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Global Research System, European Academic Library Collections, and Decolonisation

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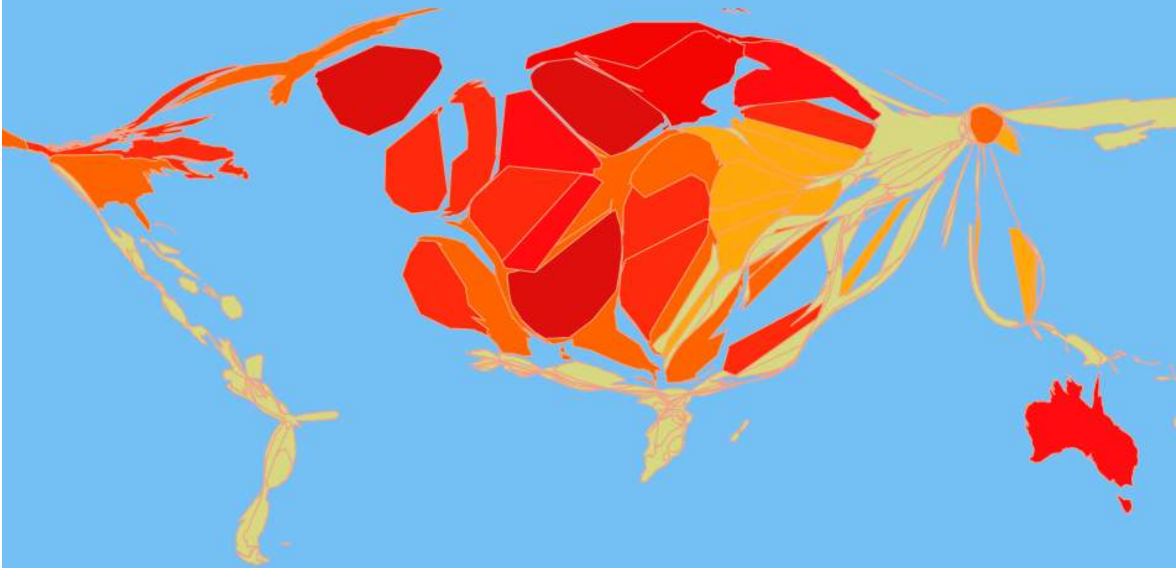

Nora Schmidt

The Privilege to Select

GLOBAL RESEARCH SYSTEM, EUROPEAN ACADEMIC LIBRARY COLLECTIONS, AND DECOLONISATION

LUND STUDIES IN ARTS AND CULTURAL SCIENCES 26

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Global Research System, European Academic Library Collections, and Decolonisation

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Lund University

LUND STUDIES IN ARTS AND CULTURAL SCIENCES 26

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Contents

Abstract

Research Problem: As a social sciences and humanities (SSH) researcher based in Europe, it is rare to come across publications by Southeast African researchers. Some reasons for this are obvious: the—compared to Europe—low numbers of Southeast African researchers are badly funded and lack basic infrastructures and access to scholarly information resources. Together with other factors, this leads to a rather low publication output, especially in SSH basic research, which is given lower priority by local and overseas funding bodies than applied research. However, a large part of the literature published under these conditions is barely covered by bibliographic databases, especially if it is published on the continent. Institutional policies increasingly require researchers globally to publish in 'international' journals, draining local infrastructures. The standard-setting power of 'Global South' scholars is minimised further.

Aim and Research Questions: My main aim is to render visible the ways in which European academic libraries contribute to unjustified neglect of scholarship produced in the 'Global South'—in terms of the globally operating research system. This neglect is explained as a consequence of specific features of current world society, referred to as coloniality, social injustice, and quantified communication. The thesis analyses peripherality conceptually and scientometrically: based on a sample, how is Southeast African basic SSH research integrated in global scholarly communication, and how do local dissemination infrastructures develop under these conditions? Finally, how are professional values, specifically neutrality, and workflows of European academic libraries, interrelated with these developments?

Methodology: The methodological approach of the thesis is multi-faceted, in order to tackle the research problem from different angles. Firstly, the project analyses the globality of the research system conceptually, as well as its differentiation in 'centre/periphery' and 'international/local' research. A brief scientometric study on a global scale supplements this analysis by picturing the representation of the global SsH academic workforce in a mainstream citation index. Secondly, an off-mainstream 'decolonial' scientometric method is applied, including the construction of a database from multiple sources, sampling publications by Southeast African researchers in SsH basic research, published both locally and outside of the region. Thirdly, the discoverability of Africa-published academic literature in Europe also depends on the collection management of European academic libraries, and its underlying social biases. In addition to a conceptual discussion, a short survey of collection managers and an analysis of the corresponding libraries' collection policies are included.

Theoretical Approach: The theoretical and conceptual point of departure is to analyse scholarly communication as a self-referential social system with global reach (Luhmann). In this thesis, an unorthodox understanding of social systems theory is developed, providing it with cultural humility, inspired by decolonial thinking. The value of the approach lies in its in-built capacity for social change: peripheries are constructed communicatively, and culturally humble communication avoids adding to the accumulation of peripheral references attributed to the 'Global South', for instance by suspending the incarceration of area studies which tends to subsume any research from and about Africa as African studies, remote from the core of SsH. While centrality serves the necessary purpose of reducing the overwhelming complexity of global research, communicative centres can just as well be constructed as topical, and do not require a spatial attachment to be functional. Another advantage of this approach is its awareness of different levels of observation, differentiating, for instance, between whether the academic librarian's neutrality is imagined as playing out in interaction with the user (passive neutrality), as representing the diversity of the research system (active neutrality), or as balancing social bias running through society at large, and hence furthering social justice (culturally humble neutrality).

Coverage: Southeast Africa was selected as a field for some of the empirical studies included, because out of all rarely studied local communities to which a peripheral status is commonly attributed, the large majority of Southeast African authors use English as their primary academic language. This excludes linguistic reasons for the peripheral attribution. In order to analyse citation networks, the initial sample of papers from 26 Southeast Africa-published journals is limited to publication dates in 2008 and 2009. The amount of manual work required, e. g., to discover authors' affiliations and full publication lists, and affiliations of citing authors, results in small samples. Europe was selected as the library environment to study because of my own positionality. Furthermore, the major portion of academic library research focuses on North America, creating a gap. The participants in the collection management survey are limited by incipient saturation.

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The Swedish doctoral education system is impressively well structured and funded. I thank the Swedish people for rendering my work possible in the first place. Almost entirely, my working tools are open-source software, programmed by countless generous coders who provided me with *Xubuntu*, LaTeX, *LibreOffice*, *Zotero*, *R*, and many other tools: thank you! Even though it is me speaking through my research, my contribution to this project is slim, compared to the bearing of society's knowledge.

In particular, I thank my colleagues from the Division of Information Studies, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, Lund University, especially my first supervisor, Jutta Haider, who provided countless helpful comments which improved this project in all kinds of ways. Thank you for supporting me with so much care, even through periods of doubt! I also thank my second supervisor, Fredrik Åström, who showed me where I cross the boundaries of scientometrics. The entire pleasant and cooperative environment at Lund University, and especially at my division, contributed to my work, so I can only mention some of the people involved: Hanna Carlsson, Charlotte Hagström, Sara Kjellberg, Björn Magnusson Staaf, Johanna Rivano Eckerdal, and Olof Sundin. Olof did not only support me in his role as the department's head of PhD studies, but also as inspiring commentator and as proof reader of the Swedish summary.

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At workshops with our Swedish partner institution, the department of ALM, Uppsala University, I also received many helpful comments, especially from my third supervisor, Ulrika Kjellman, and from Isto Huvila. Ulrika introduced me to Maria Ryman, who read one of my drafts more closely than anyone else, connecting her own research to mine in her almost overwhelmingly profound comments. There are no words to describe how much I appreciate this! Two of the PhD students at Uppsala University had especially much impact on my work: Ina-Maria Jansson and Amalia Juneström. Thank you all!

Throughout the PhD programme, I had the chance to receive critical and motivating comments on my work from many distinguished scholars. To mention just a few, chronologically: at the Doctoral Forum of CoLIS9, I had the pleasure to meet Geoffrey Bowker. With Gustaf Nelhans' friendly help, I was able to present my work at the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, University of Borås, and receive valuable critique about my scientometric approach and the first results, especially from Joyce Bukirwa and Björn Hammarfelt. Björn also gave detailed comments on my half-time draft, discussing it during an intensive seminar at my department. Even more effort was generously dedicated to commenting on my draft about two years later during my final seminar, by Tony Ross-Hellauer. There is nothing as valuable as getting the chance to see directly how (and how different!) people react to a draft, and then trying to redirect expectations during text revision. Even though the defence of my thesis is yet to come, I already thank Wiebke Keim for agreeing to be my

opponent. I also thank the members of my defence committee in advance for their time.

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forums throughout the Nordic countries and beyond, for their friendliness, openness and cooperative spirit.

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List of Abbreviations

Aci	African Citation Index
Ahci	Arts & Humanities Citation Index (included in Wos)
Ajol	African Journals Online
Ala	American Library Association
Apcs	Article processing charges
Arl	Association of Research Libraries (in the Usa and Canada)
Arwu	Academic Ranking of World Universities
Bame	Term used in the Uk to refer to people who identify as black, Asian, or being of minority ethnicity
Base	Bielefeld Academic Search Engine
Codesria	Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
Counter	Guidelines for publishers and vendors on how to implement usage statistics in their digital products
Cris	Institutional or state-wide (current) research information system
Csv	Comma-separated values
Cwts	Centre for Science and Technology Studies, Leiden
Dda	Demand-driven acquisition
Doaj	Directory of Open Access Journals
Eac	East African Community
Fid	Specialised information services (*Fachinformationsdienst*)
Fte	Full time equivalent
Gerd	Gross domestic expenditure on research and development
Gs	Google Scholar
Hc	Head count

HDI	Human Development Index
HEI	Higher education institution(s)
INASP	International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications
ISA	International Sociological Association
ISI	Institute for Scientific Information
JPPS	Journal Publishing Practices and Standards
LISA	Library and Information Science Abstracts
LISTA	Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts
LIS	Library and information studies/science(s)
OAI-PMH	Open Archives Initiative, Protocol for Metadata Harvesting
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QIAPL	Quarterly Index of Africa Published Literature
RIS	Research Information System Format
RLG	Research Libraries Group (in the USA)
SCIELO	Scientific Electronic Library Online
SDGS	Sustainable Development Goals, a UN agenda adopted by all members in 2015
SSCI	Social Sciences Citation Index (included in WOS)
SSG	Special collections at German research libraries funded by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG) 1949-2016 (*Sondersammelgebiete*)
SSH	Social sciences and humanities
STEM	Science, technology, engineering and medicine
STS	Science & technology studies
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URL	Unified Resource Locator
VIAF	Virtual International Authority File
WOS	Web of Science

1 Introduction

'We who are on the inside of the information structures must create holes in our structures through which the power may leak out'.
Hope A. Olson. 'The Power to Name. Locating the Limits of Subject Representation in Libraries'. Dordrecht: Springer, 2002, p. 227.

1.1 Research Problem & Preconditions

This thesis is written in the spirit of the *Open Science Manifesto* (OCSDnet 2017) that considers knowledge as commons. 'We believe the primary responsibility of science is to improve the wellbeing of our society and planet through knowledge' (ibid.). Propelling global social justice[1] is seen as the ultimate and underlying goal of research. This does not necessarily mean that all research needs to promote global social justice explicitly, but it does mean that it must at least not further injustice.

While the ideal of equality fosters equal treatment of everyone, equity goes one step further by facilitating *fair* equality: everyone is supported individually. In contrast, social justice addresses the source of inequity in order to make individual support dispensable. For the creation of new knowledge and technologies, this implies examining who participates and benefits from this new knowledge and technologies, whether inequities are (re)produced by them, and how local or remote contexts are impacted. Social justice requires *cognitive justice* (Visvanathan 1997; and especially see Santos 2015): to invite diverse understandings and maximise partici-

1 For an analysis of the concept of social justice in the context of information studies, see Duff, Flinn et al. 2013.

pation in knowledge production and, even more importantly, knowledge reception—the former cannot go without the latter, but is often less attended to in any discussion about our 'knowledge society'. Participation can be advanced by making access to technologies and content of scholarly communication generally affordable and intelligible, provided that the emanating community invites this participation.[2]

Of the many aspects that account for cognitive justice in the global research system—and I will return to describing it *as* global—I focus in this thesis on the flow of globally relevant research information, but only on the section of it that flows to Europe. I ask what role academic libraries in Europe play in the reception of globally relevant research information by social sciences and humanities (SSH) researchers, especially if some of the origins of this information are, for instance, in Southeast Africa. Global relevance of research could be indicated by the size of the communities that benefit, however indirectly, in any imaginable way, from research outcomes. In my understanding of the purpose of academic knowledge production and reception, a qualitative indicator that considers society at large would be more conducive for a cognitively just research system than quantitatively measuring the recognition of research outcomes by fellow researchers or other indicators of reputation that are limited to production and research-internal reproduction.

However, since such an indicator of global relevance is not in use, in the following, I will rely on the assumption that large communities can benefit from at least some of the research outcomes published by authors based in *any* world region, even if they publish in outlets that are not recognised by major 'Global North' databases (I will explain the dual concept of the 'Global North/South' a bit further down). I also assume those authors are likely to represent a range of research interests and perspectives on worldwide interconnected human activities that tend to differ from what researchers based elsewhere engage with. This likelihood is derived from

2 Also see Fister 2010. This point relates to the discussion on scholarly commons, pointing out that colonialism relied on a general idea that everything found on colonial lands was accessible to the colonisers; see especially Chapter 8 in Lawson 2019.

considerable discrepancies in contexts of socialisation in different world regions. Since those contexts are always individually composed under conditions of intersectionality, there cannot be a typology of those contexts. I am speaking here about the likelihood of researchers to be confronted with similar experiences, which will then have an impact on research interests and ways of observing. A socially just global research system needs to include those ways of observing.[3]

Before I[4] started this project in 2015, like presumably many SSH researchers in Europe, I rarely came across publications by researchers based in Africa (cf. Keim 2008, p. 21). Reasons for that seemed to be self-evident: their publication output is low, chiefly because the number of researchers is low, and this, in turn, is because the African research system is chronically underfunded, often lacking basic infrastructures and access to information (see e. g. Chawinga and Selemani 2017; Esseh 2011; Bukaliya and Muyengwa 2012; Rotich 2011; Machimbidza and Mutula 2017). Without denying the truth of this situation, a more complex explanation, which this thesis aims at providing, goes beyond a critique of the battle over scarce resources. Structures of injustice that are reproduced by library work are identified and analysed for their underpinnings in order to consider alternative ways of doing this work that might contribute to striving for social justice in the research system.

Seeing science and research as an enormously complex, yet *single system* is not only supported by the authors of the *Open Science Manifesto*, but indirectly also every time the words 'science' or 'research' are used; otherwise these words would not be understood at all. There is no conceptualisation of this system that is more precise and detailed as in social systems theory.

3 Britz and Lor 2003 put a similar request differently: 'the equal sharing of knowledge (North-South and South-North) is a moral obligation that we cannot escape'.

4 The standpoint from which I undertake my research is that of a white woman, born and educated in Europe, from a non-academic middle-class background in the former GDR. My career has not been straightforwardly academic, but rather has also included years working at a library, and years of unemployment. However, my position as a funded doctoral student in Sweden is enormously privileged. My research interest is clearly related to my standpoint and during writing, I will carefully reflect on it. For 'standpoint epistemology' in library and information sciences, see Trosow 2001.

Without going into the details here of what exactly that entails (but see Section 2.1), the research system is one of the function systems of world society. World society is, as seen from the same social systems perspective, defined by reachability. It appears to be a major contradiction that communication initiated by African scholars seems to get stuck very often, even though the coverage and speed of worldwide communication have increased enormously in recent decades.

Engaging with decolonial thinking for this project helped me question the widespread assumption that poverty and underdevelopment are to be made responsible for the interruption of communication, instances that can hardly be traced back to specific agents or addresses, since their roots go way back in history and are woven into the complex network of global social relations. I came to focus on those instances which are actually supposed to make sure that global research information flows in order to enable research communication. Those instances are, to a large degree, commercial: research information providers, such as publishers and aggregators; and, to another degree, publicly funded: academic libraries. When I talk about an 'unjustified neglect' of scholarship from the 'Global South' in those institutions, I do not mean to blame organisations or individuals. The neglect is the consequence of latent social structures, and identifying their symptoms is not typically in the job descriptions of information professionals. I nevertheless invite them to follow my observations, in the hope that this research opens up opportunities for creating new self-descriptions of information work, which can eventually lead to more awareness of the problems that this project addresses.

Statements like the following from a librarian working at the University of Namibia are often heard, from all parts of Africa: 'It's very difficult to get materials that talk about Africa. You can have access to other articles that talk about Europeans […]. So I realise that most African context materials are not accessible to us' (in Kell and Czerniewicz 2016). It seems like the infrastructure to access materials which are produced on another continent is available, since European material can be accessed, at least at African 'flagship' universities (also see Harle 2010, and Section 4.2). We are dealing with one-sided communication here, which even privileges Europe-to-Africa communication over intra-continental African communication.

Organisations such as the *International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications* (INASP) work hard to get access to 'top journals' for researchers working in underprivileged environments: the 'ultimate goal of INASP's work is development impact [… and] access to e-resources that are published in the Global North can contribute to such impact' (Gwynn 2019). Participating institutions and their libraries lose control over their collections, since 'those libraries cannot select [… journals] according to their relevance to local issues. [… Furthermore, these programmes] hinder the deep understanding of genuine open access by Global South university librarians' (Piron 2017). INASP also supports publishing projects in the 'Global South',[5] but the focus is always on integrating those who are underprivileged into the research system, 'developing' them, so they can become a full-fledged customer of the publishing industry, without considering that it might be necessary to change the system in order to avoid anyone's privilege (also see Inefuku and Roh 2016; and for a critique of a similar programme, Albornoz 2017). Instead of integration, coalescence could be a motto for doing right by social justice.

In order to access African scholars' work, one needs to know which publication outlets they make use of. It is common in the SSH, globally, to publish at least some articles in journals that have limited reach, in order to address a very specific and small local research community and/or the interested local public (see Section 3.6.1). Similarly, there are small local book publishers who specialise in serving this audience. If African authors predominantly publish in these types of local outlets, my difficulties in stumbling upon their publication while doing a keyword search in the discovery system of Lund University Libraries could be easily explained. The

5 The 'Report and Financial Statements for the Year Ending 31 December 2018', 1 July 2019, https://www.inasp.info/publications/2018-annual-report-and-financial-statement, visited on 11 May 2020, pp. 20f., are not entirely clear, but from a total expenditure of more than £2.6 million, about £1 million were spent on subscriptions, another £1 million on staff, and only £171,512 on the *African Journals Online* (AJOL) platform and project.

high costs of printing and international postal services, as well as the size of the African continent, impede the intra-continental as well as the global exchange of materials, in addition to the drawbacks of electronic publishing that start with frequent power outages in some places.[6] The next question then would be if African scholars would limit communication to the local level collectively and deliberately. This is unlikely since international researcher networks are a fundamental feature of the research system, not only from a social systems perspective (see e. g. Wagner 2009). Without doubt, African scholars are aware that worldwide recognition as researchers depends on publishing in 'international journals',[7] and, in some places, promotion and tenure even require it (see e. g. Omobowale, Sawadogo et al. 2013). This discrepancy could be another hint that the account of a common global research system is at least an insufficient description. A possible explanation for why African authors are rarely present in publication outlets with worldwide reach is that manuscript submissions do not meet the expectations which the research system incorporates. There are no extensive statistics about submissions for publication.

