristics of the journals in which they were published (in the case of journal articles) and, although in a relatively limited way, their impact.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis is based on a *corpus* of 493 items published since the start of the expansion of the Argentine scientific system following the 2001/2002 crisis, and approximately until 2014. It includes all the publications selected by researchers participating in the PISAC program who carried out a comprehensive literature review of local social research.[10] Their goal was to portray and systematize recent contributions according to six thematic nuclei defined within PISAC: a) social structure; b) life conditions and welfare; c) state, government and public administration; d) citizenship, social conflict and social movements; e) social and cultural diversity; f) cultural production and consumption.

This thorough literature review was one of the three main research lines of PISAC. Six research teams with experts from different institutions and regions of the country worked collaboratively, each focusing on one of the above-mentioned thematic nuclei (Piovani 2015a). To carry out the project, the researchers first needed to identify the production of the Argentine social sciences during the period under study, in order to select a *corpus* of specific texts for the literature reviews. To achieve this, they used a series of complementary strategies and sources:

- Databases and repositories, using filters, keywords and descriptors.
- References provided by key informants (experts in each field).
- Journals' lists → article lists / author lists (in the case of non-indexed journals).
- Publisher lists → book collections → book titles → book indexes.
- Congress directories → lists of sessions → session directories/author lists.

[9] Note that the *corpus* analyzed for this article is not exactly the same as the one used in 2018 because 72 publications were added due to ongoing research on the topic.

[10] The review of the recent literature in the Argentine social sciences was one of the three lines of research of the PISAC Program. As director of the Program, I supervised the methodological design of this line of research, but I was not part of the teams of researchers that selected and analyzed the texts. For a detailed account of PISAC see Piovani (2015a; 2017).

- Directories of research centers and institutes → research groups → research lines → projects → productions framed in the projects.
- A "snowball" strategy, exploring the references of other works that had already been identified and selected.

Given the limited representation of local production in international databases and indexes, the research teams had to construct *ad hoc* databases of national social science journals, domestic publishers (or international publishing houses based in Argentina) that edit social science books, and local or international academic conferences that were held in Argentina during the period studied. In total, the teams identified over 400 journals; 129 publishers with 497 different book series or collections; and 382 academic conferences.

In the first phase, each team identified around 1,000 relevant publications that were classified using a *condensed survey form* (which included variables such as title, authorship, keywords, main thematic nucleus, type of publication, type of work, etc.). In the second phase, they selected around 10% of these publications in order to form the *corpus* of texts to be used in the literature reviews. Although this *corpus* is not the result of a probabilistic sampling procedure, it is highly representative because it includes publications selected by peers from different institutions and regions of the country. These publications were considered relevant for creating an integral account of the investigations conducted recently in Argentina on the above-mentioned thematic nuclei and their results. The *corpus* was constructed on the basis of a purposive sample, after organizing the contributions into four matrices:

1. Matrix of THEMES/DIMENSIONS/PERSPECTIVES (theoretical and methodological)/PROBLEMS/HYPOTHESIS (in relation to each of the thematic nuclei).

2. Matrix of REGIONS/INSTITUTIONS/AUTHOR PROFILES.

3. Matrix of TYPE OF PUBLICATION (book/book chapter/journal article/conference paper)/TYPE OF WORK (essay/theoretical research/empirical research, etc.).

4. Matrix of TEMPORALITIES (temporal delimitation as OBJECT OF ANALYSIS and as DATE OF PUBLICATION).

Each matrix had a variable number of cells. The subsequent juxtaposition of the different matrices multiplied the number of cells, with an increasing complexity that permitted reconstructing the heterogeneity of academic production. The idea was to produce a comprehensive frame of reference that would allow for a more complete coverage (thematic, regional, etc.) of the academic production. In short, the rationale was to deliberately control the bias that would emerge had the analysis focused exclusively on a single type of production, on a few authors from the same region or institution, on the same subject (or dimension) or on closely related perspectives (Piovani 2015a).

As already indicated, the publications included in the *corpus* were selected with the main purpose of producing literature reviews. But they were also used to generate inputs – primary data – for PISAC´s second line of research, which focuses on the institutions, actors, practices and products of the Argentine social science system and provides the framework for this article. In order to categorize the styles of academic production, a *standardized coding frame* was designed under my supervision and applied to every publication. This instrument included 28 items and dozens of sub-items, some

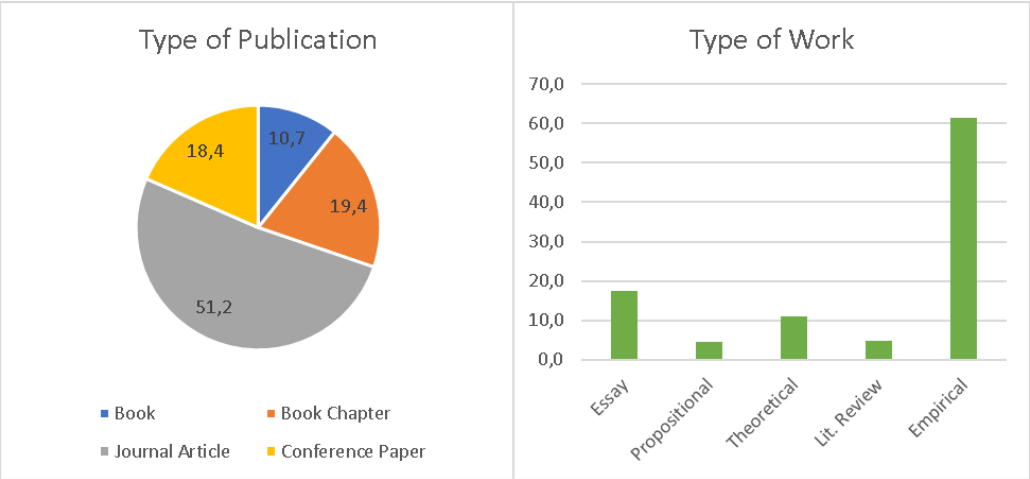
of which were general (like title, authorship, institutional affiliation, etc.) and others were specific with regards to each type of publication and work.[11]

The coding frame covered a wide range of issues related to the texts (structure, bibliography, impact, etc.), the research on which they were based (funding, collaboration, theoretical foundations, methodological strategies, research techniques, etc.), the authors (institutional affiliation, profile, etc.) and the publication formats (as well as the characteristics of the journals, in the case of articles). The data collection resulted in the development of a database containing 97 variables. Another 15 (complex, combined or summary) variables constructed from the processing of the data were then added. The statistical analysis was performed with the SPSS package and included mainly frequency distributions, descriptive measures (central tendency and deviation) and contingency tables.

RESULTS

We begin with a general overview of the *corpus*, without differentiating by type of publication or type of work. This is relevant because the *corpus* does not include only journal articles or works of an empirical nature. As shown in Figure 1, 10.7% of the publications are books; 19.4% are book chapters; 51.2% are scientific journal articles; and 18.4% are conference papers. As for the types of work, taking into account the definitions used in this research (see footnote 11), 17.5% are essays; 4.8% are propositional-normative studies; 11% are theoretical investigations; 5% are literature reviews; and 61.7% are empirical studies.

Figure 1: The *corpus*



Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

[11] Types of work: Essay (argumentation / reflection / personal opinion on a topic / problem, even if it contains theoretical and / or empirical references); Propositional - normative study (work whose main objective is to propose a determined social intervention, a specific social policy or a guide of action or practice, even if it contains theoretical and / or empirical references); Theoretical research (work that focuses on the systematic discussion of a perspective or concept, or on the conceptual construction of a theme / problem, perhaps containing references to empirical cases); State of the art - literature review (work that accounts, systematically, for the set of publications on an issue / problem); Empirical research (work that is based on the production and analysis of primary data applying any type of scientific methodology, or in the systematic analysis of secondary data, regardless of the inclusion of theoretical references).

Focusing exclusively on journal articles, book chapters and conference papers based on empirical research, the results show that 41.8% were produced within a formal (usually group) research project and 29.3% received funding. The main sources of funding were national universities, particularly in the cases of chapters, conference papers, and qualitative research. Although to a lesser extent, grants from the National Agency for the Promotion of Science and Technology (through FONCYT) and from the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET) were also important. The latter's funding was more significant for research published in the format of a journal article.

According to the information collected, 16% of the analyzed publications are the result of collaborative work (between research groups / institutions / countries), with a slightly higher percentage of national collaboration, as compared with international partnerships. Collaborative research is less frequent in journal articles (14.4%) and in qualitative research (10%), whereas international cooperation is far more significant in quantitative research, accounting for 9.5% of all quantitative studies (as compared with 2.3% of all qualitative ones).

As indicated by the data, 76% of the publications have what could be considered a theoretical or conceptual framework, while 56.7% include a state of the art / literature review and 38% contain a section dedicated to methods. Moreover, 39.5% have an explicit hypothesis. However, these figures varied significantly according to the type of publication and the methodological strategy (whether quantitative or qualitative). As shown in Table 1, the percentage of journal articles that include theoretical frameworks, literature reviews, sections on methods and explicitly stated hypotheses, is higher than those of book chapters and conference papers. The differences between publications based on quantitative and qualitative research, as shown in Table 2, are even more pronounced: the proportion of quantitative studies that include these four items is higher, and the gap is particularly noticeable in the case of the methodological section. On the whole, the highest level of compliance with the inclusion of all four items is found in journal articles based on quantitative methods: 81.3% have a conceptual framework; 64.6% include a literature review; 66.7% have a section dedicated to methods; and 52.5% present an explicit hypothesis.

Table 1: Percentage of publications that include the 4 selected items, according to type of publication

	Journal article	Chapter / conf. paper
Theoretical Framework	79.7	70.9
Literature Review	58.2	54.5
Methods	40.5	34.5
Hypothesis	43.1	34.5

Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

Table 2: Percentage of publications that include the 4 selected items, according to the methodological strategy

	Quantitative	Qualitative
Theoretical Framework	78.4%	75.4%
Literature Review	60.8%	48.5%
Methods	60.8%	26.9%
Hypothesis	45.9%	31.5%

Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

Apart from determining the percentage of publications that include a section dedicated to methods, the reporting of decisions regarding sampling, data collection and analysis was scrutinized. The results, presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5, show that data collection techniques are usually stated. In fact, they are identified in 78.6% of the publications. In contrast, in over 66% of the publications there are no concrete references to sampling procedures. The methodological decisions concerning these three aspects of the research are less often reported in book chapters and conference papers than in journal articles, but the differences are not considerable. When comparing quantitative and qualitative studies, it is evident that references to sampling and data analysis are more common among the former, whereas the reports of data collection techniques are more frequent in the latter. As expected, probabilistic sampling, standardized questionnaires and statistical analysis are overwhelmingly prevalent in quantitative research, at least in those that state the methodological techniques. In contrast, in qualitative studies the most common references are to purposive sampling, in-depth interviews, and content and discourse analysis.