Information professionals are working hard to provide discovery services to researchers to assist them in overcoming barriers to fulfil the requirement of acknowledging previous work relevant to their particular subject. Full compliance through full coverage can probably never be reached, but getting closer to it should be, according to professional ethics, in the interests of both researchers and information professionals. Whether or not a researcher is ignorant of certain literature depends on its discoverability, defined as 'the efficiency with which any given article can be found by a searcher' (Morris 2013, p. 183). This definition is applicable to all formats which publications and information, in general, can take. The efficiency was asserted to depend on the integration of the threefold 'value chain',

6 The World Bank Data, Power outages in firms in a typical month (number), updated on 9 April 2020, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ic.elc.outg, visited on 20 April 2020. For sub-Saharan Africa, the average in 2019 was nine.

7 See Section 3.4 for a discussion of this term.

consisting of the contributions by content providers, service providers, and (the institution representing) the end user (Somerville, Schader et al. 2012). According to Somerville and Conrad (2014), 'in recent years, definitions have evolved that distinguish between discovery and discoverability'; while discovery is 'the process and infrastructure [and skills] required for *a user* to find an appropriate item' (ibid., my addition), discoverability describes '*an item's* level of successful integration into appropriate infrastructure' (ibid.). In my understanding, the sphere of discovery would only include the user's skills, the technical interface used to access the search tool, and the actual search process. The search tool, e. g. one provided by the library, and all contributions made by content and service providers belong to the sphere of discoverability. This project clearly focuses on discoverability, not on discovery. To put it boldly: as a premise, the libraries' efforts to make publications from the 'Global South' discoverable in the 'Global North' can push back social injustice in the research system, at least as long as well-established 'local' journals exist(ed). (European) libraries could make (more) use of their 'privilege to select' that I refer to in the title of this book. However, it seems like most libraries prefer instead to build library landscapes with collections that only differ considerably when individual budgets differ. Acquisition and library cooperation in combination could lead to comprehensive access, but immediacy of access and maximisation of licenced and acquired content at single institutions serve as almost uncontested paradigms.

As I will argue in the following, European academic library collections and the resource providers they rely on increasingly become a closed-circuit system that is basically steered by a small number of 'Global North' information businesses. Demand-driven acquisition, Big Deals, and approval plans make library material selection less of an intellectual task based on collection policies agreed on—ideally, after an argumentative decision process within the organisation—and more of a negotiation with commercial providers based on user statistics. While library budgets are not increasing, prices for serials found to be essential are (ProQuest 2016), and librarians have limited leeway for spending on 'peripheral' material. By asking selected European academic librarians about their collection management routines in relation to material that is not included in standard packages, I look for traces of awareness about the problematic constellation discussed throughout the thesis. Any awareness or lack thereof is of relevance for this thesis in as far as it can be related to the profession of librarianship with its classic debates and professional codes. A very central concept here is 'neutrality' and the discussion about what it means to be neutral as a librarian: does it mean to refrain as much as possible from interfering with the users' demand, or does it instead mean to offer a broad selection of materials that include not only those most asked for, but also materials that are usually overlooked (see Chapter 5)? I suggest a multi-faceted concept of neutrality in order to map the multi-faceted debate.

Recently, higher education news outlets have been abuzz with reports about 'massification' developments at African universities, accelerated by policies that express the goal of being part of a knowledge-based society (assumedly meaning: economy), and therefore, African people need to be better educated (see e. g. Andoh 2017; Mohamedbhai 2017; Teferra 2017b). Enrolment numbers are skyrocketing—in line with the UN and the African Union's *Nairobi Declaration*.[8] However, the investment in new infrastructure and teaching staff is not keeping pace.[9] Massive teaching loads, amongst other drawbacks, make it very difficult for researchers to participate in substantial continuous editing work. Yet a widely visible SSH journal often builds its reputation over the course of decades. Scholar-led SSH publishing is largely based on volunteer work—in the 'Global North' it is often

8 Article 7 says: 'We recognise that the transformation of Africa requires strengthened efforts to move towards knowledge-based societies through the advancement of higher education and research in Africa with special focus on relevance and equitable access, strengthening of research, and teaching and learning of science, technology, engineering and mathematics.' Nairobi Declaration and Call for Action on Education, Pan-African High-Level Conference on Education (PACE2018) in Nairobi, Kenya 25-27 April 2018, https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/gem_perspectives_africa_3_dec_2018.pdf, visited on 29 June 2020.

9 See Section 4.2 for an introduction to the research environment in Southeast Africa.

subsidised, but not formally commissioned by the institution that employs the scholars (Adema, Stone et al. 2017).

The visibility of a journal very much depends on its ability to attract high-quality submissions, and for this, one of the preconditions is its proper management, including the indexing of its contents in several standard bibliographic databases. Those databases, to no one's surprise, are all compiled by 'Global North' organisations (also see Nwagwu 2010).[10] So, if African authors supposedly do not face specific barriers to publish in 'international' outlets, they still have a limited to non-existent standard-setting power in journal-editing processes and selection for bibliographical databases.[11] Put in this context, the words of the established sound inconsiderate: 'Perhaps neither of us is willing to rock the successful, comfortable, model of dissemination and reward that has served us well for the past 350 years', says Pippa Smart (2015), editor-in-chief of *Learned Publishing*, the journal of the Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers (ALPSP), referring to new formats of scholarly communication. Even though this a very different context, the utterance still serves as an example of how limited the considerations of the publishing industry are.

Through the simple solution of diversifying the authorship present in 'international' journals and publishers, as in so many contexts, inclusivity would be accomplished by single-sided integration and development. It is the 'others' who have to adapt to 'Global North' standards, with corrupting consequences for 'Global South' attainment of, for instance, local academic publishing infrastructures.[12] This destructive effect of what actually is a process of assimilation will be a returning theme throughout this thesis, using the example of Southeast African scholarly publishing in the SSH.

10 *Web of Science* does cooperate with electronic libraries from China, Russia, Latin America, and South Korea, see Web of Science, Confident research begins here, https://clarivate.com/webofsciencegroup/solutions/web-of-science, visited on 29 June 2020.

11 Also see Salager-Meyer 2008. The 'diversity of those acting in scientific publishing' has been labelled as 'bibliodiversity' by the *Jussieu Call for Open Science and Bibliodiversity*, 2016, https://jussieucall.org/jussieu-call/#call, visited on 29 June 2020.

12 This kind of adaption process has been analysed for other aspects of society; for instance, the 'help' of constitutional jurists from the 'Global North' is forced upon 'Global South' countries in the drafting processes of constitutions, see Dann 2009.

As an intermezzo to the introduction, I need to reflect on my choice of terms, namely the 'Global South' and the 'Global North'. On the one hand, my project depends on a concept which makes it possible to talk about countries where underprivileged scholars form the large majority. On the other hand, it is always problematic to amalgamate a social with a geographical divide because, unlike the image of a globe being cut cleanly in two halves, the social is very mobile and complex.

A correlation between a low World Bank income class and lack of privilege in the research system can be assumed for a country's population. The state of being privileged, or not privileged, falls on a gradual scale. However, low- and middle-low-income countries are actually mostly found south of a latitude of 30° north, so the term also makes sense geographically, even if that is not its essential meaning. To make clear that the simplifying concepts of the 'Global North' and the 'Global South' refer to a social problem, I will continue to put them in quotes, or mention the privilege connected to the terms directly. Furthermore, I will avoid the term 'Western', since it refers to the Orient/Occident distinction, which is historically important (see Said 1978), but fades as a denominator for the current constellation, and is, in terms of accuracy in allocating single countries to one or the other side, even more loose.

The 'Global South/North' has been widely used since the early 2000s, and has a strong reference to countries which had been liberated from European colonialism in the 20th century (Kalb and Steur 2015). It is the successor of 'Third World' which, first of all, was a self-designated name of the Bandung conference where the Non-Alignment Movement first met. The new name accounts for the changed major geopolitical structure, and embraces the emancipatory undertone that 'Third World' used to have early on. However, other than the Non-Alignment Movement of 1955-1989, countries now fluidly gathered under the title of the 'Global South' do not form an institutionalised coalition.

While originating in older forms from Arab and Asian cultures, the research system with the university as its most important institution, with typical career paths such as tenure, and with clear-cut formats of scholarly publishing, was established in the 'Global North' (see Section 2.2.3). Today, this form of scholarly communication is found worldwide, with only slight local variations. Studies confirmed that researchers affiliated with institutions situated in the 'Global South' do encounter far more difficulties in scholarly communication than privileged scholars from the 'Global North' (e. g. Alatas 2003; Keim 2008; Medina 2013; Paasi 2005). For me, unlike, for instance, for Hannerz (2015), 'research in the Global South' is not synonymous with 'research in the periphery', although it is, at times, congruent. With a social systems perspective, what crystallises as central in communication is not ultimately determined by the location it can be related to. This will become clear in Chapter 3.

Global scholarly communication is not a homogeneous network: while the research system is supposed to be primarily differentiated into disciplines (see e. g. Stichweh 1979), I am especially interested in differentiations that seem to follow geopolitical lines, because it makes a difference where in the world a researcher is based, and if his or her background is in the 'Global North' or not. There are indications that scholarly communication is at least to some extent segmented locally in addition to being primarily differentiated by disciplines. Citation analysis sensitive to the role of selective indexing in citation databases can show that such a segmentation does not exist in all places where location seems to be relevant (see Section 4.5.2), such as in Southeast Africa. Results such as those of Mosbah-Natanson and Gringas (2014) probably depend a lot on a rather inexpedient data basis; in an analysis of the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (Ssci, *Web of Science*) for 1980–2009 publications, they claim that scholars from the 'peripheral regions' prefer to cite work from North America and Europe, but they rarely cite local work or authors from other underprivileged countries (cf. Osareh and Wilson 1997). They also confirm that authors from the 'central regions' prefer to cite each other. This points to an important differentiation of the research system in centre and periphery (see Section 3.3), rather than to regional segmentation.

However, the literature introduces cases in which a publishing system serves a certain region only. I suppose that language plays a crucial role here.

Escobar and da Costa (2006) found such an exclusive publishing system in Bolivia, and they recommend not letting 'underdeveloped' research run into competition with 'developed' research in indexed journals. The local publishing system should pan out at the same pace as the local research does. How this publishing system is referred to from the 'Global North' seems to be the crucial question then. A disregard that implicitly, and sometimes also explicitly, declares all the work circulating in those local publishing systems to be unworthy and irrelevant can be analysed as an expression of coloniality. Descriptions of how coloniality works mostly rely on conceptual argumentation based on decolonial thinking—the context in which the concept of coloniality emerged. I will try to give a preliminary idea of how I will relate this to social systems theory, in the following, by using the example of UN development policy, which is also of relevance to policy making in African countries, not least for higher education policy.

In the classical approach to global development, the 'Global North' expects the 'Global South', in return for 'aid', to 'develop' along the lines of its own trajectory, while making sure not to be overtaken.[13] Those development frameworks reassure the continuation of capitalist society not only by extraction of resources, and transplantation of 'dirty' industries, but also by the implementation of effective and centralised systems of finance, health, education, jurisdiction, *et cetera*, at the expense of local institutions that are functionally equivalent for the internal workings of local communities. According to 'Global North' standards, those local institutions might be far less successful in handling social problems. Yet if the functions of local institutions are not fully understood, and they are instead just erased and replaced, new social problems are likely to be created. Decolonial thinker Mignolo[14] (2000) speaks about 'global designs' that repress 'local histories'.

13 This critical perspective appeared in the 1990s; see e. g. Escobar 2011.

14 I am aware that the contemplations of Mignolo 2009a about the Shoa were criticised as (possibly) antisemitic by Freudmann et al. 2012. Following the debate, I did not reach a conclusive decision as to whether I fully agree with this critique. However, I am convinced that Mignolo's œvre does not depend on the criticised hypotheses, and it influenced my reasoning even though I do not agree with everything he wrote, so I still refer to it. I cannot discuss this issue any further here since it is beyond the scope of this project.

The classical approach to global development has been criticised at least since dependency theory emerged, building on the pair of concepts 'centre and periphery' (see Chapter 3), followed by post-development and decolonial studies. The UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of 2015 set out to change the general approach to development from predominately being a task for low- and lower-middle-income countries, supported by upper-middle and high-income countries, to another stance: for a sustainable world society, certain developments are required in each and every country, and development therefore is a joint global effort. Optimistically read, this new agenda sounds like the basic distinction between those who are already developed and those who need to develop would be eliminated, bringing everyone to eye level.

Realistically, according to the SDGs, the persisting task for low- and lower-middle-income countries is to implement global designs which emerged from high-income countries. The SDGs commit to economic growth (Adelman 2018)—itself paradigmatic of the dominating flipside of coloniality: modernity.[15] The concept of sustainability employed by the UN instead points towards the sustainability of capitalism, since it is based on the idea of decoupling economic growth from its negative impact on the environment. No empirical evidence has been brought forward so far for the possibility of this decoupling (Fletcher and Rammelt 2017). The SDGs also claim a universality of goals, which again buys into modernist ideas (Weber 2017). The new direction can therefore be seen as the continuation of a capitalist and modernist project, and, as such, it constantly incorporates the critique that was brought forward against it. The critique is not countered by actually changing paradigms, for instance from competition to cooperation; it is countered by implementing aspects of the critique which do not impact on the, at its core, capitalist project of a market that is free and protected against failure at the same time. One of those integrated critical aspects is participation—inviting the civil society to speak, which has a legitimising effect. SDG consultations were implemented as such a participatory programme, but their design did not allow for much

15 For details on the pair of concepts, see Escobar 2007.

impact from participating communities on the actual negotiations (Sénit, Biermann et al. 2017).

The alleged new direction is only a slight shift in narrative. The UN are an 'integral part of the story of the rise and diffusion of neoliberalism' (Chorev 2018). Unavoidably, from the logic of competition, essential to neoliberal and capitalist thinking, it follows that social inequalities and injustices are produced. Accordingly, the SDGs are paradox, since they declare 'equal access' to livelihood 'for all'. This basic contradiction between omnipresent and further enhanced competition, on the one hand, and the idea of equality in humankind, on the other hand, reappears in all kinds of shapes throughout the structures of society. It is often worked around by introducing quantifiable selection criteria—all the same for humankind. That society is not equal to start with, is usually only glanced over, and even if it is considered, and additional selection criteria that accredit for a head start are introduced, how can there be a fair way of quantifying structural disadvantage? Further, the stigma of being accredited for a head start creates a derivative structural disadvantage. Current selection methods for research funding, academic recruiting and promotion are good examples of increasingly quantified methods for elite selection, replacing incrementally rather opaque systems of favouritism and/or inheritance. The research system, just like other domains of society, is increasingly observed as what I will call 'quantified communication' in the following. Some have seen the elevated use of metrics as a sign of applying economic logics to other social domains, and that again as characteristic of neoliberalism (e. g. Brown 2015). Most of my thoughts that relate to neoliberalism, in this thesis, are limited to quantified communication, on the one hand, and unpaid labour that is converted into private profits, on the other, so I can set aside a complex definition and discussion of 'neoliberalism'.

Another important concept that I have mentioned before is the 'colonial difference' (Mignolo 2000), with its two sides: coloniality and modernity. In my understanding, it designates a source from which social interests and norms emerge that stabilise the global designs while they are implemented at the local level, worldwide. The idea of seeing function systems in world society as large-scale global designs suggests itself when trying to provide social systems theory with a decolonial edge (also see Eckstein and Kirschstein 2014, p. 122). Since Luhmann focused on describing the functional differentiation of world society, observations of interests and norms that naturally become most visible at the local level, in interaction and organisations, were more or less disregarded in empirical studies (but see e. g. Luhmann 1992a; 2000). However, they have important positions in the analytical toolbox: interests and norms serve as a framework for observations of society, thereby reproducing society, and providing meaning. With a 'macro-level' sociological analysis, the large variety of interests and norms at play are impossible to grasp. However, it is hard to think of interests or norms which do not relate to the different internal logics of the function systems, in the form of either compliance or rejection. Since rejection is at risk of being sanctioned, compliance is the normal operation: publish or perish. For scholars in the 'Global South', perishing is much more of an existential threat and publishing generally requires more adaptive processes than is the case for scholars socialised in the 'Global North'.

This thesis aims at demonstrating that decolonial and social systems thinking can work in synergy, counteracting the perceived weaknesses of social systems theory, which has the reputation of being a 'social technology' (Habermas 1971) and uncritically accepting of power relations and social inequalities. In certain understandings, this is true; firstly, Luhmann actually did not see the relevance of something like a colonial difference: '"we/the others" is only one possible distinction amongst others, it loses its status as guiding difference [*Leitdifferenz*] in a world which is tailored for migration and contacts with others' (my translation, Luhmann 1999b, p. 142). Since Luhmann describes society as polycontextual, this does not mean that there is a new guiding difference these days. While this sentence does not provide resolution in a discussion about the status of the 'we/the others' distinction, it can be clearly seen what relevance it still has by just following the news about people seeking asylum in the 'Global North'. In specific areas of society—and research seems to be one of them—the distinction endures, and this thesis sets out to look into this in depth.

Secondly, Luhmann explicitly saw the task of sociology as being a second-order observation: to observe how society observes itself (Luhmann 1991). By doing this, sociology will come to see contradictions in these self-observations. Since sociology is happening in society, it can actually enlighten (and Luhmann made use of this term) society about its own blind spots, but it also looks for the reasons behind how specific ways of observing came into place, and which dedicated purpose they might serve. It is not up to research to make judgments about its subject, and this is what gives an 'uncritical' flavour to social systems theory. Luhmann was in heavy opposition to Habermas and other proponents of critical social theory, basically because he could not accept that a sociologist's task would be to claim knowledge about the correct way that society is supposed to *be*, because that means taking on the position of a first-order observer. So as not to be identified with such an unscientific position, he also rejected any critical purpose for social systems theory (ibid.).

I sympathise with Luhmann's rather modest standpoint, but I also think that critique starts by choosing a research problem that appears to be a *social* problem, just like in this thesis, and constructing theory around this problem. Social problems appear when society describes them in terms of a problem, as part of its self-observation. Without judging society, from an (at least) second-order observer's perspective, I will point at contradictions and try to identify functional relationships that lead to these contradictions. Decolonial thinking, even though it often is normative, serves as a source of inspiration for this project.

In addition to the three categories of how to make the results of social systems theory more useful for social critique suggested by Osrecki (2016), this adds a fourth: as first option, Osrecki proclaims the 'consensual approach'. My work can relate to that because similarities in the principle set-up of the conceptual frameworks of my two chosen approaches can be identified, and I already mentioned an example. However, I do not see a purpose in focusing on such an endeavour. Beyond that, I make use of decolonial conceptual tools to explain issues that social systems theory hardly can. According to Osrecki's classification, this could be an 'eclectic approach'. Furthermore, a theory that is useful for analysing social problems can be seen as a critical theory itself, which makes this thesis contribute to the 'orthodox approach'. The self-evident label for this fourth approach then would be 'synergetic'.

I talked about providing social systems theory with a decolonial edge, and I am aware that this entails decolonial thinking being absorbed by social systems thinking, and not the other way around. An allegation of colonising decolonial thinking can easily be made. However, my aim is to make social systems theory more accessible for use in decolonial critique,[16] rather than to suggest the incorporation of decolonial concepts. Including them just because they might provide neater labels for compatible meanings would be unacceptable, even though, for instance, 'global design', as signifier, is clearly superior to 'function system', while the latter is much more clearly defined, including its complex inner mechanisms. However, the technical connotation of the words makes them hard to accept as signifiers for something social. By enriching social systems theory with decolonial meaning, its position as putatively solidifying power relations could be weakened. Nonetheless, I think social systems theory highlights contradictions in society that often have devastating effects. Yet precisely because of its sober observations which provide little hope for change, it seems that, for most readers, its critical potential also becomes locked in.

1.2 Aims, Claims & Research Questions

Scholarly communication is conceptualised as one type of communication whose single contributions are highly interrelated globally. This is done so in social systems theory (see Section 2.2.1), but also in pertinent rhetorics (see Section 2.2.2). Of course, discipline-specific differences in scale of these interrelations are always acknowledged, but still, the ideal is to relate new contributions to older high-quality contributions within a scope determined by topical relevance, and not by publication venue. However,

16 Since the bulk of social systems theory is written in German, more accessibility for non-German speakers is definitely needed, even though I am aware of a strong Luhmann reception in Latin America, see Zincke 2014, which I cannot access myself because of the language barrier.

the publication venue is crucial, because if an author is not aware of published literature that could be referred to, a reference to it will not be made. Literature published in the 'Global North' is easier to discover than literature published in the 'Global South', and it is therefore privileged. I am convinced that the exact extent to which this privilege acts is virtually impossible to numeralise, so the statistical evidence this thesis provides is intended to support the sturdier conceptual discussion—instead of doing it the other way around.

My main aim is to render visible the ways in which European academic libraries contribute to unjustified neglect—in terms of the globally operating research system—of scholarship produced in the 'Global South'. This neglect is explained as a consequence of specific crucial features of current world society, referred to as coloniality, social injustice, and quantified communication. I claim that the organisation of the research information market, and by proxy, of academic library collection management, according to the principles of quantified communication, contributes considerably to this neglect: competition rules out contributions that are seen as peripheral, and privilege is given to research authored in the 'Global North'. This thesis addresses the features of the research system which seem to be related to this social problem. Further, it describes how the system is affected by patterns of coloniality, as well as by the increasingly quantified communication in society. Moreover, the thesis elaborates on the impact of current global societal developments on Southeast African research dissemination infrastructures. Finally, on the example of European academic libraries, it examines how those societal developments are interrelated with professional values, specifically neutrality, and collection management workflows.

My suspicion is that 'peripherality' of research is semantically closely linked to publishing in 'local' rather than in 'international' publication outlets. By following the debate, my research discusses the 'standards' by which a publication outlet is seen as 'international'. How can the differentiation in central and peripheral research communication be described and explained with the help of social theory? In one of the more empirical parts of the thesis, I suggest a way of describing peripherality scientometrically (see the next section for an introduction to bibliometrics and scientometrics): based on a sample, how is Southeast African basic SSH research integrated in global scholarly communication? Publication venues give hints about discoverability.

Further, I claim that the inequality of participation in SSH communication follows trenches of social injustice which are omnipresent in society at large. Those trenches also become visible in the classification of SSH knowledge in 'classical' SSH such as philosophy, history, sociology *et cetera*, on the one hand, and in area studies, on the other hand. This classification extends, in some European countries, to the responsibility of a single special library for publications from Africa. Because of physical and informational distancing to other SSH disciplines, those publications are somewhat isolated. Therefore, I denote this problem as 'area studies incarceration'.

After all, assuming that researchers represent the interests of local populations at least to some extent, this thesis asks how far the world society's research system is out of balance in terms of involving local interests globally. The suspicion can be upheld that the research system instead only serves the interests of a minority. Regarding the interests of the majority of the world's population, the system is, at best, barely fulfilling its function, and at worst, it can even do harm, as this thesis will show. This constellation is maintained by research evaluation and funding decisions that heavily rely on mainstream bibliometric databases for its quantified communication.

There is no bibliometric data source readily available to conduct the respective study on Southeast African basic SSH research, but rather this database needs to be constructed. A ancillary aim of this thesis therefore is to contribute to a clearer picture about the blind spots of bibliometrics: my study needs to include what is excluded by standard bibliometric data sources, and therefore almost from bibliometrics themselves, and the study reflects upon this exclusion. I want to demonstrate how a typical methodology—bibliometrics relying on *Web of Science* (WOS) and *Scopus*—can be modified to live up to the sensitivity required for studies that address or include postcolonial regions by claiming their global focus.

I further argue that bibliometric science studies alone, specifically when framed in geographical terms, include very little contextual information which is often needed for interpretation. Any number of publications, citations or collaborations has to be accompanied by numbers of institutions and of potential authors present within that geographical framework. It then becomes more visible that certain databases are strongly geographically biased and inappropriate for many interregional and international comparative approaches. My bibliometric studies are therefore embedded in scientometric studies.

Scientometrics often compares, for instance, countries, disciplines, institutions, or individual researchers. This thesis does not aim at any comparison of, for instance, European and Southeast African SSH researchers and their work, or of 'local' journals in different world regions. Social and historical contexts are, on many accounts, totally different. Possibly, some of my findings for Southeast African SSH literature might be somewhat similar to results that could be found when applying my methodology to Swedish or Southeast European SSH literature, but this is out of this thesis' scope. Since my approach of combining specific sociological premises with an original bibliometric methodology is unprecedented, comparative references studying 'local' SSH literature could be easily misleading, notwithstanding that those studies are rare (see Section 3.6.1). In regard to my research questions, little could be learned from a comparison between 'Southern' and 'Northern' regions. If certain inequalities can be observed for 'Northern' SSH, this result would not add any argument to the discussion of the problem that is dealt with in this thesis, since the grounds on which privileging would happen will, most likely, differ to a large extent. On the contrary, such comparisons reproduce an alleged 'divide'.

Finally, I also aim at a theoretical contribution with this thesis. Implicitly, social systems theory informs my way of formulating research questions for the individual studies of this project, and, more explicitly, guides my interpretation of results. My way of reasoning is not oriented towards hypotheses that can then be verified and become theories; rather, I am aiming at the development of interesting questions, valid observations, and interpretations that can contribute to the thematic field in which my research problem is situated, and to the development of social systems theory itself.

1.3 Methodology

Social systems theory is a good example of post-positivist thinking: observations that lead to the analysis of social structures do not have to follow a standard set of social science methods. Any kind of communication artefact can be analysed.[17] Analytical tools have to be adapted or invented according to the requirements of the material. To develop a better understanding of what 'international' scholarly communication is, I decided to combine quantitative methods with conceptual studies, as this section will explain in more depth.

The overall idea behind this thesis project is to experiment with research parameters that question the European research tradition, which is shaped by coloniality. At the same time, this thesis is part of European research education, reproducing this tradition. In order to pass, I can only walk on the boundaries of the acceptable, pushing them somewhat, for instance with an unusual thesis structure and methodology. My local research environment defines the exact topography of those boundaries, but pushing them can potentially impact their layout elsewhere. In the end, the degree I earn will allow me to participate in the system that this thesis criticises. For now, I decided to take the route of participation, instead of formulating my critique by other means than those accepted as research.

The underlying question is, how far a decolonial agenda can be pushed, in the form of an invited, productive irritation—which can be seen as the meaning of participation. Participation differs from irritation, which instead impacts as a minor or major disruption on a social system, but always with the opportunity for productive destruction, forcing the social system to destroy and rebuild its own structures spontaneously (see Section 2.1). By providing entry points for this type of irritation, participation is already built into the structures of the social system (here: the research system), even though those entry points carry a risk that the system is irritated in a destructive rather than productive way. The entry points are not pro-

17 For instance, Luhmann 1986 analysed historical novels to describe the emergence of the contemporary concept of romantic love. The product clearly is sociology, and not a study of literature.

grammable towards all the specifications of the invited irritation. However, participation usually comes with provisions in place to minimise the risks. The research system can easily decline recognition, and shut out certain attempts to participate.

One way of pushing the boundaries is to reflect on the thesis itself, within the thesis, just as in the previous paragraphs. While doing research, decisions made sometimes turn out to be dead ends. The return to start, and the learning process related to that, are usually made invisible, just like insecurities about methodological work-arounds or conceptual inconsistencies. I try to work against this trained reflex of obscuring insecurity in order to disclose the actual vulnerability of research as such. Even though the curriculum of my doctoral education asks for an authoritarian presentation style, I hope to divest myself of as much authority as possible, being aware that this, inevitably, *must* be done with authority, in order to meet the requirements of the curriculum. This simple example shows that there is no way out of the system, once included, as long as self-exclusion and its serious consequences is not an option. The leeway for structural modifications from within is very limited.

Together with the decision for an anti-authoritarian presentation style that, for instance, does not cover limitations, comes the refusal against any universalist standpoint that I noticed myself stepping into. The consequence is a radical and bold first-person narration, since all the observations I make for this research are mine alone, unless I let others speak within the framework I prepared. Of course, I hope that readers can comprehend, feel stimulated and can relate their own observations to mine, thereby confirming them, and vice versa, but I never want to evoke the impression that I generalise beyond this, thereby replacing the striving for universality with the striving for solidarity. Research reception works like stepping into the author's shoes, succeeding or failing in making them fit, and overcoming more or fewer obstacles while using them. I see my task as an author in offering a design that fits my research problem, and I am aware that there cannot be a design that appeals to everyone equally well.

The most important consequence moves beyond modes of presentation and representativeness disclaimers; since my research problem and my overarching research questions have a huge scope, it would be pretentious to try to do right by that by collecting an enormous corpus of data with a global scope, or by uncritically adopting an existing large corpus. In contrast, the empirical corpora that are weaved into my research range from replies to a small-scale survey with open-ended questions, to Unesco demographic data. Including numerous small analyses of data excerpts from a variety of sources is a way of making more obvious that, first and foremost, my conceptualisations, influenced by uncountable events that I picked up more or less consciously, shape my results, while data play a subordinate role.

When reading research reports, I often get the impression that data is seen as external to the research results, which are only incorporated via analysis. I argue that incorporation starts with the first decision that is made concerning the data. For instance, even though my influence on how Unesco demographic data were compiled is zero, I take responsibility for their limitations because I use them in support of my argumentation. With ease, data can be selected because their shortcomings work in favour of the argumentation, or neglected because they do not, justifying the neglect with their shortcomings. Because of this shaky role that data play in research, I do not 'let them speak for themselves', because they are unfit to do so. The reflection on the nature and provenance of data might take up more space in this thesis than their analysis. Therefore, the thesis is interspersed with small empirical analyses only, rather than being based on them.

According to my argumentation so far, comparing the use of a local publishing infrastructure by local researchers to their use of the 'international' infrastructure could provide valuable insights into the impact of coloniality on the research system. Bibliometrics is usually a popular tool of choice to such an end. Bibliometrics, in general, serves as the principal methodology for collecting and analysing bibliographical data, including citation data. This subfield of Lis relies heavily on data derived from Wos, or, depending on the type of research questions, on institutional or state-wide research information systems (Cris, see Sīle, Pölönen et al. 2018). Both *Scopus* and *Google Scholar* (Gs) appeared on the market of sources for citation data in 2004, but have not been able to shake the position of Wos so far. It is well known that for large regions in this world, a representative amount of research results produced in the Ssh is discoverable neither in Wos, in *Scopus* nor in Cris, because only a few 'Global South' institutions maintain them. A good amount might be covered by subject databases which potentially are used as a Gs source. Gs, while providing a broader coverage for most disciplines, especially for the Ssh (Prins, Costas et al. 2016), is contested because of its questionable data quality (Jacsó 2010). Although this seems to be improving (Harzing and Alakangas 2016), its usability for scientometric research is limited.

The only subject database that has indexed a substantial amount of literature published in Africa was discontinued in 2011, and older bibliographic data is basic and not comprehensive (see Section 4.4). If required data are not readily available, this does not mean that research relying on such data is impossible. What I would call non-mainstream scientometrics[18]—that is, scientometrics based on hand-picked data—might be tedious. However, while providing insights into otherwise unsolvable research problems, non-mainstream scientometrics also point out the shortcomings of databases and tools. Databases always rely on inclusion criteria, and while it can be optimistically assumed that scientometricians are aware of the respective criteria, they might be critical about them, or about the result of the selection.[19] Usually, this is acknowledged in a footnote, but does not impact the actual research. Further, even if the scientometrician agrees with the

18 'Mainstream scientometrics' is rarely mentioned in the literature. This is probably because the vast majority of papers published in the pertinent journals, like *Scientometrics*, refer to the data found in the mentioned databases. However, Thevall 2008 makes use of the term 'mainstream bibliometrics' without explicit definition, but seems to equal it to methods based on 'core citation-based impact measures', facilitated by Wos, now also by *Scopus* and Gs, and further supplemented by researcher-based metrics (h-index), Cris-based methods, knowledge domain visualisation, and analysis of usage data from digital libraries. Thelwall contrasts mainstream bibliometrics with webometrics, which is, today, in this context, often referred to as altmetrics. Altmetrics is based on social media mentions, a specific form of link analysis (and, I would add, also on counts of views and downloads of digital publications).

19 See Chavarro, Ràfols et al. 2018 for a recent position. The current inclusion criteria for Wos are found on Web of Science Group, Web of Science Journal Evaluation Process and Selection Criteria, https://clarivate.com/webofsciencegroup/journal-evaluation-process-and-selection-criteria, visited on 27 April 2020; discussed in Sections 2.2.4 and 3.4.

criteria, this does not mean that every publication which complies with the criteria is really included in the database. Apparently, mainstream scientometrics helps to find answers to a certain type of questions, but to others, as demonstrated in this thesis, answers typically found are insufficient. This is often due to the design of highly specialised commercial tools, and it can be worked around by not limiting the database to preselected data.

Intentionally or unintentionally, mainstream scientometrics—just like any other indexing or selection process related to academic literature—often excludes research from poorly funded research environments, from formerly colonised countries, from the 'peripheries' (see Chapter 3). As I mentioned before, if journal or book publishers do not receive recognition, they will also lose potential authors since those are encouraged to compete with their publications globally. If journals and book publishers do not play by the rules set by the streamlined industry in the 'Global North', they will most likely have no chance of surviving. It is not deciding whether these are cases of exclusion or non-selection that is of central importance, but rather how both variants are deeply inscribed in the research system—and equivalent in effect.

Non-mainstream scientometrics are especially required for studying research communication taking place where registration mechanisms work imperfectly. Even though institutional registers like CRIS can provide visibility to the publications they contain, they are also used to foster competition between researchers, which is based on quantity, not quality of their work. With my thesis, I do not aim to point at the scantiness of African research documentation. I see good reasons to deliberately not participate in this competition, even though the actual reasons that few African universities participate might instead be related to a lack of resources. However, I actually observe a certain scantiness of effort undertaken by information providers and libraries in the 'Global North' to make African scholarly materials available, because from the official versions of those organisations' missions and professional codes, it follows that a close-to full worldwide coverage of relevant research literature can be expected (see Chapter 5). Relevance is rarely explicitly defined, and even the relevance-ranking algorithms of commercial academic search engines are a black box. Decolonial thinking can help to get to those latent definitions. It sets out at the border between coloniality and modernity, making visible how global designs erase local attainments. With my laborious approach, I set up a sample of 'local' Southeast African journals in order to arrive at a sample of publications by Southeast African authors that were not necessarily published by Wos- or *Scopus*-indexed journals. This way, I work around the straightforward path set by globalised information systems. Counteracting these standard tools of bibliometrics, produced in the 'Global North', the approach is denoted by 'decolonial scientometrics' (see Chapter 4).

In this study, quantitative results solely serve to establish a cursory overview of the accessibility and visibility of Southeast African Ssh content, specifically in Europe, and only because of that, an idea about the total quantity of this content is needed as well. There is no way around the use of databases that are also used for audit purposes, and each has its own set of limitations. The complex sampling strategies described in Chapter 4, combining several databases, and going down to the individual researcher level, is an attempt to overcome the problem of observing something huge and complex with very limited vision, which itself becomes very visible through this approach.

There are points where I deem it necessary to include a comparison in order to make inequalities—that I do not intend to deny—palpable. Those inequalities delineated in Section 3.6 refer only to Wos and *Scopus*, and to the reality created by them, and not to the reality of academic publishing as such. A bibliometric study is part of a rather conceptual chapter, because, just like the other considerations of this chapter, it is part of the attempt to think globally. At the core of Chapter 3 is a quest for understanding why, if society is a global system, does it then play out differently in different local contexts. It would be impossible to understand this if the focus were confined to only one certain location. Even though the most sense might be made from a familiar context, a system of communication that has global reach must be analysed as such. The second reason why the small comparative study on global scale, making use of Wos and *Scopus* databases, is located in a conceptual chapter is its meta level of analysis; those quantitative results can only be interpreted on the level of fourth-order communication (or observation: communication always relies on observation). Based on Luhmann's theory of observation[20] that I touched upon earlier, omnipresent in his mature œvre, the levels can be described as follows:

1. communication takes place: e. g. in the form of thinking, writing, and distribution,
2. communication is structured to increase its likelihood of success (see Section 2.1.3): primary registration as academic knowledge and scholarly communication, however limited in its scope,
3. structured communication is observed: indexing by, in this case, two service providers who themselves are observing scholarly communication, and
4. observations of structured communication are observed: my study observes the indexing of those services.

Basically, the level of meta observation in Section 3.6 is the same as in Chapter 4, where I focus on Southeast African authors, but in the latter, I tried hard to get the big picture, combining all sources of indexing that I could find. The difference therefore is that, in Chapter 4, although still remaining on the fourth level, I aim at getting closer to the observations from level three in order to form a more precise picture. There are uncountable observations happening on this level, so this picture is only achievable as an excerpt. Therefore, my sampling method includes as many addresses of registration and indexing as were feasible, avoiding copying the limitations of single observers on level three into this study. Unfurling limitations of single observers with the aim of reducing or relocating limitations is, I suggest, the general aim of any conceptual chapter.

1.4 Limitations

During this thesis project, rapid changes of the subject could be observed: many 'local' Southeast African journals ceased to exist, others made the

20 It borrows from second-order cybernetics, first of all from Maturana and Varela 1988, as well as from von Foerster 1981 and the form theory by Spencer-Brown 2008.

transition to e-only journals, and some even became open access. Esseh (2011) noted nearly ten years ago that the 'production of scholarly journals in African universities has seriously declined'. However, in the course of my study, the increased inclusivity of Gs also increased the discoverability of African research. Furthermore, since this project started in 2015, the concerns about what I will call 'cultural humility' in research, and about the decolonisation of the university magnified, fostered especially by the #feesmustfall student movement in South Africa which triggered much debate about decolonising universities (see e. g. Behari-Leak 2019). This thesis presents not only a snapshot of the current situation, but contributes to those ongoing discussions, and describes trajectories in academic publishing and indexing, with special attention to a European perspective on Southeast African SSH from 2008 to 2020, and developments in academic library collection management in Europe.

I need to exclude a set of factors from my study which actually have a huge impact on scholarly communication. These are, sometimes vitally important, economic and political factors which prevent many from even starting an academic education, or force or motivate scholars to migrate (brain drain). Connected to these are infrastructural factors, such as a lack of research institutions within reach. Issues like these have to be acknowledged (see e. g. Ngobeni 2010), but are not the focus of my attention. The research field of LIS seems to be tailor-made for focusing on material which was produced *despite* these obstacles.

I believe that the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991) is useful when systems of oppression are analysed in detail. Yet this study is an analysis of how the centre of modernity defines itself and therefore also defines what it considers as peripheral. A next logical step could be a more in-depth analysis of what exactly is pushed to the margins by the 'modern' scholarly communication system. This study limits itself to examining the discoverability of publications by authors located in Southeast Africa, to find out how far this small section of scholarly communication is marginalised in 'Global North' discovery contexts. On this coarse level of magnification, questions of intersectionality cannot be tackled.

It is important to be very clear that this research never intends to study Southeast African authors or publications as such, even though they play an important role in it, but rather the construction of a centre/periphery differentiation in the scholarly communication system, and the libraries' role in that. Empirical evidence for the representation of Southeast African SSH in 'Global North' databases and European libraries strengthens my argument in order to counter social injustice, which, without doubt, has its roots in the 'Global North' (cf. Krenceyova 2014). I agree with Ondari-Okemwa (2007) that scholars who are based in sub-Saharan Africa are pre-equipped 'to conduct research and produce scholarly publications on the region'. Without reciting or extending the list of challenges to the global distribution of African scholarship, this thesis provides a case for overcoming the challenges involved in discovering and acknowledging specifically Southeast African scholarship with the tools available to myself, to a researcher residing in Europe, with access to the Web and to well-supplied academic libraries.[21] My conclusions are addressed to SSH researchers, libraries, policy-makers, funders and journal editors working in the privileged countries. If, along the way, I am able to provide insights into the scholarly communications system as it unfolds in Southeast Africa, then that is a welcome side product, but the most important message that this thesis hopefully sends to Southeast Africa is solidarity. I will use my 'unearned advantage to weaken hidden systems of advantage' (McIntosh 1989).