Table 3: Sampling

Sampling	
Not stated	66.6%
Probabilistic	8.0%
Purposive	13.6%
Other	11.8%

Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

Table 4: Data collection techniques

Data Collection	
Not stated	21.4%
Questionnaire	18.9%
In depth Interview	35.5%
Other	24.2%

Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

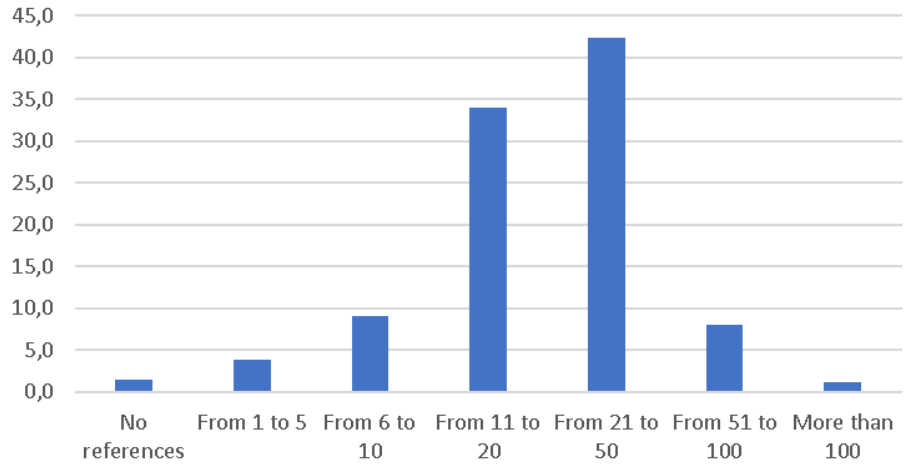
Table 5: Data analysis techniques

Data Analysis	
Not stated	36.1%
Statistical analysis	28.2%
Content analysis	18.5%
Other	17.2%

Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

Another thoroughly examined aspect was the bibliography provided in the publications. The first observation is that 1.5% do not include any references, and 3.8% contain between 1 and 5. The number of references in each publication, grouped in intervals, can be seen in Figure 2. Journal articles have a higher mean of references (26.1) and a lower standard deviation (15.1) compared with chapters and conference papers (mean: 24.7; standard deviation: 28.1). The differences in the mean of references are very slight between quantitative and qualitative studies, but the former have a much lower standard deviation (15.7 vs. 25.8).

Figure 2: Number of references



Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

The bibliographies also reveal that in 0.4% of the publications the most recent reference was published before the 1990s, while 5.4% had their latest reference from the 1990s, 69.8% from the 2000s, and 24.4% from the 2010s. The number of recent references (those published up to 10 years prior to the date of the analyzed work) was also considered. In this respect, it was determined that 3.8% of the publications had no such references; 16.5% had 1 to 5; 22.3% had 6 to 10; 27.7% had 11 to 20; 19.6% had 21 to 50; 9.6% had 51 to 100; and 0.4% had more than 100. As to its relative weight, these recent references accounted for 50% to 75% of the total bibliography in 36.2% of the publications, while in 35.8% there were over 75%.

The number of journal articles cited, grouped in intervals, is shown in Table 6. Over 10% of the publications do not include journal articles among their references, while 42.1% include up to 5.

Table 6: Number of journal articles cited

None	10.7%
From 1 to 5	42.1%
From 6 to 10	21.8%
From 11 to 20	10.3%
From 21 to 50	11.5%
From 51 to 100	3.4%

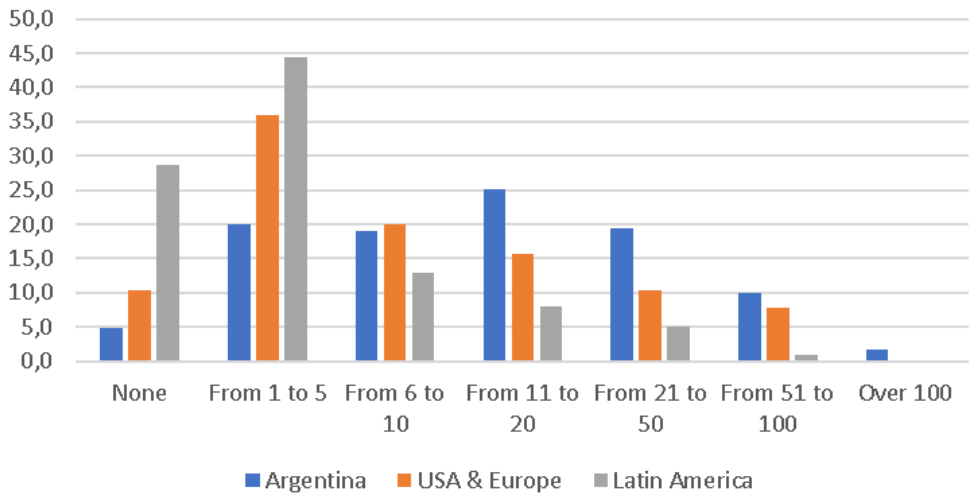
Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

In relative terms, journal articles account for up to 10% of the total reference list in 8.9% of the publications; between 10% and 25% in 30.2% of them, between 25% and 50% in 35.7%, and over 50% in 15.5%. Both the total number and the proportion of journal articles cited are higher in other journal articles and in quantitative research. In short, the citation of journal articles is particularly significant in other journal articles based on quantitative research, in which they represent, on average, 99.2% of the references.

Given that English is overwhelmingly regarded as the *lingua franca* in current scientific production, it seemed relevant to examine the inclusion of texts published in this language. Over 46% of the analyzed items do not reference any texts written in English, while 24.9% include up to 5 references in this language, and 10.3% contain between 6 and 10. Among those publications in which English texts are cited or referenced, their relative weight in the total bibliography is up to 10% in 16.7% of the cases; from 10% to 25% in 10.9%; from 25% to 50% in another 10.9%; and of more than 50% in 15.9% of the cases. The literature published in English appears to be more frequent in journal articles and quantitative studies, with both higher means and higher proportions in the reference lists. The mean of referenced English texts was 7.7 considering all types of publications, and it was 16.1 in the case of quantitative journal articles.

Figure 3 depicts the general pattern regarding the geographic origins of references in the bibliography. The percentage of publications that do not reference other Argentine texts is around 4.8%, clearly low if compared with the absence of references to US / European (10.3%) and Latin American (28.7%) texts. In the cases of the US / European and Latin American bibliography, the mode of distributions is the interval representing from 1 to 5 references, this being the situation in 36% and nearly 45% of the publications, respectively. The works of Argentine origin are the most referenced: more than 25% of the publications included between 11 and 20 texts of this origin.

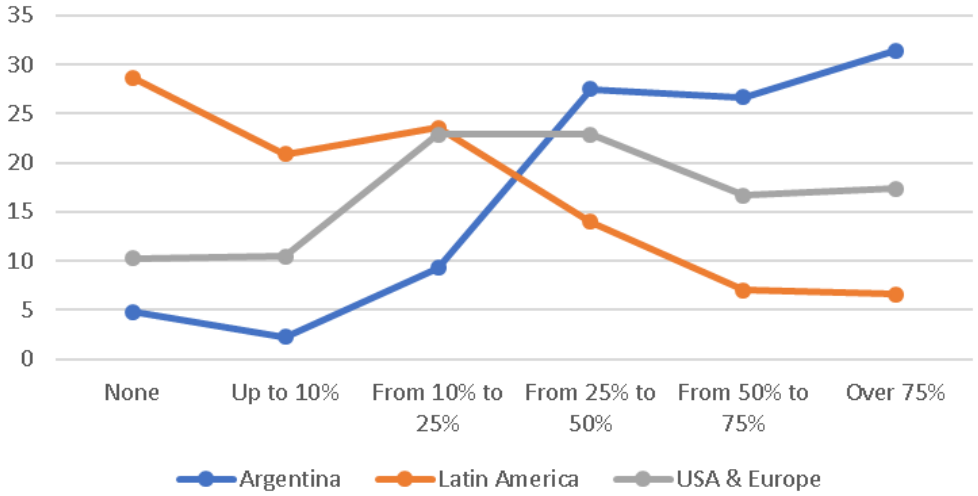
Figure 3: Number of references, according to its origin



Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

Figure 4 portrays the relative weight of the references based on geographic origin within the full bibliography of each publication. In more than 30% of the publications, Argentine literature accounts for over 75% of the total references. In the case of Latin American literature, it represents up to 25% of the references in 44.5% of the publications, and for more than 75% in only 6.6% of them. US / European texts are between 25% and 50% of the total references in 22.9% of the cases, and over 75% in 17.4%.

Figure 4: Percentage of references according to origin



Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

The number and relative weight of the literature of different origins vary according to the type of publication and the quantitative/qualitative methodological approach. The means of the references to Argentine, Latin American and US/European literature are higher in the cases of journal articles

and quantitative studies, and are particularly lower in chapters and conference papers (See Table 5). Quantitative journal articles have the highest means, especially in the case of the US/European literature. But the higher means in journal articles and quantitative studies were calculated in the context of very heterogeneous distributions, since some publications include many references while others have none or just a few. Therefore, these means also have to be considered in tandem with high standard deviations. With regard to the referenced Latin American literature, even though its mean is lower in qualitative studies, its proportion within the total list of references tends to be higher than in the case of quantitative studies. In addition, while only 25% of the qualitative studies contain no references to Latin American texts, this same situation is observed in 34.7% of the quantitative studies.

Table 7: Mean of references per publication, according to the origin of the references

	All publications	Journal articles	Chapters / conf. papers	Quantitative studies	Qualitative studies	Quant. journal articles
Argentine Literature	16.4	18.2	13.9	18.4	14.4	20.4
Latin American Literature	5.2	6.4	3.5	6.3	4.5	7.6
American & European Literature	13.2	17.0	7.8	16.8	12.1	20.2

Source: PISAC's database on Argentinian social science publications, 2002–2014

In the case of journal articles, which represent 58.2% of all the texts analyzed in this paper, it was also possible to examine certain publication patterns. These articles were published in 101 different journals, most of them edited in Argentina by national universities. Six articles is the maximum published in a single journal, and the average per journal is less than 2. Some of the best-known and more prestigious local journals, such as *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, *Trabajo y Sociedad* and *Desarrollo Económico,* are among those with the highest frequency of articles. Of the total, 77.8% of articles are peer-reviewed and 81.7% are included in indexed journals, with an overwhelming predominance in Latindex. Indeed, about 85.6% of the articles are included in journals registered in this database, although in many cases they only appear in the Directory, which is a mere list of periodicals and does not imply evaluation or indexation. The percentages of journals included in the regional databases SciELO and Redalyc (approximately 25%), as well as in the Directory of Open Access Journals DOAJ (20.8%), are also quite significant. The participation in the international mainstream circuit is rather exceptional: 4% are in SCOPUS and about 2.4% in WoS. Furthermore, 9.8% of the articles are published in printed journals, while 30.6% appear only in digital formats and 58.8% in journals that have both printed and digital versions. In the case of the quantitative journal articles, the proportion of peer-reviewed publications is slightly higher, as well as the percentage included in indexed journals (87.5%) and in the mainstream commercial circuit.

Finally, in relation to the impact of the publications, it was established that 68.4% are registered in Google Scholar (GS). However, the level of citations is generally low: 11.4% of the publications included in GS are not cited in other texts; 62.7% are cited between 1 and 5 times; 8.1% between 6 and 10 times; 8.6% between 11 and 20 times; 5.4% between 21 and 50 times and 3.8% more than 50 times. The proportion of journal articles included in GS (78.4%) is higher than that of chapters and

conference papers (54.5%). Moreover, among the former only 10% are not cited (compared to 13.8% in the case of the latter), and 4.2% are cited more than 50 times (vs. 3.1% of the chapters and conference papers). Likewise, quantitative studies are both proportionally more likely to be registered in GS and more cited than qualitative studies: among the former only 5.8% are not mentioned in GS (vs. 13.3% of the latter), and 30.8% are cited more than 5 times, compared to 22.2% in the case of the qualitative studies.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article focuses on publications based on empirical research and, amongst them, on a comparison between articles, chapters and conference papers, as well as between quantitative and qualitative research. Yet the first paragraph of the results section dealt with the general characteristics of the *corpus* from which the analyzed publications were extracted. This was intended to show that Argentine social scientists acknowledge a wide variety of types of publications and styles of research. To a certain extent, it can be affirmed that even though the *corpus* contains a majority of empirical works (more than 60%) and journal articles (more than 50%), the recognition of the latter as the sole valid format for academic texts is, at least, under dispute. This result is consistent with the many forms of resistance and collective action within the Argentine social science system, against the assessment policies that regard the scientific paper (in English) as the only legitimate scientific product, to the detriment of other types of publications, especially books and, more generally, texts in Spanish.[12] These actions, which can be framed within the growing practices of resistance against the international regime of publications in the global South (Beigel 2014), are based on a mixture of well-founded criticisms of this regime and defensive or culturalist reactions, as described by Martín (2013).

Turning specifically to the publications stemming from empirical research, it was found that most are based on qualitative studies. The predominance of this methodological orientation in recent Argentine social research has already been highlighted by Piovani (2015a) and Calvo *et al.* (2019), and it reaches much higher proportions in the case of doctoral dissertations – with the exception of disciplines such as economics and demography. This fact cannot be overlooked when analyzing the low proportion of publications that conform to the IMRAD model, since it is not widely used in texts that portray the results of case studies or field studies, as pointed out by the Writing Center of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.[13] This statement about the lesser diffusion of the IMRAD format in qualitative reports is in line with one of the findings of this study: the central components of this format – particularly the section dedicated to methods — appear more frequently in quantitative research, mainly in quantitative journal articles.

Beyond this traditional, dual classification of methods, the results reveal the heterogeneity of the Argentine academic field of social sciences in terms of scientific production. Unlike what Beigel

[12] Since 2012, for example, the Inter-institutional Commission for the Development of Evaluation Criteria for the Humanities and Social Sciences (CIECEHCS) has been formulating specific criteria for the evaluation of the production of the social sciences and humanities. This Commission was set up independently by a group of institutions and researchers, and has been a consistent advocate for the recognition of books and publications in Spanish, more generally. The National Council of the Schools of Social and Human Sciences (CODESOC) has also proposed an integral revision of the academic evaluation criteria used by universities and other scientific institutions, and different groups of researchers often publish open calls for greater local autonomy in the definition of such criteria.

[13] https://writing.wisc.edu/

(2017b) has shown with regard to the evaluative cultures, which are organized around a binary scheme (CONICET vs. universities), the panorama of the styles of production appear to be more complex. Indeed, in the case of research, writing and publishing, the CONICET/university cleavage, even if significant, does not fully explain the differences. Although the evidence confirms that the publications that best conform to international standards stem, in a higher proportion, from studies funded by CONICET, the researchers of this institution follow various research orientations and publication strategies (Gantman 2011; Baranger and Niño forthcoming).

Therefore, when it comes to the styles of production, there are other variables that are at play. In this paper, as in Calvo *et al.* (2019), the findings show that the methodological strategy is associated with the propensity to produce articles in the standard format: irrespective of the author's affiliation (CONICET or university), quantitative papers tend to adjust more to the IMRAD model or, at least, include some of its key sections. In addition, these quantitative papers are more likely to be published in mainstream journals. In turn, these journals, as key components of what Danell (2013: 179) defines as communication regimes, are "central in enforcing unifying standards for knowledge productions."

Calvo *et al.* (2019), as well as Gantman (2011), have found significance also in the country from which the researchers obtained their PhD. Academics with a PhD from English-speaking countries, and mainly from US and UK universities, tend to publish more in English and in mainstream journals, in which the writing formats are generally more standardized. Several factors may contribute to explain this, but all are somewhat related to the very characteristics of the core–periphery structure of the international social science field, as described by Heilbron (2014). Researchers who are trained in the US and the UK enjoy various advantages within this structure: a) familiarity with the criteria and logics of knowledge production and publication fostered within the mainstream circuit; b) less difficulties with the (English) language barrier, regarded as increasingly challenging to overcome (Danell 2013); and c) higher chances of developing networks with colleagues from the core countries, which may result in increased international collaborations. A study currently underway that focuses on linguistic skills and the use of foreign languages in scientific production puts these findings in perspective, particularly for the Argentine context. Based on a large sample of researchers from Argentina, Brazil and Chile,[14] the study reveals that only 3.6% of the Argentines completed their PhD in the US, compared to 8.5% among Brazilians (in addition to 7.9% who did it in the UK), and 21.2% in the case of the Chileans (in addition to 6.7% who did it in the UK). The total percentages of researchers with PhDs from Anglophone countries are 5.3% in Argentina, 17.4% in Brazil and 31.2% in Chile. Given the statistical relationship between having a doctorate from an English-speaking country and the propensity to publish in English in the mainstream circuit, these data shed light on Gibert Galassi's (2013) findings about the lower proportion of Argentine papers in the main international indexes, compared to Chilean and Brazilian articles.

Baranger and Niño (forthcoming), as well as Calvo *et al.* (2019), have also shown the importance of disciplinary adscription. The former authors have revealed that what they call *standard* and *proto standard* styles of publication, which imply adherence to the models of the natural sciences, are prevalent in biological anthropology, economics and psychology (presumably in its experimental and psychometric variants). In other disciplines such as social anthropology and sociology, the *localist* and *universalist* styles predominate. The case of political science is quite peculiar, given the influence of American academia in this field, which results in a more intense diffusion of the standard paper

[14] Project NEIES Mercosur # 3/2015: Academic internationalization in the Southern Cone. Comparative study of language skills of academics from selected universities in Chile, Brazil and Argentina.

model, as shown by Calvo *et al.* (2019).[15] Finally, the age of the researchers also has a significant impact. In this sense, Beigel (2017b) has analyzed what CONICET researchers regard as their best publications,[16] observing that the younger generations tend to select more articles published in mainstream journals. Indeed, out of their top five publications, social scientists under 45 choose, on average, 4.4 journal articles. For Beigel (2017b), this is evidence that the scientific paper is becoming increasingly hegemonic in all fields.

Both in quantitative and qualitative written reports – and irrespective of the criticisms of the IMRAD format or its uneven impact in the various social sciences – the high proportion of publications without an explicit account of the methodological decisions is striking. As indicated in the results, the references to sampling are virtually absent in the case of qualitative studies, even if a chapter or section dedicated to "qualitative sampling" is already standard in the specialized methodological literature. These results are relevant when thinking about research training and, more precisely, about the teaching of social research methods and techniques. Beyond possible deficits of technical training in specific issues such as qualitative sampling, previous research has shown that, in general, the teaching of methodology in Argentina tends to ignore the problem of scientific writing. Instead, it focuses almost exclusively on general epistemological and methodological debates, on research design and on data collection and analysis (Piovani 2014).

The findings related to the bibliography can also give way to some relevant remarks. First, it could be argued that the low relative presence of journal articles and texts in English in the reference lists is consistent with the scarce inclusion of literature reviews, as they are usually based on recent research and published in the form of journal articles in English. This hypothesis finds additional support in the usage statistics of the MINCYT's electronic library, which provides access to international databases to all public research and higher education institutions of the country. In the period between January 2008 and December 2017, social science researchers downloaded 2,263,192 articles, compared to the more than 30 million downloaded by their colleagues in the natural sciences. Furthermore, the average download per researcher per year was of 141 items in the natural sciences, compared with only 12 in the case of the social sciences.[17] All these statements do not fully apply to journal articles based on quantitative research, whose lists of references included a significant number of other journal articles, publications in English and international literature at large.

Regarding the origins of the works in the bibliography, the results indicate the high weight of local production and the relatively low presence of Latin American literature, despite the similarities of many socio-historical processes in the region. Although more in-depth studies are required, in the case of the Argentine social sciences, intraversion (Collyer 2018) does not seem to be the most adequate explanation for this finding. It is true that the Argentine academy has had a certain tendency towards self-referencing, but it is also true that local literature will be prevalent in any sizable academe, particularly when addressing issues of local interest. On the other hand, Latin American scholarship – particularly Mexican, Brazilian and Chilean – has always been highly regarded in Argentina, and the universities of the first two countries have been a classic destination for postgraduate training among Argentine social scientists. In any case, these results about the patterns of

[15] Unfortunately, the dataset used for this paper does not include detailed information about disciplinary adscription. However, most of the publications of the *corpus* can be linked to the four disciplines of CODESOC: sociology, political science, communication studies and social work.

[16] This information is included in the researchers' CV, produced with a standardized platform called SIGEVA.

[17] http://www.biblioteca.mincyt.gob.ar/estadisticas/disciplinas.

the bibliography indicate the impact of the emerging transnational regionalization (Heilbron 2014). This intraregional circulation of knowledge still seems rather incipient in this country despite the existence of well-established regional indexing systems and databases. In addition, international collaboration seems quite marginal, and its percentage in the sample is lower than the one found by Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras (2014) during the years 2008-2009 in peripheral regions such as Latin America.[18]

The much greater impact of American and European literature – yet lower than that of the local literature – is a clear indicator that the main centers of knowledge production still carry importance in the periphery, especially in relation to theoretical and methodological issues. This can be considered a typical example of extraversion, which "refers to the processes through which scholars of the South tend to be oriented toward Northern scholarship, finding theoretical frameworks and methodologies for their local studies" (Collyer 2018: 64). However, the limited proportion of journal articles and texts in English and in other European languages (French, German, Italian) suggests that the referenced American and European publications are mainly translated books. This preeminence of Euro-American literature in the Argentine social sciences has been previously considered by Baranger (2011) in his analysis of 3,618 papers presented at 4 national and regional academic conferences – in the fields of Sociology and Anthropology – held in Argentina between 2008 and 2009. The most cited scholars were, in this order, Bourdieu, Foucault, Marx and Weber. Other highly cited authors were Wacquant, Gramsci, Durkheim, Giddens, and Goffman. Interestingly, while the most cited theoretical authors were overwhelmingly Europeans (and mainly classics), in the case of methodological literature the citation of American and Argentine scholars was also relevant.