The conceptual discussions related to the 'Global South' in the following chapters can be applied to the case of Southeast Africa, and those related to the 'Global North' can be applied to Europe. However, I do not claim that Southeast African publications are representative for 'Global South publications'. Furthermore, European libraries certainly have features that cannot be found in North America or Oceania. Nonetheless, I am still convinced that my empirical findings are informative for those different contexts. Of course, there also is a lot of internal diversity within all those categories, and thus when I talk about very specific points in the following, I will make that palpable in the text.

21 That would be libraries that score high in collection evaluation, e. g. according to the model suggested by Borin and Yi 2008; in this instance, Lund University Libraries.

The decision to study publications by Southeast African authors was due to the fact that out of all rarely studied local communities to whom a peripheral status is commonly attributed, the large majority of those authors use English as their primary academic language (see Section 4.2 for details). In regard to my own language skills, this made the project more feasible. Also, since English is established as the academic *lingua franca* globally, the marginalisation of most Southeast African publications in 'Global North' contexts cannot be based on the choice of language. Studying this aspect in relation to communities which primarily communicate in another language requires linguistic expertise which I do not have at my disposal.

The limitation of this study to the SSH is motivated by a perceived lack of attention to those fields in any kind of research about research. In Africa, it is often given lower funding priority than natural sciences with immediate applicability. In the *Dakar Declaration* (Next Einstein Forum 2016), 'the scientific community, industry, civil society, media, decision-makers from across the world, especially from Africa', makes very clear that the international competitiveness of science education in Africa is *the* high-priority goal of the increased investment in this sector. Further, the signatories are convinced 'that youth armed with STEM [Science, Technology, Engineering, and Medicine] training will be capable of meeting tomorrow's greatest challenges, including violence and discrimination', without giving any further explanation of the suggested correlation.

The literature confirms that local as well as foreign funders prioritise STEM, especially medicine and agriculture, over SSH (see e. g. Kell and Czerniewicz 2016; Mouton 2010; Oanda and Sall 2016; Pouris and Ho 2014; World Bank 2014; Zeleza 2002). This emphasis is questionable, since the manifold social problems present on the African continent and in world society as a whole require in-depth social and cultural analyses. Investment in technical infrastructures needs to be prepared by conscientious analyses of social and cultural contexts. Since 'Southern' SSH currently mostly reproduces 'Northern' theory, approaches to re-think social and cultural analyses from within deserve at least the support that the acceleration of STEM receives. Although the interest in 'Southern theory' clearly is on the rise since Connell diagnosed its insignificance in 2007, little seems to have changed about the recognition of African SSH scholars in the 'North'.

The limitation of the empirical part of my study to SSH *basic* research derives from my interest in different styles of reasoning and the set-up of theoretical fundaments. However, this interest remains implicit, and does not result in studies included in this thesis. Rather, it serves as another way to reduce the study's main unit of analysis and therefore increase its feasibility. For me, basic research in the SSH stands for the discussion and development of theories and methodologies, as well as for the exploration of new subjects of study. Some fields are richer in these types of studies, like philosophy or sociology, while others are more devoted to applied studies, like education, law or economics, but there is no general borderline between basic and applied research *between* fields. Applied studies in the SSH tend to follow a more or less rigid framework, often concerned with the enhancement of professional practice, and resulting in protocols and procedures (also see Becher and Trowler 2001). This puts limits on intellectual creativity. How I define basic research in the specific contexts of my investigations depends on the categorisations used in my data sources, and will be elaborated on in those contexts.

I am aware that the distinction between basic and applied research is contested, and simplifying. I will return to this discussion in Section 2.2.1. Also, because these categories are blurred for good reason, I think it is a valid decision to avoid a set of hard indicators that would give the impression of prevailing categories. I intend to avoid these types of categories wherever I see opportunities to do so. My research interest and the forms of data available to me drive my subjective decisions, to be made transparent at each point of decision.

Of course, scholarly communication is not always confined to the tight frame of a research paper, nor to the lengthy narration of a monograph. It also takes place in direct interaction between academics, in seminars, at conferences, on social media platforms, and by the coffeemaker. However, when this knowledge does not find its condensation in formal written formats, it is not registered as a full contribution to the scholarly communication system, and does not have equal weight as a reference. Even though there naturally are very different cultures and traditions of scholarly communication depending on discipline and research environment (see e. g. Becher and Trowler 2001), the role of registered publications is similar throughout the system. Interaction formats cannot be referred to as neatly, and to study them, a whole different set of analytic tools has to be applied.[22] Academic blogs seem to be a semi-formal format of research dissemination that can be referred to easily, problems of long-term preservation (see Hank 2011) put aside, but 'consensus seems to suggest that most institutions do not value blogging as highly as publishing in traditional outlets, or consider blogging as a measure of service rather than research activity' (Sugimoto, Work et al. 2017 with reference to Hendricks 2010). To my knowledge, there is no study describing referencing practices from formal publications *to* social media platforms. Such a study would reveal if the boundary between formal and informal scholarly communication really is more 'blurred' today than before the 'digital age' (see Borgman 2007). Contrarily, there are findings that scholarly communication in social media relies on formal publications (Kjellberg and Haider 2019). A huge difference between academic social media and formal publication is that participation in the former is limited to user groups, which are formed by criteria that do not necessarily relate to selection mechanisms of the research system. To what extent the marginalisation of contributions along geopolitical lines plays out on social media platforms, or, contrarily, if any effects of empowerment could be observed, would certainly be interesting, albeit off-scope, questions to examine.

22 The concept of information formats has been established by Jürgen Markowitz in his unpublished lecture series *Soziologie der Organisation*, 10th lecture, 19 December 2005, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Fittingly, this very reference demonstrates how unsatisfactory references to interaction formats are. Interaction formats prepare life-world situations (in the epistemic tradition of Husserl) for interaction which is targeted at fulfilling functional requirements; here, for the research system. All the mentioned formats trigger expectations, so academic interaction becomes likely to happen. Of course, it needs specific social media platforms, and a coffee machine placed in an academic institution, *et cetera*. For an example of how to study interaction formats, see Kranz 2009.

In this thesis, my interest lies in how knowledge is formally disseminated and made discoverable, rather than in how it is produced.[23] Therefore, I concentrate on formats of written communication, publishing, and indexing. Dominant practices of structuring, referencing, footnoting, acknowledging, and submitting, compared within the frame of a discipline, have changed very little over the last decades. Neither electronic publishing, nor the alleged inclusion of authors from parts of the world which were not touched by academic publishing in any significant way before, had much, if any, impact on these practices.[24]

1.5 Decolonial & Postcolonial Studies of Scholarly Communication

During the course of working on this project, I was continuously struck by the hardened structures of my own thinking, starting with thinking 'they'. Who are 'they'? Decolonial thinking helped in understanding these structures better, and also helped, in my own opinion, to crack them—at least to some extent.

A decolonial or postcolonial research perspective is potentially applicable to every discipline. Of course, there are research questions to which this perspective can hardly be applied in a promising way. Taking it on would at least, generally speaking, require that any approach to generalisability also involve checking if the research is Eurocentrically biased. In order to be able to see this, a certain sensitivity is required (helpful are Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008; Bhambra 2014a). Countless examples can be found in which results are generalised without this sensitivity and widened horizon of thought. Making use of the label 'decolonial' for my work emphasises the intention not only to provide new knowledge about a selected subject, but also to motivate methodological reconsiderations.

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23 How academic knowledge is produced can, e. g., be traced with the help of laboratory studies, see Latour and Woolgar 1979, which have recently been methodologically transferred to study non-lab-based fields, see Beaulieu 2010.

24 For changes in the technological framework of publishing, see e. g. Weingart and Taubert 2017.

De- or postcolonial thinking are more or less separate schools that agree on some points, but might prefer to use a different vocabulary. In this thesis, there is no room for a broad introduction and comparison (for a start, see Bhambra 2014b). From my reading, there are three major differences: firstly, postcolonial studies are strongly involved institutionally with English studies departments, while decolonial thinking aims at moving outside the walls of the academy, and bonds with political and cultural activism (see Grosfoguel 2007). This is reflected in the more active label of 'decolonising'. Secondly, the origin of postcolonial scholars, mostly in diaspora, is the Middle East and South Asia, while for decolonial thinkers, Latin America is the main point of geographic reference. Thirdly, while postcolonial studies tend to reject research by authors working in the 'Global North' tradition, with the exception of Derrida, Foucault, and Gramsci, who are major points of reference, decolonial studies are less focused on positionings, and more on analyses. Decolonial studies argue for what is often called 'pluriversality': breaking up traditional classifications of knowledge, and allowing for contradictions and fragmentation, irritating the dominant way of thinking with ideas from the margins. Instead of deepening the trenches between privileged and underprivileged ideas that then reproduce the dominant dual construction of concepts, decolonisation is more about triggering a gnostic[25] evolution by considering the entering of previously marginalised ways of reasoning, letting them meet on equal footing, in order to blur the boundaries between them (see e. g. Mignolo 2007). The most apparent way in which this thesis breaks with the dominant ways of conducting LIS is in thinking beyond the dogma of 'patron-centred' and 'cost-efficient' library work. This third difference between the two approaches seems to be related to their interpretation of how capitalism affects the 'Global South'. In postcolonial studies, the 'subaltern' exist somewhat outside of world society, since they never fully participated in capitalism (Chibber 2014). Decolonial thinking always emphasises that

25 Mignolo refers to Mudimbe 1988 when he introduces his preference for 'gnosis' over 'epistemology' or 'philosophy', seeing it as a superior, more inclusive concept of knowledge, also including *doxa*; see Mignolo 2000, pp. 10 sq.

modernity is the other side of coloniality; they both rely on each other and both are entangled by the same structures.

The institutional disciplinary background of this thesis is library and information studies/science(s) (LIS). There are different regional traditions of the field, and for the purpose of this thesis I suggest the following working definition: LIS is communication research with a special interest in knowledge which shapes the communication while the communication reproduces the knowledge—in a circular relationship of augmentation. LIS asks how this works under a large variety of circumstances, how it can be improved to the benefit of a specific group of people, or with a certain common good in mind, since knowledge is occasionally understood as commons (Hess and Ostrom 2007).

The concept of knowledge has been suggested as core of the discipline (Hjørland 1998). In this thesis, knowledge is defined as social, produced communicatively over longer periods of time (see Section 2.1.3). Therefore, I instead see 'information' at the core of the discipline—a very basic concept, since in social systems theory, it is one aspect of all communication. This makes LIS a very open environment in terms of research subjects, theories and methods, focusing on the informative aspect of communication, which also comprises ephemeral information.

Documentation is another very central concept in LIS, but it does not encompass all of current LIS research, specifically where it is concerned with the institution of the library. In my view (Schmidt 2016c), documentation denominates the creation of clusters of meaning from knowledge production and reception, witnessing a specific event or process of knowledge production and reception. A document, at the same time, has the function of distinguishing the event or process from others, and makes it possible to refer to it later on. In a framework informed by social systems theory, much of LIS applied research is engaged with developing (technical) formats which enhance this function, and which make it more likely that society can have this social memory at its disposal. The creation of clusters of meaning is inherently political, instructed by power and privilege, and so is their preservation and the management of access to them.

Within this broader field of Lis, scholarly communication is a research area which other fields also contribute to, e. g. science & technology studies (Sts) and the philosophy of science. Before I define in detail in Chapter 2 what the concept of scholarly communication contains in this thesis, Figure 1 is intended to relate the concept to some of its neighbours, and therefore to facilitate grasping some of its meaning. There certainly are limits to this type of concept visualisation; the size of the bubbles is not intended to display relevance, but rather it is the intersections that are crucial. In this view, scholarly communication includes all research activities, since they always relate to activities that qualified as research earlier. This 'interaction' makes those activities communicative. However, not all the activities that are in some way related to scholarly communication would qualify for the label of scholarly communication. I am referring to the bubbles in the figure that are positioned halfway outside the scholarly communication bubble. In this realm, students are graded, lab equipment is produced, accounting takes place, and a lot of coffee is drunk—none of this is scholarly communication. Especially interesting in the context of this thesis are the library and publishing bubbles. Much of the work that librarians and publishers do, and that will be discussed in the following, is not scholarly communication in itself, but rather its observation from the outside. Those observations can have an impact on the scholarly communication system. In social systems theory, the drawing of these distinctions—or crossing the border—that happens when communicative operations of a system refer to the system's environment is of high importance: these operations actually *are* the system. Operations and observations, taking system-specific structures into account, render the system. Structures only ever become palpable indirectly through operation and observation.

Speaking more generally about research interests in the area of scholarly communication studies, this can be expressed within Lis as follows: how are corpora of academic knowledge differentiated and (re-)produced and how are they observed and reflected on by different communities? This question implies a viewing direction from the abstract knowledge to the social formations. Sts, as a subfield of sociology, would generally prefer

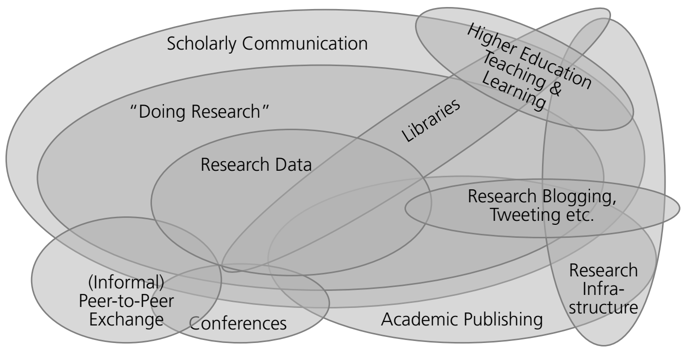

Figure 1. Scholarly communication in its conceptual context.

an inverted viewing direction.[26] Of course, this does not imply that social formations and contributions by people are not subjects of study in LIS. Rather, it widens the available means of research—these include the 'epicenters of quantification' (Buckland 2012), bibliometrics and information retrieval—and allows extensive opportunities for triangulation.

In my view, the research area of scholarly communication in LIS covers the following interconnected sub-areas of research:

1. Theoretical considerations about what a scholarly document is and which role it plays in academic communication and practices. This strand relates to the philosophy and sociology of science. Not only the different classical formats of publications are dealt with, but also research data, blogs, science communication addressed to the wider public, and lab notes. Focus can lie, e. g., on the author's role, the internal structure of communication formats, location (of authors and publishers), language, careers, or audiences.
2. Description, discussion and requirements analysis of technical infrastructures supporting the scholarly communication system, and exploration of obstacles to their further development. These are of-

26 Stöckelová 2012 raised the critique that the 'convention in STS of positioning the (Western) lab as the central object of study' further strengthened the dominant distorted representation of 'globally excellent science'.

ten found in solid functional structures of the research system, like certain social values and communication formats, furthering a slow adoption of newly developed tools (see e. g. Borgman 2007).[27]

3. Measurement and statistical analysis of academic knowledge production and reception, also referred to as scientometrics. In the sub-area of bibliometrics, bibliographical data and their interconnections through citations serve as main materials. These can provide a starting point for discourse analysis, and also for a large variety of other observations such as cooperative structures in scholarly communication or the mobility of researchers.
4. Evaluation of inclusion criteria for academic databases, development of indicators for quality assessments or the general evaluation of academic institutions.
5. Description and discussion of legal, economic, political, and discipline-based aspects of publishing and the publishing industry.

It will be increasingly clear from the following that the problems I deal with here, more or less, touch upon each of the mentioned areas of scholarly communication research in LIS.

Has a strong decolonial or postcolonial perspective been applied to those areas before? Khanal, who searched *Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts* (LISTA) and *Library and Information Science Abstracts* (LISA) databases for this 'postcolonial critical lens' in 2011, could only discover 'a handful of academic articles' (Khanal 2012). In 2017, a keyword query for 'postcolonial*' (or 'post-colonial*') or 'decolonial*' in academic journals and proceedings (books are not included in the databases) returns around seventy hits in each of the two overlapping databases, while most of the papers tackle archive and library development in postcolonial countries. In less than a handful of these hits is the core topic scholarly communication. This does not mean that there is no research that follows the motivation

27 Sometimes, this kind of research does not shy from a very normative position when, for instance, Palmer and Cragin 2009 state that the 'information practices approach offers empirical means for interrogating how scholarly information resources and tools can best support researchers' activities and goals'.

I just described, but rather that, firstly, it is not indexed in those 'Global North' LIS subject databases (there are no alternatives), and/or secondly, it does not link itself clearly to decolonial or postcolonial studies. Post- or decolonial studies of academic publishing are scarce in the fields that focus on academic knowledge production, reception and documentation.[28] The bulk of the literature I refer to in this thesis, with the exception of Chapter 5, is therefore not home to these fields, but rather to wider sociology and human geography. My literature research is problem-oriented, not discipline-oriented.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Rather than following a traditional chapter structure comprised of literature review, methodology/theory, methods, and analysis/discussion, my thesis resists this structure for several reasons, as discussed in previous sections. The broad main aim and overarching research questions, against the backdrop of an 'adventurous' methodological approach (cf. Keim 2016), can only be dealt with in the form of several smaller studies. This set-up also has the advantage of approaching the aim from different directions, and therefore will provide a multi-faceted conclusion. The single studies answer related questions on their own, but they also provide pieces of the response to the broader research questions and claims. Since the whole is more than the sum of its parts, new insights can be expected from the combination of the pieces.

Each of the multiple studies includes its own body of material. Therefore, the chapter structure instead follows these different studies, each of them including a literature review, methods description, empirical analyses, and discussion of that particular study's concepts and results.

Although Chapters 2-5 focus on different geographical areas, the European perspective remains unchanged throughout. After the introduction, Chapter 2 sets the stage for everything that follows. It conceptualises global

28 Occupation with this is not overflowing in STS either, but see, as a starting point, Jasanoff 2004; Anderson and Adams 2008.

scholarly communication and provides the thesis with its general conceptual framework. Together with Chapter 3, which focuses on the putative differentiation of centre and periphery within scholarly communication, it serves to develop a hypothetical argumentation to capture and explain social injustice as it unfolds in the research system, as well as its consequences. Some of those consequences are then examined empirically in the two following chapters, with the help of two very different focal points. As I explained earlier, Chapter 3 also includes a brief scientometric study on a global scale, for the sake of illustration. It demonstrates that, with the tools at hand, scientometric analyses on this scale lack adequacy, but can still describe inequalities very clearly, not least *because of the inadequacy* which is grounded in unbalanced databases that are typically used in scientometrics.

With Chapter 4, the regional scale is entered, on which operationalisation and data collection sensitive for social justice prove feasible. In order to provide context, it starts with an introduction into the Southeast African research environment. The bibliometric study that follows is atypical for its genre, and can be called methodically novel. Although still, at its core, a quantitative data collection and analysis, the process in itself provides many rather qualitative insights. The chapter serves as a sample inventory of Southeast African literature and its discoverability.

In Chapter 5, 'peripheral' literature—for which the sampled Southeast African literature provides a case—is now examined indirectly: European academic libraries' collection managers are surveyed concerning their likeliness to take notice of this literature. In pondering whether they should, the professional ethos, specifically the notion of neutrality, is questioned. Embedded in the context of recent developments in the higher education sector, it is discussed whether European academic libraries contribute to maintaining or even to furthering the inequalities discussed previously.

Finally, Chapter 6 presents a collection of ideas and suggestions on how to proceed with the findings of this thesis. It is mostly directed at academic librarians who were convinced by my overall argumentation that the limited visibility and accessibility of research results from the 'Global South' should be addressed.

2 The Research System in World Society

Social systems theory of research communication, as first developed by Luhmann (for this development's peak, see Luhmann 1992b),[29] provides a starting point for understanding how the research system constructs itself as global. Furthermore, it suggests how it may be structured and differentiated, and why certain academic contributions are less likely to be accepted by the community. The chapter has two parts: firstly, a short introduction to the basic concepts of social systems theory, and secondly, a conceptualisation of the research system, with a focus on the aspects relevant in this thesis' context. It is not limited to social systems theory, but explains how it helps to understand the problem at hand, combined with some analyses, e. g. of the founding principles and current inclusion criteria of WoS.