Turning now to the journal articles of the *corpus*, it is worth mentioning that most were published within the local circuit described by Beigel (2017b). This circuit is composed of non-indexed periodicals – or at least, not indexed in international commercial databases – typically edited by universities, and only tentatively attached to the international standards of the World Academic System.[19] The very limited percentages of journal articles included in the mainstream circuit – 4% in SCOPUS and approximately 2.4% in WoS – is consistent with the finding presented by Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras (2014). Instead, the much higher proportion of articles published in journals included in Latindex, SciELO and Redalyc provides empirical evidence of the development and strengthening of the regional alternative indexing systems and digital platforms (Beigel 2014; Heilbron 2014; Vessuri *et al.* 2014; Collyer 2018). The proportion of articles published in open access is also remarkable, a trend that has gained increasing institutional and legal support in Argentina in recent years.

Despite the high percentage of articles published in open access and/or in journals indexed in regional circuits, their impact, defined in terms of citations, is generally low. This may be due to several factors: First, with regard to international impact, intraversion may play a role (i.e. Southern publications are hardly cited by either Northern or Southern scholars). Second, international indexes – in which these articles are not included – are the main and legitimate means used by academics to locate references (Collyer 2018). Third, Argentine social science scholars have a tendency not to

[18] However, we must remember that this study and the one by Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras are based on incomparable samples due to their characteristics and the sources used for their construction.

[19] In fact, a survey initiated by PISAC and later completed by Beigel and Salatino (2015) showed the existence of more than 450 Argentine social and human sciences journals, most of them with limited circulation and visibility, and with non-professionalized editorial teams (Piovani 2015).

include literature reviews in the articles. Fourth, there is a low contribution of journal articles to the reference lists.

Analyzing the empirical evidence comprehensively, it is possible to put forward the hypothesis that the styles of production in the Argentine social sciences follow heterogeneous and heterodox patterns. A minority of texts conform to the standardized models (in terms of methods, writing styles and publication logics) and are legitimized in the core countries of the global social science field. There are also publications in the local or regional circuits, even if a few, that portray very standardized and "professional" formats. Another set of publications – more significant in proportion – is not only restricted to the local circuit, but also exhibits low attachment to the standards of professional social sciences (in the sense of Burawoy 2005). In addition, there are hybrid styles of production, with varying degrees of adherence to those standards as far as methods, writing formats and publication profiles are concerned. In short, the results show that regardless of the recent process of professionalization, "heterodox models" of academic production are still largely pervasive within the Argentine social sciences.

References

Alatas, Syed Farid (2003) Academic Dependency and the Global Division of Labour in the Social Sciences, *Current Sociology 51*(6): 599–613.

Baranger, Denis (2011) Antropología social y sociología argentinas: identidades disciplinares en cuatro congresos, *Revista Latinoamericana de Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales* 1(2): 23–59.

Baranger, Denis and Fernanda Niño (forthcoming) El espacio de las disciplinas sociales en el CONICET, in: Denis Baranger, Fernanda Beigel and Juan Ignacio Piovani (Eds.) *Las ciencias sociales en la Argentina contemporánea*, Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Bazerman, Charles (1988) *Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of the Experimental Article in Science*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Beigel, Fernanda (2014) Introduction: Current tensions and trends in the World Scientific System, *Current Sociology* 62(5): 617–625.

Beigel, Fernanda (2017a) Científicos Periféricos, entre Ariel y Calibán. Saberes Institucionales y Circuitos de Consagración en Argentina: Las Publicaciones de los Investigadores del CONICET, *Dados – Revista de Ciências Sociais* 60(3): 825–865.

Beigel, Fernanda (2017b) Un mapeo de las ciencias sociales argentinas, *Dialogo Global* 7(4): 31–36.

Beigel, Fernanda and Maximiliano Salatino (2015) Circuitos segmentados de consagración académica: las revistas de Ciencias Sociales y Humanas en la Argentina, *Información, cultura y sociedad* 32: 11–35.

Brain, Lord (1965) Structure of the Scientific Paper, *British Medical Journal* 2: 868–869.

Burawoy, Michael (2005) For Public Sociology, *American Sociological Review* 70: 4–28.

Calvo, Ernesto, Sofía Elverdín, Gabriel Kessler and María Victoria Murillo (2019) Investigando las influencias internacionales en las ciencias sociales argentinas, *Revista Latinoamericana de Metodología de las Ciencias Sociales* 9(2), https://doi.org/10.24215/18537863e055.

Collyer, Fran (2018) Global Patterns in the Publishing of Academic Knowledge: Global North, Global South, *Current Sociology* 66 (1): 56–73.

Danell, Rickard (2013) Geographical diversity and changing communication regimes. A study of publication activity and international citation patterns, in: Rickard Danell, Anna Larsson and Per Wisselgren (Eds.) *Social Science in Context: Historical, Sociological, and Global Perspectives*, Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 177–190.

Day, Robert A. (1989) The Origins of the Scientific Paper: The IMRAD Format, *American Medical Writers Association Journal* 4(2): 16–25.

Gantman, Ernesto R. (2011) La productividad científica argentina en ciencias sociales: economía, psicología, sociología y ciencia política en el CONICET (2004-2008), *Revista Española de Documentación Científica* 34(3): 408–425.

Gibert Galassi, Jorge (2013) *Autonomía y dependencia en las ciencias sociales latinoamericanas: un estudio de bibliometría, epistemología y política*, Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Guédon, Jean-Claude (2011) El acceso abierto y la división entre ciencia "principal" y "periférica," *Crítica y emancipació,* 6: 135–180.

Hanafi, Sari (2011) University systems in the Arab East: Publish globally and perish locally vs. publish locally and perish globally, *Current Sociology* 59(3): 291–309.

Heilbron, Johan (2014) The social sciences as an emerging global field, *Current Sociology* 62(5): 685–703.

Martín, Eloísa (2013) (Re)producción de desigualdades y (re)producción de conocimiento: La presencia latinoamericana en la publicación académica internacional en Ciencias Sociales, *desiguALdades.net. Working Papers Series,* 59, 1–29.

Mosbah-Natanson, Sébastien and Yves Gingras (2014) The globalization of social sciences? Evidence from a quantitative analysis of 30 years of production, collaboration and citations in the social sciences (1980–2009), *Current Sociology* 62(5): 626–646.

Ortiz, Renato (2009) *La supremacía del inglés en las ciencias sociales*, Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Peirano, Fernando, Nicolás Freibrun and Cecilia Sleiman (2015) "Las nuevas políticas públicas y el cambio en la representación social de los doctores," *Sociedad* 34: 5–11.

Piovani, Juan Ignacio (2014) La formazione metodologica dei ricercatori sociali in America Latina, *Sociologia e ricerca sociale* 104*:* 147–156.

Piovani, Juan Ignacio (2015a) El Programa de Investigación sobre la Sociedad Argentina Contemporánea. *Sociedad* 34: 85–105.

Piovani, Juan Ignacio (2015b) Algunos desafíos para la evaluación académica en Ciencias Sociales, *Controversias y Concurrencias Latinoamericanas* 7(12): 25–40.

Piovani, Juan Ignacio (2017) Argentina under scrutiny, *Global Dialogue* 7(4): 30–31.

Piovani, Juan Ignacio (2018) Estilos de producción en el campo de las ciencias sociales en Argentina. *CIC. Cuad. inf. com 23:* 125–141.

Sollaci, Luciana B. and Mauricio G. Pereira (2004) The introduction, methods, results, and discussion (IMRAD) structure: a fifty-year survey, *Journal of the Medical Library Association* 92(3): 364–371.

Unzué, Martín (2015) Nuevas políticas públicas de formación de doctores en Argentina, *Sociedad* 34: 12–34.

Vessuri, Hebe (1995) Recent strategies for adding value to scientific journals in Latin-America, *Scientometrics* 34(1): 139–161.

Vessuri, Hebe, Jean-Claude Guédon and Ana María Cetto (2014) Excellence or quality? Impact of the current competition regime on science and scientific publishing in Latin America and its implications for development, *Current Sociology* 62(5): 647–665.

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

FORUM

Strange Encounter of the Third Kind

W. E. B. Du Bois, C. L. R. James and Western Civilisation

Andreas Hess
a.hess@ucd.ie

INTRODUCTION

With the allegory of the Black Atlantic, the British sociologist Paul Gilroy tried to describe the long history of black people living in the Diaspora.[1] Additionally, Gilroy used the allegory as an argument against an increasingly popular Afrocentrism (Gilroy 1993: xi). A Diaspora history of at least 400 years spanning many generations in Latin America – particularly in Brazil – as well as in the Caribbean, the United States and the United Kingdom needs to be evaluated in its own right, argues the author. This implies that an exchange with the dominating culture remains a not to-be-neglected feature of life in the Diaspora. At the same time, the memory of Africa has and will continue to play an important role (ibid: 15ff).

Gilroy refers in his study to an intercultural learning process that contains two dimensions. First, Western countries are forced to reflect critically upon their own colonial history of domination. Second, black minorities in these countries come under pressure not to take refuge in myths like that of the return to Africa; instead they are asked to spell out what it means to be a citizen of the country in which they reside, with all the rights this entails. In the end Gilroy is hoping for a learning process where both sides can profit.

The anticipated outcome of such a successful learning process would be a new, self-critical form of perception that could help to reduce and perhaps even eliminate prejudice. In the long run this learning process could also be supportive of a more radical understanding of democracy, an understanding that would transcend the narrow frame of the Western nation state. Attempts to develop this idea have been made by anticolonial liberation theorists such as Frantz Fanon, the American writer Richard Wright, the founder of the American civil rights movement W. E. B. Du Bois, and the cultural critic C. L. R. James.[2]

[1] A version of this text first appeared in German in *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* (2/1997: 205-214). The text reproduced here is the original paper, first written in English and presented at a staff research seminar at the University of Sussex in the autumn of 1995.

[2] Gilroy refers repeatedly to these names not just in *The Black Atlantic* but also in his essay collection *Small Acts* (1993).

As progressive as it might seem at first sight, on mature reflection it is surprising how uncritically the learning process is described in *The Black Atlantic*. To be more precise: of course intercultural exchange is of great value, and nobody would argue that experiences in this respect are not enriching. After all, every cultural exchange which triggers a learning process is of significance – for both the individuals involved and the whole society. However, such an exchange does not take place in a context-free or ahistorical environment; the price to be paid for being naive in this regard can be quite high.

W. E. B. Du Bois's complex process of radicalisation might serve as an example. Was it just by chance that Du Bois, having received a classical European education and after a long stay in Berlin, suggested a charismatic "black Bismarck" for the American civil rights movement? Did Du Bois learn from sociologist Max Weber and the nationalist historian von Treitschke that it was necessary to have charismatic leaders and national heroes in order to write progressive history? And was it just by chance that the late Du Bois became a fellow traveller of the American Communist Party who would celebrate Stalin as the great leader who managed to unite the different nations of the Soviet Union? The road from Bismarck to Stalin might not be as long and winding as it at first appears. Rather, I suspect – and this is the main hypothesis presented in this paper – that the non-reflexive intercultural exchange has its price. In this article I aim to demonstrate that the dialogue with Western civilisation had results that were far more complex for black intellectuals than Gilroy claims. The two different approaches of W. E. B. Du Bois and C. L. R. James to Marxism are particularly striking examples of the chances and risks involved in such a dialogue.