2.1 A Very Short Introduction to Social Systems Theory

While Luhmann acknowledged geopolitical differences, especially in his brief engagement with a theory of exclusion (Luhmann 2008b), he did not

29 Luhmann's 1992b sociology of the scholarly communication system has unfortunately not been translated into English, nor has one of his key texts reflecting on the integration of second-order cybernetics into social systems theory, e. g. Luhmann 1990 and other chapters in the same collection; but see Brier 2008. Since the understanding of Luhmann's work has always been a matter of broad discussion in the community, I will do without point-to-point reference to Luhmann's key ideas as tackled in basically any of his work of the 1990s, in preference for more fluent writing and reading, except when I translate his phrasing directly. My translations of the concepts' labels into English are consistent with the translations in Luhmann 1995b, with the exception of 'psychic system' which I replace with 'mental system', since the former has a spiritual connotation that I find less acceptable than the relation to health issues of the latter.

analyse them in depth. However, even if Luhmann was mainly concerned with observing the 'Global North', the detailed description of the paradoxes and contradictions found there have a critical potential that he was well aware of.[30] I hope to demonstrate in the following that social systems theory does not resist extending to taking geopolitics into account, and that it is, on the contrary, helpful when the goal is to unfold distinctions which seem to be grounded in colonialism. That the theory itself, more clearly than, for instance, decolonial studies, resides in the tradition of a hegemonic[31] knowledge production system, must not be a hindrance to that project, yet this condition must be reflected upon. Naturally, concepts from other provenance come into play when they make innovative and elucidating use of the concepts that I deem necessary to accomplish my aims, or when they provide explanatory contrasts.

It is rare to work with social systems theory in LIS, as well as in decolonial/postcolonial studies. Social systems theory descends from the constructivist tradition, but, in a way, it also is constructionist: mental and social systems both process meaning, and create their own realities, but they are, like all systems, inaccessible to each other. With their own realities, all systems create their own environments. This is the zone of irritation, where all kinds of things and other systems can potentially impact the respective system. Mental systems are occupied with translating perception into consciousness, and are therefore left for psychology to analyse, while social systems continuously rework the line between their communicative processes and what these refer to—their environments. This border-crossing

30 The critical potential of social systems theory has been discussed (and confirmed) a lot recently; see the contributions to *Soziale Systeme 20.2*, 2015, and to the edited collections by Amstutz and Fischer-Lescano 2013; Scherr 2015; Möller and Siri 2016 as well as Weißmann 2016. Although the debate cannot be reconstructed here, it will show through my reasoning.

31 'Hegemony' and 'power' are not used as analytical concepts in this thesis. They pick up on everyday language, and designate conditions such as superiority, conflict, and resistance.

is the system; the environment *is not* of minor importance.[32] I will return to the concept of social systems in Section 2.1.2.

2.1.1 Functional Analysis

The critique of the persistence of hegemonic social structures is not the purpose of social systems theory, but rather is implied in its applied method of functional analysis:[33] for whatever is analysed, the most important step is to convincingly construct a problem (*Bezugsproblem*) or a set of problems that society appears to solve with its procedures, sense making, or facilities (all of these are based on social structures—I will return to this concept). Functional analysis then moves on to look for other ways of solving the problem within the given conditions, or even for possible changes of conditions. The critical potential of the method does not primarily lie in identifying contradictions between problems and solutions, or judging the appropriateness of the solutions (for whom?), but rather in comparing those options. A high level of contradictions points to a high complexity of the system and its environment (also see Weißmann 2016). It can be seen as a normative aspect of social systems theory that it challenges society this way, inviting it to look at itself in other ways; to see and consider the risks of over-simplification.

Since a social system speaks, metaphorically, with many voices, in many languages, constructing problems from a system's perspective (as opposed

32 According to Reckwitz 1997, the importance of these analytical distinctions goes back to the Cartesian tradition (Husserl, Durkheim) of differentiating between the inside and the outside (mental/social; system/environment), as opposed to the cultural studies tradition, which prefers to orient the theoretical work towards the distinction of knowledge structures and action (Wittgenstein, Saussure, Bourdieu, Giddens).

33 For a discussion of the method and a timeline, see e. g. Schneider 2009, Jetzkowitz and Stark 2003 as well as Knudsen 2010. For a respective example, see Stinchcombe 2001. I mostly refer to Luhmann's work, e. g. 2009a,b; 2010. This excludes a huge debate about functionalism that took place from the 1950s to the 1970s which did not include a constructivist option. Merton 1957 is a prominent representative of functionalism.

to from an actor's perspective)[34] is a very difficult and complex task. Furthermore, specific social structures can hardly be analysed in isolation. Society is messy: there will not be a single social problem with a single solution. The broadness of the approach also leads to difficulties in grounding the research empirically. This is why the empirical studies of this thesis are small, but many, and why they are supplemented by the results of other researchers' empirical work. However, this thesis cannot be a full functional analysis of social structures arranged around the globality/locality of scholarly communication in the SSH, but instead serves as a preparation for such a functional analysis.

Any research methodology struggles with the limitations of time and space, and functional analysis is no exception: leads need to be cut, and suspected relations ignored. While all research has to cope with this issue, it appears to be especially paradoxical in functional analysis because this methodology is all about unfolding the social structures' complexity. Necessary simplification is society's feature, and functional analysis tries to backtrack it. Yet since research itself is based on social structures, it also relies on simplifications. Social systems theory always accepts that research takes place in society and that even sociology cannot step back and do the 'God trick' (Haraway 1988).

Once a problem, which society is most likely trying to solve with a certain structure, is constructed—and social systems theory is supposed to assist with this task—functional analysis asks how plausible surfacing explanations, found in social utterances, or constructed from them, are: why are things done this way, and not any other way? What are the conditions of the possibility of doing things this way? Any answers to those questions have to take into consideration that systems are non-transparent to themselves, just like they are to any other observer (except God, hypothetically). However, those 'answers' can be informative, for the system described, for the research system, for any system for which they make a difference.[35]

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34 From a social systems theory perspective, 'good' and 'bad' can be found in each act. Contrarily, a particular actor, who has more or less clear interests and preferences, is biased; also see Luhmann 2008a.

35 See Luhmann 1997, pp. 885 sq. The concept of information will be discussed below.

Instead of being loyal towards society and the solutions it found, functional analysis is only loyal to the problems it constructed itself (Weißmann 2016). Being the focal point of the analysis, everything else is up for critique, while the constructed problems themselves are negotiated in scholarly disputation.

2.1.2 Social Systems

A social system includes everything that communication refers to; not the things, people, *et cetera* as such, but their correlates which are constructed communicatively as references in the environment of the system, which is part of the system. Depending on the observer of this communication, those correlates can take very different forms.[36] The theory therefore turns down individualistic or cognitive explanations of social action. An actor can never know exactly what the other understood from what has been said and done in a certain social situation, but according to the other's reaction, there is a certain realm of an expected understanding. Since this realm is created communicatively, we can speak of social expectations, or as Luhmann likes to call it: *Erwartungserwartungen*, expected expectations. (Mostly) unnoticed by the actors, a layer in every communication is built of the expectations about what the other might expect, in endless rebound.

Information plays a crucial role in any communicative process as the first of the so-called three selections of communication (see Luhmann 1995b, Chapter 4; Luhmann 1996). The other two are: utterance, and, as procedural distinction between information and utterance: understanding. The concept of understanding resides on a very low level; it only means that a communicative approach has been realised, that it did not drown in the ocean of noise. Once again: communication relies on expectations: e. g., what kind of audience is expected to understand the communicative approach, based on what social constructions of groups of people? Expectations *are* social structures, reproduced through communication. They are subject to evolution; they change.

36 Luhmann's observation theory is based on second-ordner cybernetics, see pp. 48 sqq.

Like the earlier cultural studies tradition, social systems theory has a strong interest in structures, while these are seen as being constantly contested by operations: on the one hand, structure makes operation possible, but on the other, operation impacts structure. Structures can, to some extent, be experienced in the form of (disappointed) expectations.

Luhmann's huge opus mostly dealt with the description of how different kinds of social structures are actualised in communication. He built most of his theory on the empirical, essayistic or art work of others, and therefore observed how others observed society.

2.1.3 Knowledge

Both mental and social systems process meaning, and built-up memory, but for clarity of notions, mental systems deal with experience, and social systems with knowledge. Neither can be made explicit, although for different reasons. From the phenomenological tradition (Husserl) stems the idea that experience can only take place before a background of intuitions that do not become conscious, that are currently not actualised. To be able to perceive consciously, there must be the basic assurance that the world will remain there even if the curtains are closed at night. Otherwise, the processing of perception to consciousness, this crossing of the line, would result in overload, and experiences can hardly be transformed to contribute to the future background of intuitions, potentialities of something that could be expected to be experienced again, or experienced in a slightly different way. The mental system *is* this crossing of the line from perception to consciousness, and memories are, as building blocks of the individual horizon of what can possibly be perceived, the prerequisite for this systemic process (also see Luhmann 1995a, Chapter 1). When something is experienced for the first time, depending on similarity to what has been experienced before, irritation takes place. Irritation is the driving force behind the construction of the horizon of potentialities, but also of its de- and reconstruction. It also is the mental fundament of learning.[37]

37 For this concept of irritation, also see Luhmann 1995b, pp. 285 sqq. Luhmann 1999a mentions the similarity of this with the first part of the process that Piaget denotes

Social systems are differentiated into a broad range of varieties: intimate relationships develop their very own dynamics, which are entirely different from, say, those which organisations develop. Still, social systems have a lot in common, but the level of abstraction needs to be very high to get to these similarities. If we already are on such a high level of abstraction, seeing similarities and differences in how the basic processes run in *mental* systems helps to understand what knowledge is and why it has to be distinguished from experience as a mental process.

Knowledge is (re)produced in communication, in social systems, as a certain form of social expectation. As with the horizon of potentialities which make experience possible, knowledge always has to refer to existing knowledge to be accepted as such. This is why I consistently talk about knowledge production *and* reception, so the reader will not forget about this meaning. Without reception, whatever someone might see as knowledge, privately, is socially pointless, non-existent. If reference points are too weak, it will just be disposed as nonsense—just imagine the character of the mad scientist. The academic system of knowledge production and reception institutionalised this requirement, and I will go deeper into that in the following section. However, references to knowledge previously widely accepted are also required for other forms of knowing, e. g. for knowledge about how to manage a household; the younger generation learns how this is done by observing the older generation, people meet and talk about how they do things, new ideas and technologies find their way into 'how it is done', but it is very unlikely that someone would adapt a body of knowledge about household management which stems from a remote community and which has few connecting points of reference. A body of knowledge—especially if it is expert knowledge, such as household management—is relatively hermetic in its delimitation, but highly interconnected internally. Other bundles of social structures do not take the same form.

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as *accommodation*. The German term *Irritation* does not have the predominantly negative connotation it has in English.

2.1.4 Semantics of 'Research'

By concentrating on common features of research (equivalent to 'doing science' when focusing on STEM), no matter in which field, instead of singling out some of the countless differences, social systems theory gains the opportunity to explain convincingly what people could mean when they talk about research. By using the term, people need to assume that the other assigns a similar principal meaning to it (also see Section 2.2.1). Again, expectations, and hence social structures, are the prerequisites for successful communication. Communication refers to semantics, e. g. semantics of 'research', which itself refers to social structures. Communication is the operative level of society, while semantics is the set of concrete forms of language, performance, and visuality that social structures take. When semantics is made use of by different authors, and usages are compared, then a mediated, indirect, and somewhat obscured observation of social structures is possible. Semantics is the observable surface of social structures, though not as absolute forms of those structures, but rather as always relative to the observer.

To conclude this introduction, I argue that social systems theory is helpful in assembling single observations into insights about society in general. Naturally, sociology does not deal much with LIS' research problems. However, LIS could enrich its research by incorporating the understanding of society as offered by social systems theory. In order to analyse a certain section of worldwide scholarly communication, I deem it first necessary to understand how it is possible to talk about 'worldwide scholarly communication'. 'Dismissing meta narratives in postmodernism and postcolonialism, in disguising the systemic nature of power, also makes it impossible to confront power systematically' (Bahl and Dirlik 2000, p. 10). Undeniably, there are risks involved with the grand social theory approach, like sweeping aside differences and ignoring the local. My aim is to integrate and balance various perspectives.

2.2 Scholarly Communication in World Society

In this thesis, I will avoid talking about 'science' if I also refer to other disciplines than the natural sciences, because I have the impression that it is most often used with this limiting notion. I will use 'scholarly communication (system)' synonymously with 'research system' and 'academic system of knowledge production and reception'. The understanding of this system as global is the foundation on which low participation from certain world regions can be acknowledged and questioned. I am aware that announcing something which is this complex *as one* comes with risks. Therefore, in the following, I put myself to the task of anticipating and answering reservations that would automatically relate this claim to universalism, Eurocentrism and hegemony (as e. g. Waldenfels 1997, p. 201), in the hope of overcoming them.

From a social systems perspective, society reaches worldwide since communication can have and often does have global impact (Luhmann 1997, pp. 145 sqq.). Interestingly, for instance, the preservation of local cultural *differences* is institutionalised by international organisations such as UNESCO. World society co-evolves with systems that structure its central functions, such as art, education, economy, justice, intimacy, medicine, politics, spirituality, *et cetera*—and research. Even though local conditions, implementations, and consequences vary—and that includes opposition to this global impact of communication—nearly everywhere, communication bundled in those themes makes a difference. Large parts of global exchange, conflict, and cooperation are organised accordingly, with specialised roles, institutions, procedures, and semantics tied to those function systems. This is not to say that it is an ideal order of communication, but it is the order that emerged while the 'Global North' clearly dominated globally relevant communication. Universalism is one of the overarching features of this communication. Per definition, the logic of universalism is not limited in space (ibid., p. 809). The increasing relevance of functionally differentiated communication with global reach, and the tension it creates on local and regional levels, has often been described as globalisation.

It needs to be kept in mind that not all communication can be assigned to a specific function system. This is especially true for much direct interaction that happens in small groups of people. Luhmann did not focus on interaction but still acknowledged that those 'small social forms' make the 'large forms', like function systems, possible. Speaking metaphorically, function systems surface from a sea of these small forms.[38] Markowitz[39] turns the metaphor upside down, and talks about a 'lifeworld surface' (*lebensweltliche Oberfläche*) that allows the mental systems of people to relate to functional communication. The complex and complicated systemic processes in the limited everyday perception of individuals appear as simple ontological facts, as long as no explanations are asked for. The paradox of the complicated production of simplicity is what makes it so difficult to communicate results of social systems analyses to a wider audience, not least because the analyst's mental capacity also limits the understanding of systemic processes, so every analysis is necessarily incomplete.

Talking and writing about *one* global/international science (system) is quite common in everyday conversation, science policy making and certainly the library sector, and it seems to be based on the idea that all research has a common basic goal of understanding nature and society; in other words, of seeking truth. After introducing this idea and discussing different positions that I see as common and related misunderstandings, I will provide some examples which describe the research system as global. This is to show that this conceptualisation is present not only in social systems theory. Actually, all science studies tend to offer their contributions as building blocks for an understanding of 'science' as such, even though there are, of course, overlaying local and regional structures as well (e. g. Vanpaemel 2012). However, those studies often exclude, most often impli-

38 See Luhmann 1997, p. 812, with reference to Georg Simmel: 'Die Großformen der gesellschaftlichen Teilsysteme schwimmen auf einem Meer ständig neu gebildeter und wieder aufgelöster Kleinsysteme'.

39 In his unpublished lecture series *Interaktion und Sozialisation*, 14th lecture, 22 January 2007, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. For an example of how to analyse interactional and organisational communication in the context of economy, with this conceptual framework, see Kranz 2009.

citly, the SSH (for some examples, see von Gizycki 1973; Livingstone 2003; Wagner 2009) which comprise one of the (empirical) foci of this thesis. As a general approach including all disciplines, neo-institutionalism will serve as an example of the semantics of *one* global/international science system. Self-observations from within the SSH disciplines seem to be an important ground for grasping how their globality is perceived. Social sciences are more eager to discuss this than the humanities, but a debate is also taking place there, and the following section will give brief insight into that. International learned societies and other tools of global identity formation such as the *World Social Science Report* (commissioned by the UNESCO) and the *World Humanities Report* (Consortium of Humanities Centers and Institutes) surely play an important role which cannot be analysed here.

In the remaining subsections, some aspects of the research system which are relevant for the following argumentation are highlighted, such as, for instance, bibliometrics. All sections somewhat relate the consequences of European historical colonialism for institutionalised knowledge production and reception systems with a contemporary observation of world society. The last two sections draw the connecting line between the research system and the economy, insofar as it concerns the work of academic libraries, on the one hand, and researchers, on the other. A more in-depth discussion of library is presented in Chapter 5, when this thesis finally turns to questions of selection, after Chapter 4 has made clear *from what* to select.

'Indigenous knowledge' is often set in contrast to the research system, by the research system, and therefore serves as a good example of the self-observation logic of the system. For this reason, it will turn up often throughout this chapter, but no definition that takes different systems' perspectives into consideration will be given; relevant here is only how the research system constructs it. 'Indigenous knowledge' as it, for instance, constructs itself (if it does), is beyond the scope of this thesis. The observations included here contribute towards achieving the aim of this chapter: understanding how the research system constructs itself as global.

However, it might be necessary to give a very short introduction, as the recognition of 'indigenous knowledge' and 'indigenous research methods' within world scholarly communication is a rare and recent phenomenon

(e. g. Wilson 2008 and Smith 2012). According to Agrawal (1995), in the 1950s and 1960s, 'theorists of development saw indigenous and traditional knowledge as inefficient, inferior, and an obstacle to development'. There was research *about* 'indigenous knowledge', but it was not included in scholarly communication itself. The pioneering disciplines were ecology, medicine, and their neighbouring disciplines (see e. g. Simonds and Christopher 2013). Other disciplines are still far from this inclusion: for instance, Yoruba numbers and ways of calculating might add valuable insights to the discipline of mathematics (see Verran 2001). Lindh and Haider (2010) analysed documents from the context of international organisations devoted to knowledge and development, and found that indigenous knowledge is constructed as distant 'to codified scientific knowledge, be it through geographical, cultural or even temporal distance'. The project of including it into the research system is also seen as 'neo-hegemonic' (Adésínà 2006) since it would ignore that all knowledge is situated (Haraway 1988).

2.2.1 Truth and the Unity of Science

According to Luhmann (1992b, Chapter 4), truth is used as a flag in academic knowledge production to make it more likely that acceptance of assertions is reached.[40] A field-specific language, the well-directed use of references, and a typical way of phrasing claims are examples of how to use this 'flag'. Acceptance can be recognised when assertions are reproduced, and the communication goes on, now based on the new knowledge which has been created, being treated as truth until the community knows better.[41] For all this to happen, it does not make any difference if the research results are, for instance, made up; when they are accepted, they *are* true.

Theories and methods set the programme for what will be accepted as truth in scholarly communication (ibid., Chapter 6.6). Theories determine which method is needed and how it is built, and conversely, methods

40 Luhmann talks about 'symbolically generalised communication'.

41 Here, 'cognitive authority', a concept formulated by Wilson 1983, comes into play.

determine which theories are plausible. The relation is circular and therefore contingent. However, in order to relate theory or method to truth, in world society, these theories and methods either have to be already known by the addressed international community, or they have to connect to established theories and methods via reference. For instance, introducing what is called 'indigenous knowledge' into the research system might not work out when connections are too weak.

The 'unity of science' is a very common term in the scholarly discussion about science (Hess 1997; Trosow 2001), and in my understanding, it basically refers to the conceptualisation of science as a truth-discovering enterprise. Truth is thereby explicitly singular, and any differentiation of science in disciplines serves as a division of labour, while everyone involved works towards the same goal of eliciting nature's principles. This standpoint is also called the 'exceptionalist view' (Harding 2011). Throughout the history of epistemology, there was no moment when such an objectivist (or positivist) standpoint was not contested, and with Descartes, the idea of the possibility of extracting knowledge directly from nature became more and more implausible. However, it seems like this epistemological conflict is prone to producing misunderstandings.