The following sections do not claim to provide new biographical evidence or to present new facts. The objective is rather to highlight some fine but nevertheless important distinctions. Furthermore, I do not aim at a comprehensive rejection of Paul Gilroy's arguments concerning the black Diaspora; my point is rather to argue against an uncritical tendency to create heroes in a context where iconography is not really an advantage and can, if uncritically supported, have detrimental effect.

FROM DEMOCRATIC CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST TO DOGMATIC FELLOW TRAVELLER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY: W. E. B. DU BOIS

The life of W. E. B. Du Bois can be described as a radicalisation process. Du Bois started out as a young student fascinated by and committed to humanist education. However, once he experienced the limitations of such an approach (and that of academia more generally), he turned into a radical liberal and civil rights activist who demanded the fulfilment of America's democratic promises. In his later years and due to a combination of factors – disappointment with the lack of progress being one – Du Bois became a dogmatic Stalinist.[3]

Du Bois grew up in New England, but it was in the South at Fisk University (Tennessee) where he first received a classical European education. At Fisk University, Greek, Latin, German, theology, natural sciences, philosophy, and history were all part of the syllabus. It seems that this combination of black southern life and classical European education influenced Du Bois considerably. In 1888, he was offered a place at Harvard University. Later in life Du Bois would comment about the twelve

[3] Details about Du Bois's life can be found in his three autobiographies: *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, (1920); "Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept" (1940/reprinted in Du Bois 1986); and *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois* (1968). Additional information can be obtained through David Levering Lewis's excellent biography *W. E. B. Du Bois – Biography of a Race* (1993).

years he spent at the famous institution: "He was in Harvard but not of it" (as quoted in Lewis 1993: 80). Du Bois referred here mainly to the tension between his admiration of that particular institution and the fact that his world had changed after having experienced the South.

Despite the tensions in terms of different learning experiences, Harvard contributed considerably to widening Du Bois's intellectual horizon. Whereas he had received his basic European *Bildung* at Fisk University, it was at Harvard where Du Bois honed his knowledge in philosophy and history. William James and George Santayana, who were Du Bois's instructors at Harvard, need to be mentioned here. Marxism or radical forms of sociology were not taught at the time. Education at an Ivy League university meant that people of colour, who were few and far between in these institutions anyway, saw the future advancement of African Americans as achievable through philosophy and higher education rather than through radical action or politics. Du Bois's subsequent notion of the "educated tenth" certainly stems from the way he was taught at Harvard.

The elitist emphasis on education led to Du Bois's decision to go to Europe. Once he had received a classical education in Europe and particularly from a German university – the institutional incarnation of what *Bildung* meant – the educated part of the American public would listen to what he had to say, or at least so he thought. For almost two years Du Bois was a student at the Friedrich Wilhelm University (later Humboldt University). He sat in seminars of the historian Heinrich von Treitschke, listened to lectures of the political economist Adolf Wagner, and attended the lectures of Gustav von Schmoller, the then leading German economist. Du Bois also met the sociologist Max Weber.

When looking back at his experiences, it is surprising how enthusiastically Du Bois commented on his experiences in Germany and Europe. It seems that Du Bois as a student was welcomed everywhere he went, whether it was the German family with whom he stayed or when joining a meeting of the chapter of the local Social Democratic Party. Du Bois himself explained this warm welcome rather naively with having been a visitor in the land of classical humanism. A more realistic explanation is that Du Bois was in contact with people who were academically trained, had travelled, were internationalist in outlook, and belonged to the small urban intellectual elite. In short, Du Bois experienced a highly selective rather than a representative Germany.

After his return to the U. S. nothing suggested a renunciation of the idea of the enlightened "educated tenth" and improvement through *Bildung*. His doctoral dissertation *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* contains critical elements, but social and political conflicts were still explained by reference to character rather than society (Du Bois 1896/reprinted in Du Bois 1986). On the subject of ethnic conflict, Du Bois held on to questionable European traditions as it becomes clear in one of his early essays with the revealing title "The Conservation of Races." (Du Bois in Lewis, ed., 1995: 20-27) Change came about later, when Du Bois stayed at the University of Philadelphia. The purpose of his stay was to study the largest black community in the East. Working on this project made it possible for Du Bois to combine his intellectual interest with his subjective experience. *The Philadelphia Negro* was a distinguished study in that it constitutes the first empirical sociological study of a large black community (Du Bois 1899).

At present it is considered to be a milestone in the development of American Sociology. The study established that extreme social inequality and poverty were rather dubious achievements of capitalist development. African Americans were freed from slavery only to enter another form of social stratification and degradation (Du Bois in Lewis 1995: 162ff). In his study Du Bois shows that black struggle for acceptance was far from over; it had only changed its form. Du Bois analyses the system of social stratification, but in doing so he does not study the problems of capitalist relationships in

the sphere of production; rather he looks at uncivilised attitudes in modern American society, hence his insistence and warning to remember the standards of civilisation. Du Bois still appeals to what he sees as the power of enlightenment, as if capitalism were just a misunderstanding, something that modern society could get rid of simply by appealing to common sense. Even later at the University of Atlanta, where Du Bois was promoted to professor, he still appealed to reason and to the power of *Bildung*.

The later controversy with Du Bois's counterpart Booker T. Washington revealed a more developed concern for political and social rights. But even then Du Bois's main argument remained hidden underneath the debate about the significance of professional training and education for young black people. Only with the Niagara Movement, the founding of the magazine *Crisis*, his participation in the NAACP, and his organisation of Pan African Congresses did Du Bois change. While he was still not inclined to give up the idea and ideals of the Enlightenment and education, his opinions shifted considerably in that he now paid more attention to the unfulfilled promises of American democracy and issues such as social and political recognition. The period between 1910 and 1934, the time in which Du Bois's work had a major impact on the NAACP, seems retrospectively to have been his most productive. It was during this period that Du Bois became a radical democrat who fought against all circumstances which denied political and social recognition of black people in the United States and elsewhere.

Du Bois pursued a strategy which tried to mediate between particularism and universalism, almost in a Hegelian sense: he made a particularistic argument when he suggested forming black organisations along the colour line; his arguments took on a universalist meaning because the result of such forms of organisation benefited all of humanity and civilisation in the end.

Increasingly, Du Bois also referred now to experiences and encounters he had during long journeys in Europe, the Soviet Union, Africa, and Asia. He was especially impressed by what he saw on his first journey to the Soviet Union in 1926. Yet these impressions did not prevent him from making critical remarks about Marxism as an analytical tool. This becomes clear in an article entitled "Marxism and the Negro Problem," which he wrote for the NAACP house journal *Crisis*. In this essay Du Bois hints at the peculiar dimensions of the experiences of black workers which differentiate them from the white proletariat. For the same reason Du Bois was highly sceptical about communist attempts to organise the black working class. At the end of the above mentioned article he wrote:

> Marxian philosophy is a true diagnosis of the situation in Europe in the middle of the 19th Century despite some of its logical difficulties. But it must be modified in the United States of America and especially so far as the Negro group is concerned. The Negro is exploited to a degree that means poverty, crime, delinquency and indigence. And that exploitation comes not from a black capitalist class but from the white capitalists and equally from the white proletariat. His only defence is such internal organisation as will protect him from both parties. (Du Bois in Lewis, ed. 1995: 543).

As the quote reveals, Du Bois saw communism not as an end in itself and Marxism simply as an analytic tool to improve the conditions of African Americans. In other words, if Marxism could not explain the peculiarities of black people's experiences in the United States, and if socialist and communist organisations were reluctant to take those specific conditions into account, it was necessary to explore other alternatives. It is precisely this pragmatic attitude of Du Bois that also made him a firm critic of the Socialist Party and La Follette's Progressive Party. It might also explain the sympathy he held for Franklin D. Roosevelt. The New Deal, the emphasis on good race relations, and the circumstances of World War II – as Du Bois argued – contributed more to the abolition of discrimi-

nation than the policies of Roosevelt's predecessors or the proposals of radical opposition leaders (ibid: 480f and 482ff).

A change of circumstances might explain Du Bois's shift from being a supporter of the *Bildungsideal* and a radical democrat to becoming a fellow traveller of the American Communist Party. In particular, his disappointment from the insufficient advancement of black people in the United States played a decisive role. In Du Bois's view, there was nothing that African Americans had not tried in order to be recognised as citizens of equal status: Did black people not fight side by side with white people in the Second World War to save Europe from National Socialist barbarism? After all, despite all the appeals to reason, the norms of civilisation, the educated elites, and the institutions of higher learning, black people still had not received recognition. Contradictions between the norms and practices of American democracy continued to loom large.

A second contributing factor that might explain Du Bois's shift was the process of decolonisation especially in Africa after the Second World War. In Du Bois's view it was the socialist countries – first the Soviet Union and later China – that had been supportive of nation building processes in the developing world. This stood in sharp contrast to American foreign policy especially during the Cold War. Du Bois's interests shifted more and more towards international politics; while he previously had criticised the U.S. for its dealing with "internal" problems such as racial discrimination, he now criticised American foreign policy just as passionately. However, it was problematic that he did not realise how his preoccupation with the rights of black people in the USA had disappeared beneath his new rhetoric of world peace. He was also unable to see how his celebrity status was being used by communist countries to accuse "racist America."

Not much remained of the radical democrat Du Bois. The following two examples demonstrate how uncritical he had become. In the report of his second journey when Du Bois met Chairman Mao, not only did he mention the "historically necessary invasion" of Tibet, but also the "happily smiling citizens" of China. He talked about a country in which people did not have to suffer social inequality, where women were treated as equal, prostitution had been abolished, and socialism had become real (Du Bois 1968: 44). The report is full of socialist prose. The following quote from the end of the China 'fairy tale' is typical: "I've seen the world. But never so vast and glorious a miracle as China… Oh beautiful, patient, self-sacrificing China, despised and unforgettable, victorious and forgiving." (ibid: 53) Worse only is Du Bois's obituary of Stalin where he wrote the following eulogy:

> Joseph Stalin was a great man: few other men of the 20th century approach his stature. He was simple, calm, courageous. He seldom lost his poise; he pondered his problems slowly, made his decisions clearly and firmly… he was the son of a serf, but stood calmly before the great without hesitation or nerves … he was a great man who sought deeply, read understandingly and listened to wisdom, no matter whence it came. (Du Bois in Lewis, ed., 1995: 796).

Especially alarming in this obituary is the uncritical attitude concerning Stalin's policy towards ethnic minorities and smaller nations: "As one of the despised minorities of man, he first set Russia on the road to conquer race prejudice and made one nation out of its 140 groups without destroying their individuality" (ibid: 796). Du Bois did not hesitate to legitimate the destruction of the Russian peasants and the kulaks; he also did not hold back in his sympathy for the ice pick murder of Leon Trotsky. All this stands in clear contrast to the earlier positions held by Du Bois. How did it become possible to legitimate Stalinism while at the same time holding on to the utopian idea of civilised progress? The answer to this question sounds almost absurd: During his lifetime Du Bois always had a problem with Marxist theory but never had a problem with Marxist praxis – at least not after he

left the NAACP. For Du Bois, communist praxis symbolised the practice of enlightenment. The price that Du Bois paid was high. Leaning towards communism as it actually existed in practice meant a "reduction of complexity" (Luhmann): the ideal of higher education through the "educated tenth" became real in educational dictatorship. Here an interesting parallel with German intellectuals during National Socialism and communism in the former GDR emerges. *Bildung* did not prevent people from supporting dictatorships; that was and still is possible only by following democratic paths. In this respect Du Bois was perhaps not enough of an Atlantic thinker. For him, only the *Bildungsideal* stemmed from the West; Du Bois followed the maxim *ex oriente lux* regarding political and social liberation.

FROM DOGMATIC TROTSKYIST TO RADICAL CULTURAL CRITIC: C. L. R. JAMES

While in Du Bois's case we can observe a development of radicalisation from a liberal education, then to radical democrat, and finally to uncritical supporter of the communist party, the case of C. L. R. James is very different. James's learning process can be described as a development from dogmatic Trotskyism to a pluralistic, democratic, and open, if not to say "liberal", Marxism. Compared to Du Bois, James's intellectual and political development seems to have been a more mediated process. Two phases can be distinguished: one that has a more political dimension with remarkable parallels to fellow Trotskyite Isaac Deutscher; and one that is more oriented to cultural criticism with parallels to Walter Benjamin.

Looking at James's life, it becomes clear that he was more of an Atlantic thinker than Du Bois, who – with the exception of his last two years – always had his home in the U.S.[4] Born in Trinidad, James had an early interest in literature and writing; additionally he discovered a passion for cricket. James first made his name as a sports commentator. In 1932, James came to England and managed to get a job as a sports correspondent for the Manchester Guardian. James also had an early interest in politics – quite unlike Du Bois. The young emigrant found his first political home in Trotskyist circles; in 1934 he joined the Independent Labour Party. In his politically active time in England, James wrote two books: *World Revolution 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International* (1937) and *Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1938). The first study was a critique of Stalinist policies of the Comintern. What is remarkable about James's critique is the historical acquittal of Lenin whom James treats as a charismatic leader and whose early death in the author's view accelerated the power struggles between different factions. It does not have to be stressed here that such a viewpoint wants to offer another charismatic leader, Trotsky, as the alternative to Stalin. Instead of being a serious and critical historical study, James's analysis became a pamphlet of justification for a particular political tendency.

It is a different case with *The Black Jacobins*. Although the author does again play with the idea of the unfinished revolution, the political message is put on the back burner. This is to the advantage of a serious discussion of the historical material at hand, resulting in a study that becomes more than just a historical footnote to the event that was the French Revolution. However, today we read *Black Jacobins* mainly as a pioneering work in its own right because of its paying tribute to long neglected aspects of the black Diaspora's liberation history.

[4] Details about James's life can be found in Paul Buhle's monograph (1988) *C.L.R. James. The Artist as Revolutionary*, and in Anna Grimshaw's introduction to *The C.L.R. James Reader* (ed. Anna Grimshaw, 1992: 1-22).

James moved to the U.S. during the same year when *The Black Jacobins* was published. As one would expect, his first contact on arrival was with Trotskyist comrades. He flirted first with the American Socialist Party, before becoming a member of the Workers Party (WP). Later he found a political home in the Johnson-Forest Tendency of the WP (where James worked together with Raya Dunayewskaya).

This short overview makes it clear that James was sucked into sectarian politics – a common and still current feature among Trotskyist circles in the U.S. However, James soon opened up – and changed. His change had obviously something to do with his attempt to come to terms with the peculiarities of American life. The change would also have a major impact on his future writings. Why? The American experience was very important, because it encouraged James to say farewell to an elitist concept of "high" culture. Additionally, it led James to favour political analyses and views that were no longer sectarian, but instead were open to new experiences and to a dialogue with a much broader public.

To be sure, there were moments in James's earlier life when he favoured popular culture. This is particularly obvious in his writings on cricket.[5] But only in America did James succeed in combining his views on the civilising process and popular culture with critical Marxism. Like Walter Benjamin in his essay on *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Benjamin 1935/1961) James stresses that mechanically produced art for the masses could serve as a starting point for human emancipation. He saw modern art almost as an open window through which it is possible to look into the future of the civilising process. In his letters to Constance Webb, James made this remark on modern mass media:

> The picture exceeded in results my greatest hopes. Not only Hollywood but everywhere the masses loved it... It is revolutionary. Why? Because the more the technical discoveries of capitalism bring culture to the masses, the more they resent the degradation and humiliation of their role in production – the grinding slavery of the machine... Today an intelligent worker sees the same films, reads the same best-sellers, hears the same radio speeches, same newspapers, etc., as the bourgeoisie. The gap between the classes is becoming increasingly narrow. (James in Grimshaw, 1992: 131).

Because he lived longer and because he experienced the U.S., James managed to see further than Benjamin. He saw that with the exception of the United Kingdom, the whole of Europe had been conquered by fascism and that it was up to the U.S., that "wonderful democracy," to inherit Western civilisation and save it from barbarism. If there were ever to be a society that could fulfil the promises of democracy it would be the United States. Analysing and interpreting American literature, particularly the works of Walt Whitman and Herman Melville, James observed:

> Because of the peculiarly free conditions of democracy in the United States, the American intellectuals as a social group were the first to face as a practical question the beginnings of a problem which has been fully recognised during the last twenty years – the relation of individuals to democracy as a whole. By contrast, in Europe, this question was narrowed and concretised by all sorts of special conditions. (ibid: 202).

The discussion of the relationship between individuals and society culminated in the question of what positions intellectuals should hold in a democracy – a question that was never raised by Du

[5] How cricket can become an allegory for an entire life is beautifully demonstrated in C. L. R. James' autobiographical *Beyond a Boundary* (1963).

Bois in a similarly sophisticated manner.[6] James saw a particular new moment in that the twentieth century was the first century in which the "masses" entered the stage of history. From this observation James deduced that intellectuals and critics would find acknowledgement and only be successful if they reflected on this new condition. He referred to historical examples such as Shakespeare to stress that only thinkers who were able to interpret the signs of the times became influential intellectual figures. Their dialogue with a larger public was particularly crucial in this respect.

James hypothesised that in Europe the "old fashioned" intellectual still dominated public debate, whereas in the United States intellectuals were much closer to and in dialogue with contemporary popular culture:

> This is the division between the culture of the intellectuals and educated people and the desire of the mass to interest itself and amuse itself and be stimulated. It was never so sharp as in the much vaunted nineteenth century. And it is this division which in my opinion the twentieth century has to break down. I see in the United States a very clear, immensely interesting current of activity and mass response which seems to me to be the road to the future. (James in Grimshaw, 1992: 228).

This quote shows that to have the finger on the pulse of the times was essential for James – and this was more likely to be experienced in America than in Europe.

One cannot imagine what it meant at the time for C. L. R James to have been expelled back to the United Kingdom (on grounds not related to politics). What happened after his return can be described as a true transatlantic odyssey. Back in England James first resumed his work as a cricket reporter for the Manchester Guardian. However, in 1958 he returned to Trinidad. He travelled again to England in 1962 only to go back to Trinidad again in 1965. In the following years James was invited to lecture in a number of East and West African countries. He was in contact with Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, of whom he would later become more critical. In contrast to the late W. E. B. Du Bois, James always insisted on democratic means in the new nation building process. Taking into consideration his political criticism of U.S. policy, it was nevertheless James's faith in the democratic potential of the United States that made him insist on the "democratic question." He remained convinced that there was a relationship between means and ends in democracy. In other words, if the new African nation states were not democratic, then this might have something to do with the path they had pursued and the means they had chosen. Not all the failures could be attributed to the former colonial powers.

James's argument does not stop there. He was of the view that the new nations – and particularly the new African nations – had to fulfil a most important task, namely to function as interlocutors, reminders, correctives, and inheritors of Western civilisation. Distinct from the late Du Bois, who in this regard thought about an enlightened *Bildungselite*, James discussed the matter more in terms of mass participation and collective learning processes. It is precisely this radical concept and understanding which prevented James from becoming part of the new postcolonial elite, and it is not by accident that while the late Du Bois was officially received by Mao and Nkrumah, the late James spent his last years in his little flat in Brixton watching cricket – far removed from any new postcolonial power elite.

[6] For the discussion of the relationship between individual beings and society and between intellectuals and democracy, see James's texts "Whitman and Melville," "Letters to Literary Critics," "Notes on Hamlet," "Popular Art and the Cultural Tradition," and "Preface to Criticism," all reprinted in Grimshaw 1992: 202-260.

GETTING THE REDUCTION OF COMPLEXITY RIGHT

When observing the life trajectories of Du Bois and James, one begins to doubt whether the picture of the Diaspora as described by Paul Gilroy captures the Black Atlantic comprehensively and with all of its complexities and contradictions. The picture becomes even more complex if one takes a closer look at the different receptions of Western civilisation as approached and interpreted by two different traditions of Marxism.

The turn to Marxism enables one to pursue two different paths: one to democracy (James) and one that tolerates dictatorships (Du Bois). Observing the two life trajectories of Du Bois and James more closely, it quickly becomes obvious that different subjective moments and distinct, objective historical conditions explain the two respective receptions of Marxism. In the case of Du Bois, the turn to Marxism came very late, at the end of a long learning and radicalisation process, marked largely by disappointment about the lack of progress in the U.S. The moment of decision was in fact at the peak of the Cold War. Under the most unfavourable circumstances, these subjective and objective moments converged and reinforced each other.

James's case is different, as his early decision in favour of Marxism came at a moment when the process of Stalinisation in the Soviet Union was being passionately discussed for the first time, particularly in Trotskyist circles. Hence, James had been warned. Seen from a historical perspective, James was in a better position. Favourable conditions gave more room for intellectual manoeuvre.

A second distinctive feature has to do with how the two intellectuals dealt differently with their cultural capital or, to use the more appropriate German term here, *Bildungskapital*. Du Bois used his knowledge to gain political power, while James used his knowledge to criticise political power. Their different perceptions and use of Marxism as a theoretical and practical tool were both the cause and reflection of how they interpreted the relationship between knowledge and power.

As such, Du Bois's and James's different Marxist views also mirror the differences between Western and Eastern Marxism. These differences have been described as a difference between an ideology as a legitimation of political power on one hand, and an ideology as a tool for oppositional critique of political power on the other hand. The whole story becomes even more complex when one reflects on Du Bois's and James's respective interpretations of Marxism in the context of the long history of the black Diaspora. It becomes clear then that the history of different approaches towards Marxism in the context of the Diaspora, liberation movements, decolonisation, and nation building processes still needs to be written. While this article does not have the space to develop this idea, it can only to point towards a considerable historical "black box" and the necessity for such a study.