For instance, Frohmann (2004), one of the most renowned LIS scholars, rejects any unifying account of scholarly communication, and with it any important social function of 'truth' for the research system. From my understanding, he mixes up an epistemological position with the observation of communication, disregarding the fact that communication often refers to truth and science *as if* there were *the* truth and *the* science. Any kind of description of this communication must account for that. Instead, Frohmann does not differentiate between 'doing science' and the way that society describes what science does, but rather sees an equally levelled set of 'practices' which include, e. g., knowledge practices. Even though those practices are not exclusively academic, somehow—and Frohmann does not explain how—research can be recognised when practices are studied. At one point, Frohmann refers to truth in a different way, but cannot embed it in his framework: the 'possibility of the enunciation of truth through scientific statements depends upon institutionalized, disciplined routines governing the production and circulation of journal articles' (Frohmann 2004, p. 152)—and other formal scholarly publication formats, I would add. When levels of observation are differentiated, this 'enunciation' (a 'translation' process in Latour's words) is necessary to become a scientific result or an epistemic alignment, and all that has gone through this process will *be* truth for as long as it is not disproved. Alternative truths can naturally coexist.

In themselves, reviewer decisions about acceptance or rejection for journals are only noise in the research system, and rather important for a journal when observed as organisation. Many organisations, defined by membership, are closely coupled to the research system, but they operate on their own logic, and that is the logic of decisions, effective for the whole organisation. In a non-disclosed reviewing process, the reviewer's decision to recommend the acceptance or the rejection of a paper itself does not communicate any new knowledge within the scholarly communication system. Rather, it prepares the appearance of the new knowledge to-be-communicated. If the submission is rejected, it will likely be submitted to the next journal on the reputation ranking, and, possibly, it will never become part of the academic discussion.

Frohmann actually presumes some kind of unifying feature when he phrases his own research programme: 'What is the role of documentation in scientific culture?' (ibid., p. 115). He does not grant that the research system is referred to *as one* in its self-reflection and in communication about it, which he himself performs. With this, Frohmann is an example of similar approaches on all kinds of topics where the messiness and inextricableness of communication is stated. These tend to propose tautologic definitions like: 'The field of practices is the total nexus of interconnected human practices' (ibid., p. 2). These approaches are close to their objects of study, and never step back to observe how communication reflects upon itself on several levels, affecting each other.

Contrary to this, social systems theory observes society along the semantics that it reproduces: as long as there is talk about this one scholarly communication system, referring to current events, then there *is* one scholarly communication system. Social systems theory aims to explain how it comes about that there can be a debate about what scholarly communication or research is. Even though there might be disagreement when it comes to details, a debate can only take place when understandings somewhat overlap. Asking how international academic knowledge production and reception work leads me to analyse how this specific communicative complex produces its unity, which is based on inclusion criteria. Whatever is excluded was treated by that same system before; otherwise it would not be excluded, but entirely irrelevant. Something that has been excluded can become noticeable again when it appears to irritate what is happening inside. Those irritating events are usually rejected by contributions that come from the inside of the system, from a position that is usually not questioned as such. However, through debate and events such as the communicative success of contributions that were irritating at first, but then referred to positively inside of the system, a structural change is possible. An example of such an event is the interest of single established researchers in what is called 'indigenous knowledge'. To take it in, it is released from anything that is strictly differentiated from research, e. g. transcendental procedures. Salvation must not be entangled with academic knowledge. To state blurring lines as Frohmann does, is to take insufficient notice of this type of structural change.

Decolonial thinking is wary of any kind of universalism, but

> It is not necessary, however, to reject the whole idea of totality [… because o]utside the 'West', […] all systematic production of knowledge is associated with a perspective of totality. [… It] includes the acknowledgement of the heterogeneity of all reality; of the irreducible, contradictory character of the latter […] and therefore, of the social. [… D]ifferences are not necessarily the basis of domination [… but serve] as the basis of another rationality (Quijano 2007).

Using the 'unity of science' for pointing to its internal contradictions will not add to any universalism; on the contrary, it becomes possible to see and analyse those contradictions.

Many strategies of scholarly communication, specifically on higher levels of self-observation, have the function of strengthening the unity of science. An example that is also relevant for the methodology of this thesis is the distinction between basic/pure and applied science. According to Kaldewey (2013), the dichotomy can be traced back to the 18th century, at least. Additionally, around the Second World War, it has been increasingly replaced by a linear model that prescribes the path from basic research to innovation and industrial development from which economic progress and societal prosperity arise. Since the 1990s, both models have been contested by researchers as oversimplified, without being replaced by an alternative, and both the dichotomy and the linear model are still crucial for decisions in research administration and funding.

Kaldewey suggests analysing both models as narratives which serve the creation and performance of the unity of science that is rapidly missed when the heterogeneous research in different fields is assessed. Research administration and funding agencies need to rely on some kind of unifying self-description of academia to establish unified procedures, and to justify the spending of public money to society at large. Research itself relies on this kind of identity construction for many reasons, amongst these the possibility of interdisciplinary research, the maintenance of the researcher's role in society, and the boundary work required to retain scientific freedom. At the same time, the ongoing integration of 'indigenous knowledge' and similar boundary appearances foster the problem-solving competence of academia and deliver a strong argument for funding and status: 'new' topics and increased 'diversity' sell. Of course, the narrative of basic and applied research is only a small, but important part of the research system's self-description that has to be rather complex to be convincing.

As explained earlier, the self-referential communication that circulates in a function system can be irritated by communication happening in its environment. For this to happen, environmental communication usually interferes with the function of the system. For instance, the research system will be irritated when reputation is acquired monetarily. In this case, the economic system, which operates by selling and buying, irritates the research system. When that happens, this tends to be subject to critique, and academic freedom is found to be at risk. These borderline cases usually stabilise the unity, closure and autonomy of the system. In the mentioned case, it is likely that institutional measures will be taken in order to prevent such interference in the future, as a 'service' of organisations in the close environment of the research system.

2.2.2 The Globality of Social Sciences & Humanities

Deviating from social systems theory, the neo-institutional approach to the research system is based on the analytical distinction between scientific communities on the one hand, and an institutionalised system on the other hand, codified by institutions such as the UNESCO or national funding agencies, 'kept sharply distinct from non-Western, premodern, or indigenous knowledge systems' (Drori 2003, pp. 5 sq.). The function of the institutionalised system for world society is identified by providing authority for the knowledge that is produced by scientific communities. In other words: the system procures a framework that helps identify the knowledge that society should consider. The apparent worldwide isomorphism of science organisations and practices is due to world polity models which 'direct policy prescriptions that influence nation-states to be more rationalistic and progressive [sic!], and to be organized around and oriented toward universalistic perspectives' (Schöpfer and McEneaney 2003). Science, the 'conceptual axis of modernity' (Drori 2012), is seen as a main driver for developmentalism (see the critique in the introduction to this thesis).

Turning to semantics of a global system in the case of the humanities, it becomes apparent that the discussion there is less interested in global institutional frameworks, but more in the epistemological foundations of the disciplines. In their introduction to the collection *The Humanities between Global Integration and Cultural Diversity*, Mersmann and Kippenberg (2016) trace the trajectory of 'global humanities' back to their introduction by Dilthey in 1883. By putting the humanities on empirical feet, they were supposed to produce knowledge with the same reliability as the natural sciences. 'The totalizing world system of the natural sciences is built into the human sciences in order to secure the equivalence of the humanities with the natural sciences and force their independence' (ibid.). During the Cold War, however, the authors argue, it became increasingly apparent that the knowledge produced by this type of independence was of little use for society. For that reason, the more open concept of cultural studies was introduced, which allowed for exchange and cooperation with social, technical, and natural sciences. This 'reunion' is interpreted as a 'reorientation phase directed towards global humanities' (ibid.). For Mersmann and Kippenberg, it seems to be clear that those new partners have been 'global' for a long time, and together with the event of technology for instant global communication and English as the common *lingua franca* in all disciplines, the time has come for the humanities to identify as global as well. This view is supported by other authors contributing to the same collection of articles.

Analysing the debate about 'global humanities' much further would go beyond the scope of this thesis. However, another argument is crucial in exactly this context: the impact of postcolonial studies on 'glocal' thinking in the humanities. Kola (2013), for instance, suggests taking comparative literature studies as a starting point for truly global humanities as such: moving beyond binaries of 'Western/Non-Western', which means, to my mind, to be open to unexpected understandings of the subject, e. g. looking for neighbouring concepts to 'literature', 'music', or 'spirituality', which exist outside of typical 'Global North' frameworks, with no need to include them in the actual study. For humanities scholars educated inside those frameworks, they are unavoidable orientation points, but it certainly is possible to think beyond them. While this approach might still be rare, the mere fact that it is discussed proves that there is movement in the self-understanding of the humanities, and a lack of globality in the disciplines is perceived, as well as a longing for knowledge production and reception that no longer follows the 'Global North' tradition of setting its own traditional understanding as solid point of reference, but instead listening in on the world. This would also include making the canon much more flexible, and ceasing to expect specific references.[42]

As mentioned before, the social sciences are more clearly concerned with their own globality. It seems like the debate started very slowly (Gareau

42 A comparable unlearning request addressed to a whole discipline is the edited volume *Globalizing International Relations: Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, Peters and Wemheuer-Vogelaar 2016.

1985; Genov 1991), and was, for a long time,[43] pretty much limited to the journal *Current Sociology*. At the same time, the first social science discipline that intensely started discussing the correlation between the objects and subjects of study, as well as between the prestige of a journal and the 'Global North' affiliations of its authors, was geography (Livingstone 1995; Gregory 1998). This happened in the course of the 'spatial turn' in the SSH and a general 'Anglo-American hegemony debate', which is still ongoing (see e. g. Meeteren 2019). In sociology, the focus seems to be both on the epistemological and on the participant level, in terms of researchers and populations studied. However, Bhambra criticises that the debate lacks concern for 'dialogue *among* regions' (Bhambra 2014a, pp. 93 sqq.), especially among regions in the 'Global South'. It is largely restricted to a spatial centre/periphery model (see Chapter 3).

A brief recapitulation of the debate about 'global sociology' taking place in the context of the International Sociological Association (ISA; also see ibid., pp. 110 sqq.) provides some insight into its difficulties. As ISA's Vice-President for National Associations (2006-2010), and then ISA President (2010-2014), Burawoy pushed for a truly global ISA agenda, and met support as well as resistance. The 2008 ISA Council of National Associations conference proceedings (Burawoy, Chang et al. 2010) showcased many national perspectives on sociology, representing the three levels of economic development as defined by the World Bank (Sztompka and Burawoy 2011). Burawoy (in ibid.) explains this container approach by the huge impact that individual histories of colonialism, regional and national developments have not only on social structures, but also on the institutionalisation of sociology. Sztompka, himself ISA President 2002-06, accuses the contributors to the volume of conducting 'ideological sociology', while he strongly argues that sociology is supposed to be about identifying social universalities (also see Archer 1991), that 'unknown researchers, about whom nobody cares' do not contribute much to: 'the regularities and mechanisms of human conduct, interpersonal relations, formation of groups, establishment of rules, operation of power, and emerging of in-

43 For a more recent example, see the contributions to Keim, Çelik et al. 2016.

equalities are the same—universal' (Sztompka and Burawoy 2011). Since sociology, Sztompka continues, was established by European and US researchers, the canon is formed accordingly, and even though he is curious to see any 'true alternatives', to him, those are currently non-existent.

Sztompka, for instance, omits the fact that in 1378, the Arab scholar Ibn Khaldun published his Kitāb al'ıbar, in which he established social theory, elaborating that prevailing social rules do not evolve from powerful leaders, who appear to set them. Replacing the leaders does not immediately change the social rules, which rather evolve from majority society, Ibn Khaldun found. He also discussed methodological issues. While the influence of Ibn Khaldun on the humanities has been acknowledged by European historians since the 19th century, his work is not included in the sociological canon, even though this has been suggested and discussed quite a lot (see Dhaouadi 1990; Adésínà 2006).

Countless times, it has been demonstrated that Sztompka's universalism is misleading: 'Global North' social theory very often does not translate well to 'Global South' contexts. To mention just some examples, Oommen (1991) analysed the applicability of a wide range of common sociological concepts in the Indian context, and concludes that they *need* to be transformed considerably in order to be applicable there. By focusing on Confucianism, Spickard (1998) shows problems with the universal approach of the sociology of religion; and already in 1979, Nigerian sociologist Ake (a revised version was published in 1982), presented an extensive critique of the political sociology canon that basically remained the same until today (Maine, Tönnies, Weber, Durkheim, Parsons et al.). In those theories, he argues, the lack of certain institutions or social characteristics in 'Third world countries' is referred to as deficiency and underdevelopment, without paying any attention to the possibility that the characteristics that are in place there can probably be explained in other terms, which 'Global North' theories simply do not capture.

Sztompka argues that when researchers produce knowledge 'about just their own society, it is either area studies, or national statistics, but in my understanding not sociology' (Sztompka and Burawoy 2011). In the light of investigating the explicative value of the sociological canon for social structures in the 'Global South', this understanding can hardly be upheld. However, the distinctions between area studies and any SSH discipline (also see Section 2.2.5) is not only reproduced in the canon, in curricula at higher education institutions (HEI) and in organisational structures, but also in the organisation of library collections worldwide. Ake had already criticised the 'petit-bourgeois aspirations of Third World social scientists [which aid] the survival of the received social science' (1982, p. 187). Uncritically adopting the canon and adapting to the found structures is a straightforward way to communicate successfully, no matter where a researcher is placed. Nonetheless, incentives naturally lie in the hope to improve the researcher's own working and living conditions by making advances to the 'Global North' standard (Burawoy 2008).

Yet, regardless of whether a sociologist supports the idea of social universalism or examines the impact of local conditions on social structures, they identify as sociologists (analogically, this is true for musicologists, geographers, historians, *et cetera*). As the debate progresses, for canon-bonded sociologists, it becomes harder to ignore 'other' approaches. Many SSH disciplines now have established discussions beyond local boundaries, and this potential reachability is what a global system is defined by. Internally, boundaries are drawn that direct the flow of communication, and analysing some of those boundaries is the purpose of this thesis.

2.2.3 On History & Function of the Research System

According to Haider (2008), the

> wish (of many) for science to be more inclusive and participatory [...] never questions the cultural conditionality of the premises on which it is based. Hence, science is supposed to be 'global', however it is seen to be so only in its reach, while its roots are never at issue.

This section attempts to address those roots, even if it can only be done very briefly here, and the focus is more on the roots of the SSH, and less on those of the natural sciences.

Models for how a researcher, a university or a research paper have to be featured originate from privileged countries (cf. Keim 2008, p. 32). Although the history of scholarship is culturally diverse,[44] there is no doubt that these institutions advanced in Europe, while European scholarship had been under Arab influence during the 9th to 13th centuries (see e. g. Hoodbhoy 2007). While rarely put into scholarly writing, the argument exists that it is natural and unproblematic that the 'Global North' dominates the research system, since it was built and maintained there in the first place. The emergence of the first European universities in the 12th century is usually seen as the founding moment for modern scholarly communication, which started to flourish when the new institutional infrastructure consolidated under the translation and absorption of the Arabic scripts in the 13th century. The contemporary usage of the concept 'science', referring to a specific type of knowledge derived from methodical observations, only dates back to John Wilkins, one of the two first secretaries of the Royal Society of London in the 17th century (McColley 1937).

The declining influence of the Arab world, and the hegemony of the 'Occident' on global knowledge production and reception mainly has geopolitical and religious causes. The Abbasid empire began to fractionalise in the 10th century. Mongols and Christians conquered large parts of the empire in the 13th century. The crusaders and colonisers in the following centuries impeded alternative practices of knowledge production and reception on the territory they controlled, and while the dominant Ash'arism school in 13th century Islam was rather anti-philosophical, the church was the very foundation from which the European university could grow. For the same reason of lacking support by the spiritual authorities, the advanced

44 It is impossible to date and locate the first social event of asking 'philosophical' questions, cf. Edelglass and Garfield 2011; it might be tied to the event of reflexive thinking in the evolution of the human brain and consciousness. To the best of my knowledge, the oldest known scholarly manuscript is a mathematical papyrus from Egypt, circa 1850 BCE, the Papyrus Moscow 4676, problem 14, part 1. The oldest compilations of scholarly manuscripts stem from China, 8th century BCE. According to the Book of Daniel, a preadaptive medical trial was undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar in the 6th century BCE, while the invention of the experimental method is usually attributed to Jabir of Persia, in the 8th century CE. Arab physician Al-Rohawi suggested something similar to a clinical peer review in the 9th century.

Chinese knowledge production could not oppose the expansion of 'Global North' science (Huff 2003).

One of the main reasons why the still quite global scholarly exchange lost momentum was the fall of Timbuktu in 1591. Situated at the Niger bend, the city was a major centre of Arabic scholarship and book trade in the 15th and 16th centuries (Singleton 2004), until the Songhai Empire was conquered by the Moroccan Saadi dynasty, in search of gold, people to enslave, and other valuables of interest to Europeans. Timbuktu's autonomy and book trade routes, and therefore its intellectual appeal, faded, while gold and slaves were traded with Europe and America in the hope of catching up with their highly productive economy (Pelizzo 2001).

'If science is itself defined by practices that emerged from the Scientific Revolution in Europe, how can one possibly characterize alternative forms of "science" in other traditions?' (Allchin and DeKosky 1999). While there is no alternative research system, sets of bodies of knowledge dominant in certain regions still differ because they are embedded in a larger social context which differs between regions. The increasing awareness of the significance of these bodies of knowledge, triggered by postcolonial studies, caused confusion in the 'Global North' studies of science:

> As a glance at the titles of articles published in leading history of science journals in the past two decades reveals, the understanding of what science is and who counts as a scientist has broadened and diversified to include household herbalists, imperial adventurers, women computers, Renaissance bibliographers, Victorian pigeon fanciers, artists depicting the flora and fauna of their native Mexico or India, and many other people lacking white coats, horn-rimmed spectacles, and a PhD (Daston 2017).

While all these figures and the knowledge they stand for have been taken more seriously since the postcolonial turn, the mocking undertone in this quotation is evident. The consequence that Daston draws from this development is the suggestion to relabel the history of science as 'history of knowledge'. I agree, that, before it had been introduced by the colonisers, there was no 'science' in Africa, but there was, and still is, a way of thinking and producing knowledge that, while institutionalised in very different ways, is functionally equivalent to 'Global North' philosophy and epistemology (see e. g. Brown 2004). I suggest that the problem both structures solve is the uncertainty of what can be accepted as highly relevant (new) knowledge, valuable for the society as a whole, and therefore memorised and passed on to future generations with the help of institutionalised procedures. In the case of 'Global North' epistemology, these procedures are summed up as 'research' or 'doing science'. This also is very similar to what neo-institutionalism suggested as science's function, as mentioned before. These procedures require extensive effort, so capacities are always limited. Therefore, epistemologies serve as a mechanism to facilitate selection.

The functional equivalence of 'Global North' epistemology and ways of 'African indigenous knowledge production' which deviate from this epistemology have long been, and still are widely doubted by scholars, not only in the 'Global North', because they insist on written format, universal approach and a certain type of method, as well as a metaphysical position similar to those in use in the West (ibid.; also see Moahi 2020). Because of this scepticism, the structures of the research system did not change to include these bodies of knowledge, but instead researchers all over the world were recruited to work under its conditions, leaving all local functional equivalents on the side.