It has justly been stressed that after 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, the contrast between Western and Eastern Marxism has largely become history, perhaps a distinction necessary for historians to deal with but no longer of practical importance. Yet it would be too easy to dismiss Marxism with its emphasis on progress, its belief in the Enlightenment, and its vision of a conflict-free utopian society simply as a part of the European history of ideas. Referring to the Diaspora, these matters become more complex than they seem at first. Is it not the history of the black Diaspora and the "black Atlantic," with all its contradictions, that constantly reminds us of the normative democratic concepts of freedom and equality, i.e. the values that often appear to be European in origin (including their denial), but which are now so universally understood? In this respect, the different receptions of Marxism by Du Bois and James might symbolise two possible attempts to come to terms with the complex legacy of Western civilisation.

In the end it can be argued, against Gilroy, that in order to fully appreciate the contributions of the two Atlantic thinkers, Du Bois and James, a less idolizing and more anti-authoritarian approach towards black leadership and its role in developing political democracy is in order. Using the allegory of the Black Atlantic to construct a new, perhaps more democratic utopia, but without any conceptual tools that would allow one to be critical of both metropolitan colonisers and anticolonial sentiment, remains, theoretically speaking, a highly ambivalent achievement.

References

Benjamin, Walter (1935) Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit, in: Walter Benjamin (1961) *Illuminationen*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 148–184.

Buhle, Paul (1988) *C.L.R. James. The Artist as Revolutionary*, London/New York: Verso.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1896) The Suppression of the African Slave Trade, reprinted in: W. E. B. Du Bois (1986) *Writings*, New York: Library of America.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1899) *The Philadelphia Negro*, Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1920) *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, New York: Harcourt Brace.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1940) Dusk of Dawn: An Essay toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept, reprinted in: W. E. B. Du Bois (1986) *Writing*s, New York: Library of America.

Du Bois, W. E, B. (1953) On Stalin, reprinted in: David Levering Lewis (ed.) (1995) *W. E. B. Du Bois – A Reader*, New York: Henry Holt.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1968) *The Autobiography of W. E. B. Du Bois*, New York: International Publishers.

Gilroy, Paul (1993) *The Black Atlantic*, London and New York: Verso.

Gilroy, Paul (1993) *Small Acts*, London: Serpent's Tail.

Grimshaw, Anna (1992) *The C.L.R. James Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell.

James, C. L. R. (1937) *World Revolution 1917-1936*, London: Secker and Warburg.

James, C. L. R. (1938) *The Black Jacobins*, London: Secker and Warburg.

James, C. L. R. (1963) *Beyond a Boundary*, London: Paul and Hutchinson.

Lewis, David Levering (1993) *W. E. B. Du Bois – Biography of a Race*, New York: Henry Holt.

Lewis, David Levering (Ed.) (1995) *W. E. B. Du Bois – A Reader*, New York: Henry Holt.

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

BOOK REVIEW

Putting (social) science in its place(s)

Leandro Rodriguez Medina
leandro.rodriguez@udlap.mx

Heilbron, Johan, Sorá, Gustavo, and Boncourt, Thibaud (eds). 2018. *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*. London: Palgrave.
371 pp.
ISBN 978-3-319-73298-5
Price: €128,39

There is an increasing interest in the production and circulation of knowledge at a global scale. As usual, the STEM disciplines have attracted more attention, perhaps due to the widespread diffusion of the products of their knowledge, from vaccines to new materials. For the social sciences, there is a lack of in-depth understanding of their relation with the spaces in which they are produced, whether it is at the local level (is there anything similar to laboratory studies in the social sciences?) or the international level (is there a global social science? How does social science knowledge circulate? Are the international relations of the social sciences shaping their content, perhaps Americanizing all local landscapes?). *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*, edited by Johan Heilbron, Gustavo Sorá, and Thibaud Boncourt, provides one of the first comprehensive answers to the latter questions, making it timely, relevant, and groundbreaking.

The book is divided into four parts. In Part I, "Patterns of Internationalization," Heilbron and Gingras present a general map of European social sciences in the last decades from a bibliometric perspective, while Sapiro analyzes what factors determine the international circulation of scholarly books, paying special attention to translations from/to English and French. The section ends with a chapter by Boncourt on the institutionalization of international professional associations in sociology and political science. In Part II, "Transnational Regionalization," Sorá and Blanco focus on the patterns of development within Latin American social sciences, showing how Latin American regionalization of cultural production is usually an outcome of the lack of local conditions and/or a defiance of hegemonic centers. In contrast, Heilbron, Boncourt and Timans study the European Research Area in the social and human sciences, critically assessing the impact of American hegemony. Part III, "South-North Relations," consists of four chapters. Leperlier introduces the post-colonial internationality of Algerian academics, updating much of the discussion about the peripherality of scholars(hip) and the dilemma faced by non-Western social sciences. Blanco and Wilkis focus on Argentine sociology to observe trends in internationalization, while Canedo presents an historic overview of the role of the Ford Foundation in the institutionalization of Brazilian political science. Finally, Sorá and Dujovne compare translations from English, French, Italian, German, and Portuguese in Argentine social science to question the predominance of English and how the use of language in the academic world connects to more general intellectual and scholarly tendencies.

In the last part of the book, East-West Relations, Karady and Nagy summarize seven decades of Hungarian social science to show how the Westernization of the field has been seen many times as an attempt to free themselves from authoritarian rule and policies that shaped the local production of knowledge during the Cold War and beyond. The last chapter, by Brisson, Jeanpierre and Lee, is a comparative analysis of Korean and Japanese social sciences, observing similar patterns – such as the presence of a strong institutional arrangement in both countries – as well as differences – such as their different reactions to American social science.

The main strengths of this book are that it has a diverse geographic scope and plural methodologies, and that it is politically sensitive. By recognizing the particularities of certain areas of knowledge production, such as Western Europe, Latin America, Algeria, Hungary, Korea, and Japan, the authors acknowledge not only the relevance of geographical particularities but also the need to challenge simple frameworks to understand the circulation of knowledge. The economic and political crises of Latin American countries, the appropriation of a modernization discourse in Japan, and the consequences for the academic book market in Hungary after the fall of the Berlin Wall illustrate the diversity of situations that prevent scholars from relying on generic frameworks. What can be prematurely thought of as a weakness of the book is ultimately one of its main contributions: in order to understand global power relations and their impact on the social and human sciences, analysts must put the social and human sciences in their place(s).

With diverse methodologies, this book is a mandatory reading for those studying knowledge circulation. In the chapters by Heilbron and Gingras, Sapiro, Blanco and Wilkis, and Sorá and Dujovne, the reader will find features of well-researched social science texts. They combine qualitative and quantitative data to make their arguments more robust and consequently more convincing. At the same time, they do not merely describe the phenomenon they are interested in but rather propose theoretical insights into why some tendencies can be observed. Moreover, they connect theories of knowledge circulation with their empirical findings and challenge some common (mis)understandings, such as the undoubted preeminence of the English language or the current trends in the globalized publishing field that do not favor the diversification of intellectual exchanges. Globalization, from this perspective, is not praised but rather analytically weighed as a set of contradictory tendencies and practices that can only be understood in relation to the local contexts of the discipline.

Finally, and perhaps beyond the authors' explicit intentions, this is a political book. Heilbron, Sorá, and Boncourt's book clearly shows that power relations at the international level have always played a role in shaping social and human sciences. Global power is not presented as a pervasive force that prevents peripheral academics from thinking critically and creatively. Rather, power appears as subtly shaping the practices of academics, publishers, translators, journals, award committees, and even governments, companies, and civil organizations that demand knowledge from social scientists. Thus, the book does not engage with the literature of postcolonial studies, but rather with the mainstream sociological literature on the circulation of knowledge, which is often blind to power relations within the discipline itself. Again, what could be a weakness of the book is perhaps another one of its strengths. Focusing on these practices and institutional arrangements avoids the conclusion that asymmetries in knowledge production and circulation necessarily and logically lead to subordinate thinking, challenging a linear connection between power asymmetries and academic imperialism.

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

BOOK REVIEW

Sociologies of New Zealand

Fran Collyer
fran.collyer@sydney.edu.au

Crothers, Charles. 2018. *Sociologies of New Zealand*. Sociology Transformed Series. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
151 pp.
ISBN 978-3-319-73866-6.
Price: €53,49

One of the first things to notice about this book is that it is highly readable. Unlike many of the national histories of sociology produced over the years, this one is not dry, nor just a compilation of "facts," but rather highly reflective and filled with stories – told with the unique humour for which Charles Crothers is well-known. My favourite sentence in the book is the following: "The earliest 'social science' in the Pacific was carried out mainly by male amateurs, of varying ability, who were in the Pacific in varying capacities, for varying durations, and who provided accounts, of varying value, of the Pacific societies they encountered" (p. 79).

The book offers a brief but useful conceptual framework, wherein sociology as a discipline is the product of forces operating within the international arena, and shaped in the national context by university structures, funding structures and other institutions. Attention is also paid to the relations between the discipline, other disciplines and networks of knowledge production – such as social theory and social theorists – with which sociology is closely entangled. The author considers local factors as well, stemming from the interaction between a discipline and the prevailing public notions the society holds about itself. In proposing this framework of disciplinary formation and production, Crothers demonstrates his extensive international experience within the discipline, offering insights into some of the differences between the practice and boundaries of sociology cross-culturally. The fact that his book locates New Zealand sociology explicitly within the world economy, and the global economy of knowledge, is refreshing: too often this more political aspect of sociology's context is neglected or under-researched in national histories.

Crothers provides a very helpful overview of institutional developments in New Zealand (NZ), such as the establishment of the NZ Council for Educational Research and various government departments, including the Science and Innovation unit, which among many others have assisted in providing a supportive infrastructure for social science research. Not only have they been supportive of social research generally, but such institutions have provided outlets for sociology, with regards to the employment of graduates and the sharing of sociological expertise and knowledge. Again, this is a somewhat unusual treatment of a national history of sociology, as evaluating the impact of sociology can be a difficult enterprise and hence not always taken into account. Some of the information offered by Crothers is anecdotal rather than evidence-based, but at least the effort is made to provoke reflection.

In this book, Crothers sets out NZ sociology's history with an examination of its pre-history (the pre-disciplinary phase), departments, interest areas, and relations with other disciplines, and concludes with an investigation of the production of sociology, which involves an assessment of the linkages with the global context as well as the various forms of sociological output. Each chapter begins with an abstract and a set of keywords, which are very informative and also highly accurate.

One of my favourite chapters is on the pre-history of sociology. I did not know, for instance, that a social sciences research bureau had been established by the Labour government in the late 1930s. Although it did not last for long – I can imagine the political hostility to such a development at that time – it shows something of the progressive nature of the Labour Party and the political Left, and would be a very welcome development in many countries today in our hostile neoliberal environments. My least favourite would probably be the chapter on departments. These are probably of most interest within the NZ academic community rather than a global audience, and they are uneven, with some discussions of departments mostly "facts and figures" rather than narratives or analysis. Despite this, Crothers should be commended for taking on the job of putting together an overview, which is difficult given the general paucity of knowledge about sociology departments, the difficulty of offering more than an insider's view, and the lack of consensus about what a departmental analysis should offer. The latter is currently being debated in international circles, specifically among members of the International Sociological Association's RC08 History of Sociology group, so hopefully we will see some progress on this issue over the next few years.

From this book we get a rather interesting picture of the subject areas New Zealand sociologists have covered over past decades, including criminology, applied sociology, ethnic studies, area studies, gender, health, Pacific studies, rural studies, and of course, Māori issues. Again, the summations are somewhat uneven, but we certainly get a sense of who the major figures have been in each field as well as the impact the field has had within and beyond New Zealand. I found the section on Māori studies to be quite absorbing. It is not something non-New Zealanders are likely to have much knowledge of, and hence a very important addition to the field. The relations between New Zealanders and Australians with regard to their initial joint professional association (SAANZ), and the subsequent divorce, are of course dealt with briefly, again with some humour and personal insight.

The book closes with some views on New Zealand sociology's links across the Tasman and internationally, describing some of the notable visitors to New Zealand over the years, the contributions NZ sociologists have made in the global arena, and the exchange of sociological knowledge (both theories and methods). It is a timely reminder of how important such connections are, both for the locals and for sociologists in other countries. Altogether, the book is a good read.

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

BOOK REVIEW

Adolphe Quetelet

Kaat Louckx
klouckx@uni-bonn.de

Donnelly, Kevin (2015) *Adolphe Quetelet, Social Physics and the Average Men of Science, 1796–1874*. University of Pittsburgh Press
219 pp.
ISBN: 978-1-84893-568-6
Price: $45

Adolphe Quetelet's career (1796–1874) can at least be called impressive. His extensive work, ranging from poetry and opera librettos to scientific publications on astronomy, mathematics, "social physics," and even the history of science, shows a creative and well-read man with great interest in the arts, the sciences and society. Quetelet's BMI index is still used in medicine and his "average man", characterised by the mean values of measured variables that follow a normal distribution, is commonly known by historians of science and sociologists. If we also consider his accomplishments as a builder of institutions and networks, and his role in the creation of various scientific platforms, we can confidently state that Quetelet was not only intellectually versatile, but also a doer, and one endowed with an exceptional dose of energy. Although many aspects of Quetelet's project on social physics are recognizable in the present-day practice of many social scientists, his social-theoretical work still struggles to be admitted to the canon of classical sociology. For all these reasons, a contribution on Quetelet's work and thinking is more than welcome.

With *Adolphe Quetelet, Social Physics and the Average Men of Science, 1796–1874*, Kevin Donnelly wants to do justice to the many achievements of Quetelet. Contrary to what the title might suggest, Donnelly's focus is not so much on Quetelet's social physics, but rather on his approach to science.

After an introduction to the layered approach adopted in the book, the first chapter opens with a description of the intellectual context in which the young Quetelet grew up in Ghent. According to Donnelly, this context was determined by what he calls "the war between the arts and sciences" (p. 22). He also outlines how eclectic movements took shape as a way of sorting out the conflicting interests between these two competing philosophical systems at the time.

The second chapter moves from the broader intellectual context to Quetelet and his close network of friends in Ghent. It presents an overview of Quetelet's poetry and opera librettos. Donnelly explains Quetelet's choice of a career in mathematics instead of literature as a consequence of the aforementioned "war." According to the author, giving up the arts was a necessary condition for Quetelet to become "one of the most successful nineteenth-century men of science" (p. 63).

Chapter Three looks at Quetelet's career in Brussels and shows how Quetelet excelled in the sciences in the aftermath of the "war between the arts and sciences." It outlines Quetelet's efforts to popularise astronomy. The chapter further highlights Quetelet's role in the professionalisation of the *Académie*

royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres and his successful networking activities in support of the creation of the *Observatoire royal de Bruxelles*. According to Donnelly, Quetelet's experiences in these institutions were crucial to the creation of his social physics.

Chapter Four focuses on Quetelet's role as an international networker. It describes how his travels to France and Germany, set up primarily to collect information on astronomical instruments for the Observatory in Brussels, enabled him to establish international collaborations between scientists and administrators. The chapter also addresses the role of these many "rare men" of science with whom Quetelet met to discuss his social theory. In addition, Donnelly addresses Quetelet's important contributions to the creation of the continental journal, *Correspondance mathématique et physique*.

Chapter Five focuses on the origins of Quetelet's *homme moyen* and *physique sociale* between 1827 and 1835. According to Donnelly, social physics would not have been possible without the cultural context of the "war" and the impending challenges faced by Belgium and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Donnelly beautifully illustrates how Quetelet designed his science according to his own specific strengths: the creation of large networks of data collectors. And here we come to Donnelly's central proposition: the development of these "average men" (i.e. the numerous observers and data collectors) demanded by the "new science of man" is a legacy of Quetelet that is at least as important as the average man we know from Quetelet's social physics.

The last chapter closes with a discussion about why Quetelet's social physics has often been perceived as deterministic "Queteletismus." According to Donnelly, instead of a theory designed to be judged against Durkheim's autonomous society or a "failed path to evolution," the only consistent way to understand Quetelet's work is as a methodological project for individuals to serve governments and scientific institutions. Donnelly concludes by stating (p. 165) that as long as the average man of science endures – which is, according to the author, still clearly the case today – the social physics of Adolphe Quetelet will remain.

The major strength of the book lies in Donnelly's specific focus on Quetelet's scientific approach and practice, based on large-scale data collection and international cooperation (p. 163). Particularly interesting is the way in which Donnelly shows how international collaborations enabled Quetelet to exchange a wide range of social data that would form the basis of his social theory. Donnelly indeed nicely shows how Quetelet was able to "actualise" ideas that were circulating throughout Europe. Therefore, Donnelly's proposition that Quetelet's approach to science was as valuable to his career as his writings on social physics seems an interesting and convincing point of departure.

However, I found less convincing Donnelly's claim that "in order to make progress in social physics, both the sciences of man and the men of science needed to strive to be average" (p. 2). It is very welcome that Donnelly values the importance of the trained "army" of civil servants-scientists, necessary to carry out the different data collection projects coordinated by Quetelet. However, although the book opts for a focus on Quetelet's scientific practice rather than on his social physics (p. 4), a more in-depth exploration of Quetelet's social physics might challenge the author's claim (pp. 4-5) that the new science-worker "was expected to be standardized, interchangeable and to exhibit none of the extremes of genius or eccentricity." For example, in *A treatise on man and the development of his faculties* (1842, origin. 1835), Quetelet repeatedly points to the special role of "men of genius," including Lavater, Gall, Newton, and Rubens, or types of "several eminent qualities" in both the arts and the sciences (e.g., p. 97, p. 101). Or as Quetelet (pp. 100-101) puts it: "...the great man, in his individuality, is the best representative of the degree of development to which human nature has attained in his times, and his works show the extent in which he himself has aided that development."

Also in his *Letters addressed to H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha* (1849, origin. 1846), Quetelet frequently stresses the need for the "observing genius" (p. 130; also see pp. 230-232). Quetelet's writings, permeated with such statements, indeed challenge Donnelly's central claim that, according to Quetelet, "individual genius was no longer necessary in the sciences" (p. 84).

Moreover, Quetelet's close collaborators, who directly contributed to his project of social physics, were in fact all renowned scientists, such as Louis-René Villermé, Thomas Malthus and Charles Babbage, whom Quetelet certainly did not consider "average." Although Donnelly's notion of the increasing incompatibility between the arts and sciences in the nineteenth century is compelling, it seems difficult to reconcile this argument with Quetelet's repeated emphasis on the confluence of the arts and sciences (pp. V-VI, pp. 97-98). Or, to cite Quetelet (p. 5): "It would be an error, doubtless, to suppose that science makes the artist; yet it lends to him the most powerful assistance." Therefore, with Quetelet's social physics in mind, it is difficult to follow Donnelly's reconstruction of Quetelet's trajectory through the "war between the arts and sciences."

Although the book explicitly states that it does not intend to provide a biography of Quetelet (p. 4), it is remarkable that Quetelet has undergone three changes of power during his lifetime. While Donnelly describes how Quetelet cleverly anticipated the needs of the respective rulers, Donnelly also projects, on many occasions, the existence of Belgium back in time. Though Belgium was only established in 1830, Donnelly writes about Belgium in the sixteenth century, the Enlightenment, the end and beginning of the nineteenth century, and more (p. 1, p. 65, p. 66, p. 79, p. 86, p. 97). In this way, Donnelly at times tends to participate in Quetelet's project aimed at restoring the position of Belgium among the great scientific nations of Europe (p. 1). This is not only an anachronistic interpretation, but also a missed opportunity to delve deeper into the question of how the development of Quetelet's network of correspondents – one of the most vital pre-conditions for the development of his social physics – can be understood against the rapidly changing political landscape in which he lived and worked. It would furthermore have been interesting if Donnelly had connected Quetelet's interest in large-scale data collection and the conception of his 'average man" with global processes of democratisation in the nineteenth century Western world.

Although Donnelly rightfully highlights the importance of Quetelet's accomplishments, he himself sometimes falls into superlatives when referring to Quetelet, thereby running the risk of losing critical perspective. While Donnelly interestingly remarks that Quetelet's skills in working with governments are perhaps the primary scientific qualification of the day in continental Europe (p. 86), he does not take up a critical stance towards the different typologies developed by Quetelet and the normative underpinnings of the concepts and classifications at use (think, for instance, about the use of racial typologies, and where is the average woman?). Also, at times, it seems as if Donnelly retrospectively attributes intentions to Quetelet, although persuasive arguments are lacking. This is shown in statements such as, "When Quetelet took over as the sole editor [of the *Correspondance*] in 1827, his intentions became clear" (p. 99), or "Anticipating the later centrality of Brussels to European bureaucracy by over a century, Quetelet successfully brought the first International Maritime Conference to Brussels in 1853…" (p. 162).

Donnelly wants to highlight Quetelet's structural contribution to the formation of the "average men" at the service of government and scientific institutions. Subsequently, he argues that the practitioners of *physique sociale*, the real average men, self-sacrificing their will, was an essential prerequisite for the realisation of this project (p. 158). However, Donnelly does not touch on the fact that participation in censuses in several countries was consitutionally embedded and enforced. Processes of normalisation, standardisation, and the disciplining power associated with the introduction of no-

tions such as the “average man” are not addressed. A somewhat critical approach would have been welcome at these points.

Apart from these observations, this book, with its exceptional focus on Quetelet’s *praxis* of science, makes a unique contribution to the history of the social sciences. Moreover, it beautifully illuminates the undervalued but intellectually wide-ranging oeuvre of the artist, scientist, and administrator, Adolphe Quetelet.