At first, colonialism, and then the continued global dominance of 'Global North' thinking, not least exerted through aid programmes, often against the background of naive good will, made the establishment of alternative structures impossible, e. g. after the liberation of African countries from political colonialism. Even if it would be exaggerated to talk about historical moments of *tabula rasa*, a better chance for experimenting with the institutionalisation of functional equivalents is hard to envision (also see Section 4.2). Since the 'Global North' is responsible for hindering local 'Global South' knowledge production and reception systems from prospering, it is also responsible, in order to avoid racism and social injustice, for making sure that it is giving up its dominance in a system that it forced the 'Global South' into. There are countless arguments that the research system fails to address local needs in the 'Global South' (e. g. Connell 2019;

Drori 2003; Hydén 2017; Vessuri, Guédon et al. 2014, p. 156), and by consequence, it also fails to produce adequate knowledge to improve the understanding of many issues concerning the 'Global South', no matter from which perspective.

Looking at the history of scholarship, it seems like the erosion of intercultural respect and exchange started around the same time that the European scholarly institutions emerged—no causality claimed—which are the direct predecessors of the current research system. This counter-evolution (opposed to co-evolution) reached its ultimate peak with colonialism, and the systematic destruction of local knowledge institutions. Since formerly colonial policies are continued under the guise of developmentalism, the unequal opponents of the colonial powers could never fully recover from the damage.

According to Weingart, 'cultural values are incorporated into the evaluation criteria of the research system, even if they do not have anything to do with the effective structures of the social system in the first place. They are translated through and into these structures' (my translation, Weingart 2013, p. 28). Weingart stated this in regard to the low number of female researchers, especially in higher positions, and to 'other marginal groups', including researchers from 'developing countries'. The prejudice that 'no relevant contributions to research can be expected from them, stabilises their defective prerequisites of inclusion' (ibid., p. 29). Although I agree that values are relevant in this regard, I suggest focusing on 'harder' structures, since prevalent prejudices can hardly be tackled if they are not semantically tied to broader social structures; admonitions of letting prejudices go, addressed to people in certain roles, often produce more resistance than discernment. I will return to this issue especially in the context of the discussion of (social) bias in Section 5.2. In this thesis, I focus on the 'hard' structures that are inscribed into the (technical) systems of scholarly publishing, registration and literature research. An important embodiment of those systems is the citation database, the foundation for communication that directly supplies the institutionalised procedures of establishing relevance for new knowledge: bibliometrics.

2.2.4 Bibliometrics as Means of Stabilisation

In this section, I will argue that bibliometrics, together with its most important tool, *Web of Science* (WoS), is a structure that the research system set up to observe itself, to foster its own evolution and stability. Here, stability is not meant in a normative sense. As history verifies, it is at least difficult to force social structures to change significantly in a prescribed way. From a social systems theory perspective, social systems always operate towards their own continuance, so impulses of change are naturally existential risks. For systems of interaction which can only evolve under the condition of simultaneous attendance, Luhmann (2011) stated that the prerequisite for strategic structural change is indeed the destruction of structures, and this requires irritation coming from the environment of the system. Systems are as stable as resources allow, as long as operations can continue, no matter how contradictory or ineffective structures appear to an observer. How do bibliometrics contribute to a stable research system?

One of the original purposes of Garfield's proposal for a citation database that later became WoS was to 'eliminate the uncritical citation of fraudulent, incomplete, or obsolete data by making it possible for the conscientious scholar to be aware of criticisms of earlier papers'.[45] Research based on erroneous earlier research is a serious risk for the stability of the whole system, because the error could exponentiate, finally be detected, and consequently, raise doubt about the system's operations being directed towards its function of providing society with new knowledge. The supply of resources could be put at risk. Pre-publication review is a poor mechanism for a truth-oriented system. A facilitated or even integrated tracking of critical post-publication reviews is logically superior, when barriers of implementing such a system (see e. g. Knoepfler 2015) can be overcome.

There are other purposes of the database mentioned in Garfield's proposal which are clearly beneficial for the reduction of the general improbability of communicative success (see Luhmann 1995b, pp. 157 sqq.): the 'association-of-ideas index[ing]', and the provision of 'each scientist with

45 Garfield 1955; for another discussion of the database's information retrieval function, see Taubert 2013. For a critical analysis of its data quality, see Tüür-Fröhlich 2016.

an individual clipping service [...], thus increasing communication possibilities between scientists' (Garfield 1955).

The databases of the then-operating *Institute for Scientific Information* (ISI) served all their original purposes well, but soon, not only the scholarly communication profited from this information, but also the organisations that were closely coupled to it: funding agencies, administrative divisions of research institutions, and ministries of science. They could easily employ the *Impact Factor*[46] as the indicator they needed to facilitate their work of distributing resources, which, of course, is a very different task. However, for both system types, the laborious inclusion of journals into the database became a highly relevant and controversial problem.[47]

When ISI was acquired together with its indexes by *Thomson Scientific & Healthcare* in 1992, which marks the point of full establishment of this tool of self-observation of the research system, the emergence of research in the 'periphery' (see Chapter 3) was still easy to ignore, and postcolonial theory was only known to some literature and cultural studies scholars. Although this has since changed somewhat, it is not surprising that the indexes have only slowly been extended to cover 'Global South' journals. One of the main problems of self-observation in scholarly communication is the tremendous amount of communication history that needs to be prevented from being forgotten—and this is much different from other worldwide operating systems and systems in general: 'Learning processes make the world more complex. And forgetting is the corrective that goes along with this' (Luhmann 1995b, p. 329). Neglect is the easiest way of dealing with complexity. If the scholarly communication of the centre never takes notice of the neglect of its own periphery,[48] the central memory organisations

46 The *Impact Factor* is calculated per journal as follows:

$$\mathit{Impact\ Factor}_{year} = \frac{\mathit{Citations}_{year-1} + \mathit{Citations}_{year-2}}{\mathit{Publications}_{year-1} + \mathit{Publications}_{year-2}}$$

47 It would be very interesting to look into the history of this debate: was there a time when administrators and evaluators cared about what the Impact Factor actually measures?

48 According to the studies that Altbach 2005 reviewed, this neglect is especially noticeable with North American scholars.

will never load themselves with more complexity. What is at risk here is the self-description as a worldwide system.

Garfield (1995) himself noticed this problem in the context of his 'experience in studying science in Latin America':

> [a]chievement in science is not democratically distributed, as citation data show. A small group of individual investigators represents an elite force that disproportionately contributes to the advance of knowledge. Recognizing and providing for this elite would seem a logical way to efficiently and systematically improve a nation's science base.

What Garfield simply accepts,[49] or fails to see,[50] is that the citation database is not selecting in favour of the advancement of knowledge, but actually reinforcing the contingent preselection of several instances which is only loosely dependent on the actual innovative value of the research result, or editorial quality. '[P]olicies that equate journal quality with coverage by Wos may increase the number of journals and publications in Wos, but decrease the recognition of the science published in other journals' (Chavarro, Ràfols et al. 2018). This is also the reason why Garfield (1997) can easily demonstrate a 'concentration effect' in Wos journals—a classic example of 'reflexive bibliometrics': metrics that change what they measure. A citation database is put together by its data analysts, by algorithms, and by the authors of the indexed papers. There is much randomness involved in the process of including cited literature into the database, depending on literature research skills of the authors, their access to literature, their personal networks, *et cetera*. Some decisions not to cite a colleague's work, even though it is relevant, might also be strategic. Reasons to cite are extremely varied,[51] and only a few of those reasons are actually meant to

49 As Garfield 1995 concludes, 'better information can provide a better perspective for making decisions, but these decisions must still be made by individuals. So, by all means, choose wise editors and policymakers'.

50 Garfield 1997 explains that 'Third World scientists routinely send reprints to colleagues in other countries. And relevant or significant material will eventually be cited in research or review articles'.

51 For a characterisation of the nature of different citations, see CiTo, the Citation Typing Ontology, version 2.8.1, 16 Feb. 2018, http://purl.org/spar/cito, visited on 29 June 2020. For a discussion of the 'politics of citation', see Mott and Cockayne 2017.

award the cited work as outstandingly innovative: negative citations are omnipresent, and looking at Garfield's 1955 statement cited earlier, these 'criticisms' are what WoS was supposed to make visible in the first place. It is impossible that a database that is based on citations, but does not differentiate between types of citations, can serve both diametrically opposed purposes *well* at the same time. However, the database *does* serve those purposes, because it allows for free-floating meaning to be connected to WoS search results, as long as the consequences of this inadvertence are not reflected upon.

Looking at the wording of the current WoS inclusion criteria for journals,[52] it appears as if the goal was to rule out every journal that does not follow exactly the same route as the journals which are already included. For instance, 'peer review' is the only accepted form of quality control, and while a definition is not provided, the papers are required to prove somehow that they have been peer reviewed—an editorial statement is insufficient. This raises doubts as to whether a journal that relies, for instance, on a post-publication peer-review process would be accepted, because such a procedure could imply that papers are published without peer review in the first place. Interestingly, WoS thus demotivates the implementation of post-publication peer review, even though, I suggest, this is a promising mechanism to make 'the conscientious scholar [...] aware of criticisms of earlier papers' (Garfield 1955).

In general, the phrasing of the guidelines is vague enough to give room for subjective judgement of inclusion reviewers. For instance, journal content must be 'consistent with accepted best practices in their subject area'. This presumes that those 'best practices' are in place and known to the reviewer. Further, papers must 'appropriately acknowledge the surrounding literature for the topic', and there is no indication of how appropriateness is supposed to be evaluated. The following criterion, albeit difficult to interpret, is particularly disturbing: the 'demographic of the contributing authors should be consistent with the topical and geographic characteristics of the Editorial Board' of the journal. Polemically asked, does this imply,

52 See Fn. 19.

for instance, that an Ugandan author should only submit to a journal with at least one Ugandan editorial board member, or maybe it suffices if he or she is East African?

The continuation of this section is no less troublesome: 'The size and composition of the Editorial Board must be consistent with the volume and breadth of publication output. Due consideration will be given to journals that employ full-time professional editors.' The question that immediately springs to mind is: Does the employment of full-time editors, which rarely occurs in the realm of 'Global South' and SSH journals, increase the odds of a journal of being indexed? Does this criterion favour journals that outsource editorial services to commercial publishers? Even if there is no room to follow up on these questions here, the reservations they raise are well in line with my critique of Garfield's understanding of scholarly communication.

By selecting only journals that are used as publication outlets by senior scholars who have already built up reputations related to a specific topic elsewhere,[53] the collection is kept small without any compelling content-related reason. One could even speculate that new ideas and forms of their presentation are deliberately excluded. This prevents an overload of the selection mechanism.

As the research system differentiates more and more into sub-fields, the amount of information that a single researcher needs about the world decreases—polymaths are figures of the past. Compensating this lack of omniscience, a present-day researcher only needs to know *if and how* further knowledge is available. Since having this kind of full overview is just as impossible as *actually knowing*, it becomes somewhat 'random who works with which information on which problems' (my translation, Luhmann 2009c, p. 296). Randomness does not seem like a very efficient mechanism for enlightenment-driven knowledge production and reception. As a workaround, preselection of information becomes crucial. However, since in a

53 For example, in the criterion that requests that 'authors must have affiliations, geographic diversity, and publication records that validate their participation in the scholarly community associated with the stated scope of the journal'.

functionally differentiated society the research system operates autonomously, there cannot be a central organisation which preselects information. As soon as the centralisation of this important mechanism becomes apparent, it puts the autonomy of the system at risk.

Luhmann argues that the current research system needs both some randomness and federated preselection: a researcher's information needs are often defined by randomly received information that can not only be met with the help of preselection mechanisms such as libraries, indexes and search engines, but also by learned societies, journals, and conference programmes. While the latter are still controlled by research communication, the former are increasingly dominated by economically oriented communication. The research system accepts this service of the economic system, and reflects on the related risks only intermittently. The kinds of information products that are set up under an economic paradigm are likely to be very different from what the research system would produce if it solved the task through its own means. It would be interesting to investigate if researchers tend to accept shortcomings of a commercial product more easily than shortcomings of a publicly funded research venture, because there naturally is a certain understanding that profitability is a basic requirement for business, while for research, the most basic requirement is validity—being acceptable as (foundation for) truth.

2.2.5 Globalisation & Area Studies Incarceration

For a European researcher, with *World Wide Web* search and access to central (subject) databases, it is tempting to believe that access to all relevant bibliographic information is provided through a combination of these means. That this way of thinking is common, would not have been possible without processes of globalisation, which are usually conceptualised in one of the following ways (see Stichweh 2007): either as systematic unification that reduces cultural differences, or as creation of a global society out of pre-existing diversity, maintaining this diversity as 'multiple modernities' (Eisenstadt 1999). Under these main categories, more sub-categories can be constructed. Crane's (2002) classification of four models of cultural globalisation can, for instance, be split in two. On the one hand, we have the Marxist theory of cultural imperialism, and the cultural policy model of regional and urban strategies, longing for control of incoming and outgoing content and products. On the other, we have cultural hybridisation with increasing numbers of different cultures contributing to a diverse global culture, and the reception theory where the enriching and varying influence of global media products on diverse cultural groups is emphasised. However, both ways of approaching globalisation are normative, and 'postulate too much continuity' (Stichweh 2007).

Instead, social systems theorist Stichweh (ibid.) proposes conceptualising the crucial points of reference when talking about globalisation as evolving 'Eigenstructures' of world society which

> reproduce pre-existent cultural diversity and push it back at the same time, creating new social and cultural patterns of their own […;] new structures overlay old structures but do not extinguish them. They rather reduce the informational relevance and the frequency of activation of the structures.

World society itself is defined by the potential worldwide reachability of communication on the one hand, and featured by its Eigenstructures on the other. To arrive at this point, evolution took off, according to Stichweh, at least five to six hundred years ago (which, interestingly, is when the age of European colonialism took off). He lists several Eigenstructures: formal organisation; social networks beyond kinship, friendship and customer-client relations; epistemic communities; world events; world cities; and global markets,[54] but, as Stichweh states, the most important Eigenstructure is the function system. I introduced the research system as such a function system earlier. Further examples include the economic system, the political system, the legal system, and the systems of art, intimacy, spirituality, education, and health care. Regional, culture-specific versions of

54 With Damrosch 2006, one could add: world literature which 'is not an infinite, ungraspable canon of works but rather a mode of circulation and of reading, a mode that is as applicable to individual works as to larger bodies of material, experienced by established classics and new discoveries alike'.

the functions are included in a world wide structure, undermining their respective autonomy, but 'without attacking these cultures directly' (ibid.).

Although Stichweh describes the process of Eigenstructure formation as much more harmonious than the theory of cultural imperialism or the cultural policy model would—probably in order to avoid normativity—he still acknowledges that world society 'bears significant characteristics of its Western origin' (ibid.), but he does not challenge that. 'Origin' is an unsuitable concept to describe a murderous system of appropriation and suppression. To put it less normatively: cultural or regional differences are mediated, often violently, along relations of dominance and submission. Conflict-bearing edges are continuously abraded or encased.

To return more specifically to the case of the research system, how can the mediation work without pushing 'the indigenous' to the margins per default, as we have seen in Sztompka's view about 'global sociology' in a previous section? With Oommen (2014), I argue that the key lies in contextualisation, and in comparative research. This does not mean that SSH research always has to include data collected in different places and concepts developed on another continent. Rather, limitations of the researcher's own perspective need to be acknowledged, and an eagerness to learn about other perspectives is required, even if this necessitates going to some lengths for information acquisition. If this then results in truly global approaches of data collection and theory development that take different local contexts into consideration, SSH might be able to bestow its irrevocable globality with more positive connotations. The overlaying Eigenstructures seem to work against this kind of ideal, especially disciplinary distinctions such as the incarceration of area studies as bundles of social and cultural studies *about* a certain area. These are set apart from standalone SSH disciplines with longer traditions, which usually focus on studying the cultural and social aspects of the 'Western lifestyle'. Deviations from that tend to be shoved over to area studies since their full establishment in the last quarter of the 20th century (cf. Kolluoglu-Kirli 2003).

Area studies emerged in the USA during the Cold War, and the ongoing liberation from the colonial powers in many countries. It was meant to gather information about political enemies and potential diplomatic partners. In Europe, a similar development took off at the universities, as, for instance, the consequences of the 1961 Hayter Report in the UK show (Hayter 1975), even though the colonial powers simply had to continue to gather information about the colonised people and lands. Area studies were criticised as unscientific by representatives of the traditional SSH, based on a rivalry between a 'grand theory' and a rather descriptive approach (Hanson 2009). Now, area studies has also 'outlived the original reason for its construction and has become an entrenched structure that maintains the separation of area expertise from general knowledge' (Harootunian and Miyoshi 2002, p. 6). In effect, the interdisciplinary set-up paved the way for cultural studies, women studies, postcolonial studies, global studies, *et cetera* (cf. Wallerstein 1997). However, the fading of the discipline left behind a robust institutional structure, especially in Europe,[55] which grew on the foundations of specialised linguistic and literary studies already in place, and is now further maintained as area-specific central libraries and university library branches. For instance, in a number of European countries, African study centres exist and are collaborating through AEGIS, while their libraries maintain their own, related network of European Librarians in African Studies[56]. While skills developed by library staff there are of tremendous value in any attempt to decolonise general academic library collections, they are usually locked in those structures, with weak routinised cooperation between these two types of libraries.

2.2.6 Academic Libraries & Cultural Humility

According to Morales, Knowles, et al. (2014), academic librarians

> are perhaps uniquely equipped and empowered to define and redefine systems of knowledge that convey 'truths' about what we know about the world and how that knowledge is organized and evaluated.

55 In the USA, departments and libraries were rapidly closed; see Franzinetti 2015.

56 ELIAS, AEGIS. African Studies in Europe, http://www.aegis-eu.org/european-librarians-african-studies-elias, visited on 29 June 2020.

In reality, at the same time as library core functions such as selection are outsourced to vendors (see Sloniowski, Williams et al. 2013; Nicholson 2015; and Sections 5.4 and 5.6), a librarian's identity crisis prevails: why should a subject specialist be needed when the whole acquisition process, starting with selection, is already covered by vendors (also see Tappenbeck 2014)? It is never questioned whether the vendors follow interests that are probably in conflict with the professional ethos of librarians, which I will discuss in Section 5.3. Since managerial jargon is common at libraries they are increasingly defining themselves as 'a part of trading in commodities, [...] as part of the production/consumption cycle' (Budd 1997). This is in direct contradiction to understanding knowledge as commons, and publicly funded libraries as curators and mediators of those commons' records. Furthermore, libraries actively 'help to construct the desires and expectations' (Budd 2003) of their users, instead of simply responding to their demands, and this has an impact on the general consumption patterns in a world where knowledge is commodified.

Libraries are actually marketing the publishers' products. Already in 1974, Zurkowski, the president of the Information Industry Organisation in the USA, noted that

> (i)nformation is a non-depleting resource. And, in fact, its use enhances its value for users as well as for information publishing companies. [...] For newer, innovative products libraries offer the traditional service of training individual users in the use of new products.

However, with photocopying and cooperative services such as inter-library loan, libraries can reach a better return on the taxpayers' investment, so they are perceived as competitors by the industry (ibid.). Half a century later, the 'danger' that the 'economic viability of the creator of the service' (ibid.) will be destroyed by these developments, obviously faded. The industry found ways to make libraries work in its interest. In a presentation that made we aware of Zurkowski's report (Espinel, Almeida et al. 2019), Tewell sums up the 'library business' as follows: 'We sell the same knowledge and products to students that are sold to our libraries, primarily because they're sold to our libraries.'

As mentioned before, academic libraries, being organisations, operate with their own internal logics that differ from the logics of the research system. However, the research system constructs libraries as points of reference in its environment. The library services it draws on to be able to connect previous to current research could also be executed by some other type of organisation, or even by a technical system that basically needs technical support only. The knowledge organisation function, which libraries and information businesses currently take care of, could theoretically become an inherent part of scholarly communication and of the research process. In order to maintain and reproduce themselves—the primary impetus of every social system—it is of crucial importance to academic libraries to observe scholarly communication, on the one hand, and research information businesses, on the other hand, very attentively. Only if librarians can present an argument for the advantage of embedding those services in public administration, often as part of the same larger organisation that also hosts higher education and research, will there be long-term prospects for the publicly funded academic libraries' persistence as organisations in the environment of the research system.

Libraries are increasingly occupied with monitoring the services they outsource to commercial suppliers. This leads to the paradoxical situation that those suppliers, who often also maintain a publishing branch, make a profit from unpaid or publicly paid labour of authors, editors and referees, and additionally have their services reviewed and marketed to the users by librarians at no cost. A considerable amount of public funds thereby adds to the profits of the commercial suppliers—not only as much as is stated in the assets analysis, but additionally the labour that is not an official part of the business volume.[57]

This development is also an example of the current transformation of professions: more and more layers of controlling and managing the work

57 As Odlyzko 2013 notes, what was perceived of as anomaly of the scholarly publishing business earlier—to gain profit from unpaid labour—has now developed into 'a central feature of the modern economy', pointing at Internet businesses based on collected user data.

of others are added to provide people with jobs,[58] and to transfer public resources to private businesses, while the ground layer—in this case the selection of a relevant pool of research publications and sources, as such a highly critical asset in the system of scholarly communication and research education—is commodified and out of the control of those to whom it matters: the researchers and students. I borrow Graeber's expression of 'job bullshitting' (2013; 2018) as a flag for an increasing abstraction of labour, that, first of all, serves the implementation of social interdependence where the people's 'own labor or labor-products function as a quasi-objective, necessary means of obtaining the products of others' (Postone 2007, referring to Marx' theory of abstract labour). In this way, the—due to automation—decreasing amount of concrete labour is inflated with ever more abstract labour that provides capitalist economy with solvent consumers, too busy to question their roles.

In the case of the librarian of the early 21st century, seemingly indispensable dependencies between the *pro forma* public institution and the information industry are created, and concrete labour is outsourced (also see Nicholson 2015). The contemporary librarian is instead given the imaginative task of controlling the demand and supply, while any reported shortcomings mostly come to nothing, justified as being due to the inflexibility of a product, such as, for instance, a library discovery system (cf. Reidsma 2019), which can hardly be customised for just one of its hundreds of customers. Concessions are made to uphold the illusion of customer-orientation. Public critique of the vendor is made impossible because (public) institutions already spent large sums on this product. A silencing mechanism is, naturally, hard to demonstrate. A study of librarian's experiences would make a valuable future research project.But there are signs of an antithetic development as well. In a survey, a North American academic librarian's

> educated guess is that area/global studies is a growing part of our collection expenditures. This has to do with the changing nature of general

58 For a theory about why contemporary capitalism depends on this mechanism, see Postone 1995.

> collections in research libraries; the move from the core, general English-language publications into more of a 'collective collection,' and an emphasis on the unique and special as what differentiates a research library; global materials may be important in this arena (Cheun, Frank-Wilson et al. 2011).

From the literature, this 'educated guess' cannot be confirmed, especially not today, nine years later. However, it has logic on its side, and does correspond to current sociological theories that see 'the unique and special' as the central value of contemporary society (Reckwitz 2017). The consequences of this are grave, devaluing everything standardised and common in turn. If the anonymous librarian is to have been right after all, and Reckwitz' theory is applicable to academic libraries, those with standard collections, however big, will fade to insignificance, not least due to the emerging role of shadow libraries (Himmelstein, Romero et al. 2018), platforms that illegally offer the free download of copyrighted publications.

Shadow libraries are put in a Robin Hoodian role: they are widely accepted because the high profits of aggregators and publishers as well as the common use limitations of copyrighted digital content are perceived of as unfair (Bohannon 2016). However, the whole situation is unsustainable because the companies do have law on their side and it is just a question of time before users are prosecuted for 'piracy'. Institutions will hardly base their argumentation for better contracts on the role of shadow libraries. In short, whoever expected that an increasing share of digital resources would free librarians' capacities for intellectual selection has been proven wrong: the current developments increasingly absorb capacities into price negotiations, the technical management of e-resources and open-access advocacy.

The latter has developed into a firm activity of academic libraries in recent years, especially in the 'Global North'.[59] Discussing the current constellation of arguments and players working on open science issues would reach

59 A good example of the regional focus of the movement is the 2016 meeting of the *Force11 Scholarly Commons Working Group* in San Diego, where, according to Hathcock, 'a discussion, proposed by a colleague from India, of how scholarly commons could meaningfully be built by and for researchers in the global south' was sent to a separate 'unconference'; see Hathcock 2016.

far beyond the scope of this thesis.[60] Lawson (2019) analysed how the concept of openness served as an entry point for neoliberal ideology into the argumentation of public institutions on scholarly communication, and thereby into libraries.

'Article processing charges' (APCs) have been introduced for many open-access publications with mostly commercial publishers, and corresponding funds at research institutions for covering those fees have been set up. Even though most open-access publishing funds are price-capped, this still relocates the decision about acceptable pricing from the libraries to the individual researchers who are usually free to pay the difference between the cap and actual APC out of their own pocket. Brown describes this type of individualisation as one aspect of neoliberalisation as follows (2015, p. 84):

> rather than each individual pursuing his or her own interest and unwittingly generating collective benefit, today, it is the project of macroeconomic growth and credit enhancement to which neoliberal individuals are tethered and with which their existence as human capital must align if they are to thrive.

Lawson (2019) makes very clear how commercial publishers were directly involved in the pioneering UK open-access policy making, so it does not come as a surprise that it serves their interests. While subscription fees are somewhat regulated by the demand of and negotiation with libraries, the rate of APCs is now accepted by the individual authors, who usually lack knowledge about the publishing industry and therefore cannot generate an informed decision about what a reasonable price is. Even though institutions might actually pay at least a part of the APCs, this individualisation of decisions can be identified as a neoliberal agenda, and it impacts society at large. What authors *do* know is in which journal they want to publish, and when their paper is accepted, they will leave no stone unturned until the funding is secured. This way, the publishing industry can attract a much larger influx of money, especially if the subscription model is maintained at the same time—and it is.

60 For a detailed analysis, taking India as an example, see Scaria and Ray 2019.

What is positively labelled as 'consumer sovereignty' can also be seen as forcing decision making on users (Aberbach and Christensen 2005). In the context of this thesis, the individualisation of decision making and unpaid labour is also relevant for library collection management, especially for selection and acquisition models which are based on user demand (see Section 5.4). Neoliberal thinking usually conceptualises everyone who is free to consume as equal citizens, and while they are not equal, it typically privileges certain citizens: those who can afford everything, those whose needs are easy and cheap to satisfy, those who have common needs, and those who are enabled to voice their needs. Everyone else typically is underprivileged already because of this starting point, and while the privileged enjoy more deliberation and choice, the underprivileged are further disadvantaged. It is not sufficient to open a forum, invite everyone, and justify the misrepresentation of the population with the fact that everyone was free to join (also see Ahmed 2012).

Under certain circumstances, APCs even have a wider effect that consolidates the structural lack of privilege of authors from the 'Global South': many publishers with APC business models cross-subsidise their prime journals—those with very low acceptance rates—by charging disproportionately high APCs for their remaining journals. Management effort for those journals is very low, but the fee still is almost as high as for the prime journals. Ellers, Growther, et al. (2017) found that 'developing economies [no OECD members in 1992] had a disproportionately greater share of articles published in the lower-tier mega-journal and thus paid article APCs that cross-subsidize publications in the top-tier journals of the same publisher'. Even though many publishers waive or reduce the fees when authors are based in low-income countries, this accommodation, since it is based on the idea of inequality, does not serve social justice but instead just cobbles together an unjust system without questioning it as such. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that waivers will persist.

There is another aspect in which the mentioned defining feature of neoliberalism, the individual mandate to contribute to economic growth, appears in the library context: it is not only commercial suppliers who select resources for library collections, but with demand-driven acquisition, also the users—unpaid, obviously (see Section 5.4). Those users believe that they do the job in their genuine self-interests, though these interests have actually been constructed by commercial preselection. While former key library activities that effectively had an impact on production are now handed either to those who are responsible for this production, or to random unpaid users, the major part of the industry for research information is operating without any gateway for outside irritation.

A '*negative* influence of the increasing commercialization of scholarly publications and information' was recorded by the *Dakar Declaration on Open Access Publishing in Africa and the Global South*.[61] Offline access rarely receives recognition in the general debate and in policies drafted in the 'Global North'. Participation in open science, as in any science, is a question of privilege. Working out specific technical solutions and policies for local environments, the maintenance of local IT infrastructures, and the required skills and related training, come at an unaffordable price for the majority of 'Global South' research institutions (cf. Nwagwu 2018). In this situation, those institutions are pushed to accept and comply with whatever has been decided and set up in the 'Global North', once more. Another possible reason why open access is only slowly being adapted on the African continent might be the trauma of the European colonial scientists who 'treated the lands, animals, and plants they found as in the public domain' (Lawson 2019). Such a trauma can lead to a sense of over-protection.

There is a small (and mostly 'Global North') library movement which is sensitive to social injustice in its professional context: *critlib*. According to one of the hypotheses most often discussed in the *critlib* environment, the white hetero-normative over-representation among (North American) library staff inevitably shapes institutions—and collections—accordingly, leading to the discrimination and exclusion of 'others' (see e. g. Brook, Ellenwood et al. 2015; Visconti 2016; Gohr 2017; Conner-Gaten, Caragher et al. 2017; Espinal, Sutherland et al. 2018). Parts of the *critlib* movement

61 Adopted by the 4th CODESRIA Conference on Electronic Publishing, the UNESCO, and the Latin American Social Sciences Council (CLACSO) in Dakar on 1 April 2016, https://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article2595, visited on 29 June 2020.

are embodied in the *Progressive Librarians Guild* in which mostly North American library scholars and activists are engaged (also see Nicholson and Seale 2018; Kagan 2015; Dunbar 2008). It was founded in response to the 'rapid drift into dubious alliances with business and the information industry, and into complacent acceptance of service to an unquestioned political, economic and cultural status quo'.[62] Another resource is the Uk-based organisation and journal *Information for Social Change*.[63]

The North American *Association of Research Libraries* (Arl) recently issued a report about the activities for more 'diversity and inclusion' at their member institutions (Anaya and Maxey-Harris 2017) which mainly addresses recruiting and 'diversity programming', but is short on acquisition and collection management. The North American critical librarianship stands in a tradition that crystallised in the 1960s as Ala Social Responsibilities Round Table, which I will return to in Section 5.3.

Staff diversity statistics for European libraries are not available,[64] but from experience, this tendency of over-representation can also be found there. However, well-meaning initiatives come with risks: when 'diversity management' (see Litvin 1997) meets demographic homogeneity in organisations, it can easily be imagined how this leads to a exoticisation of

62 Plg's history. Actions and ideas through time, http://www.progressivelibrariansguild.org/content/history.shtml, visited on 29 June 2020.

63 About Isc, https://informationforsocialchange.wordpress.com/about-isc, visited on 29 June 2020.

64 The Uk is the only European country that is systematically collecting data about ethnicity, for instance in public institutions, beyond indigenous minorities; see Simon 2017. Those Uk institutions are therefore able to assess the effect of affirmative action on ethnically balanced representation. Advance He 2018 reports that non-white staff at Hei has increased since 2003 from 9 to 13%, which is not as much of an increase as non-Uk white staff increased. Also, the pay gap between white and non-white staff is significant. The percentage of non-whites among professional and support staff, including librarians, increased from 7 to 11%. According to the 2011 Census, Office for National Statistics, 11 Oct. 2013, http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-and-quick-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-the-united-kingdom---part-1/rft-ks201uk.xls, visited on 29 June 2020, the overall non-white population in the Uk was 13%, and increasing. Uk He institutions usually have strong anti-discrimination policies, which might have worked towards a reasonably proportionate representation of the non-white population; but see Hunt 2016. This situation is not representative for Europe in general.

everything that is not perceived of as common cultural mainstream.

In order to work against unearned privilege, 'diversity policies' were introduced on many levels of higher education and scholarly communication organisations. 'Diversity' is often employed in a very limited way, categorising people and culture in separate sections, obscuring how grounds of oppression overlap and augment each other (intersectionality). Using 'diversity' as a 'catch-all phrase' in the context of libraries has been criticised, specifically as concerns talking about how to create libraries where everyone feels safe and welcomed (Ettarh 2014), even though parts of the argumentation are unnecessarily sullen:

> 'making room at the table' is often heard in conversations about diversity, but further complicated the notion by asking, 'Whose table? And do we really want an invitation?' For me, the answer is no (ibid.).

Those present at the table are a poor representation of global scholarship, and only those who can reach the table can work towards modifying it, unfolding it and reshaping it, not only to make room for voices which have not been granted the same potential, but also to upcycle the whole set-up of the table, to create something different by remixing its resources with something else, or maybe by cutting it into pieces and giving up the idea that there should be one common table, but instead arranging the new tables within reach, and in a way that they can easily connect, and disconnect again.

A contrary strategy is what Stein (2017) called 'thin inclusion of epistemic difference'. The answer to a call to decolonise the curriculum then simply is to implement one or two readings by, for instance, African authors, without even considering that the whole curriculum might reproduce the master narrative which actually is the problem: 'it does not entail significant transformation of structures or policies that would reorder the knowledge that is valued or rewarded, or reorient research support structures to accommodate different modes of knowledge production' (ibid.). This relates to what has been referred to as 'grafting' (Ahenakew 2016). For that matter, 'indigenous insights' are only taken on by mainstream education where they do not contradict the basic enlightenment ideas—

modernity's epistemic trap (Mignolo 2007). This leads, for instance, to a stripping off of any ancestral wisdom or spirituality, not understanding that without those foundations, much 'indigenous knowledge' is impossible to comprehend.

Learning from Ahmed (2012), simply labelling any kind of approach to recognise under-privileged populations with 'diversity' is certainly insufficient. Quotas, consultations, displays and 'diversity week' types of events—the 'heroes and holidays' approach (Gilbert 2016)—will not get society much closer to social justice, and they can even do harm to the communities concerned, since they single out and therefore stigmatise. Instead, institutions and their environments should be screened for social injustices. Once identified, easy ad hoc solutions might create new problems, so organisations need to be prepared for a difficult and continuous process. Learning about 'other cultures', for instance, in order to enhance 'cultural competence' as an essentialist self-optimisation approach is of little help when it comes to the need to understand the imbalances of privilege in society, since this usually does not lead to questioning one's own position. In the context of health care, as a counter-programme, 'cultural humility' (Tervalon and Murray-Garcia 1998) has been suggested (and transferred to the library context by Winkelstein 2017):

> Cultural humility incorporates a lifelong commitment to self-evaluation and critique, to redressing the power imbalances in the [...communicative] dynamic, and to developing mutually beneficial and non-paternalistic partnerships with communities on behalf of individuals and defined populations (Tervalon and Murray-Garcia 1998).

This general idea has already found access to the highest political levels, but structures remain untouched, so far. Guédon (2019), in an official recommendation to the European Commission, requests that authors, reviewers, and editors '[s]trive for balanced diversity (including, but not limited to, gender, geography and career stage)'. For anyone to have the possibility to contribute equitably, it is necessary 'to break down structural disadvantages, and to avoid entrenched societal biases'. While 'diversity' is still used as a keyword here, the acknowledgement of a structural problem admits the necessity of critical self-reflection.

2.2.7 Quantified Communication

The measurement and the incentivisation of quantifiable output—in short: quantified communication—is directing research management worldwide. The majority of respondents to the *World Humanities Report* (Holm, Jarrick et al. 2015) had some critical remarks to make about current publication regimes, and the most common was that quantity is preferred over quality.

In many contexts, numbers are preferred over language as a medium, because they carry with them a clear meaning that is assumed to exist in a reality beyond the numbers (Heintz 2016, pp. 164 sqq.). Language does not have the same clarity, and there is a certain awareness that it creates its very own reality. Language can hardly cover up its selectivity. Numbers can: just count them all together, and any natural variation will disappear in the result. What the result measures becomes much more important than *how* it was measured, and this makes numbers so easily acceptable, especially where things are complicated, just like in the research system.

Quantified communication in the service of research management demotivates researchers 'to go to some lengths', and to take intellectual risks: it is only certain results that count. Knowledge production, in order to secure its own continuation, is guided by the method of measurement, since funding is made dependent on it (also see Moore, Neylon et al. 2017). As long as peers accept that a research methodology serves its purpose, even though they are well aware of its limitations,[65] any extra work put into a research design with fewer limitations is a strategically bad investment for the acquisition of reputation.

Quantification is closely related to an ideal of growth and acceleration: time horizons of research projects are increasingly standardised across fields and shortened (Burawoy 2011). Additionally, competition around specific topics is encouraged by funders, which puts academic freedom at risk (Lawson, Sanders et al. 2015). Since those structures are in place globally, they are a good example of what Stichweh summarises under the concept

65 The *Leiden Manifesto for Research Metrics* made those limitations very clear; see Hicks, Wouters et al. 2015. The 'responsible metrics' approach focuses on how metrics are used, while my project focuses on the exclusivity of the underlying data.

of Eigenstructures (see Section 2.2.5). Recently, a 'slow scholarship' movement emerged, which critically relates quantification and acceleration to social justice issues. Being able to slow down relies on a pre-installed set of privileges in research institutions. As Martell (2014) summarises, the 'focus on time and pace distracts from the real issue, not balance itself, but power and autonomy'.

From the point of view of a researcher struggling to fulfil the quota of publications required at a certain career stage in order to remain in academia or to improve their salary—and this struggle can take place for all kinds of reasons, not necessarily the reason that talent is lacking—a strategically good investment is to slice up research results into the smallest possible pieces and make an article from each ('salami tactics'), or to simply rewrite a paper that has been published before, shifting the focus, and, most importantly, making the title sound very different. Since most juries do not actually read what the candidate has published, this will usually go unnoticed. The strategy is instead more likely to fail at an earlier stage: peer review. Quantified communication inflates the publishing industry with an enormous amount of superfluous submissions—superfluous for the research system, in case they make it into a journal, in case someone takes notice. However, those submissions are not superfluous for the industry, for economy. They guarantee growth, and a constantly growing demand for publishing services.

Quantified communication has also fostered a publishing industry that does not entirely operate on the same standards that the history of academic publishing in the 'Global North' handed down. It has instead fostered fraudulent businesses which promise to operate on those standards, including peer review, but which actually do nothing else than upload submitted papers to their websites, in return for a fee paid by the author. Many papers published with those journals are not discoverable at all; they are not included in citation and subject databases. Similarly, conferences are organised that actually do have most surface-level features of a scholarly conference, and yet papers presented do not matter to anyone present in the room; the participants pay the fee to get the record of their presence, or to travel to the conference venue on institutional funds. This industry has been labelled 'predatory'.

I will not engage in the discussion about how to recognise those businesses (see Grudniewicz, Moher et al. 2019; Strinzel, Severin et al. 2019), and what to do if one falls into their trap unintentionally, which seems to be a highly hypothetical risk only for inexperienced researchers. More interesting in the context of this thesis is how those fraudulent business practices came to be related to the 'Global South':

1. for a long time, between 2008 and early 2017, librarian Jeffrey Beall, at the University of Colorado Denver, held a monopoly on the definition of what a 'predatory' publisher is (Beall 2015), by maintaining a denylist[66] which included many publishers from the 'Global South' (Shen and Björk 2015). A prime example of this effect is *Academic Journals*, a Nigerian publisher, which at the time of inclusion in Beall's list in 2012, had 107 journals and 220 employees.[67] Immediately upon inclusion on the list, editors resigned, and submission declined. After a year, more than half of the employees had lost their jobs. A formal appeal to Beall was unsuccessful. Regier (2018) called this 'a poverty trap [: …] having privilege buys second chances and […] without privilege, […] mistakes are over-emphasized',
2. also more indirectly, the debate about 'predatory publishing' had a devastating effect on 'local' journals (see Section 3.4) from the 'Global South', since it fostered the use of publisher allowlists for promotion and funding decisions; small publishers naturally have a hard time being recognised on allowlists,
3. bibliometric analyses have shown that authors publishing with 'predatory' publishers are predominantly affiliated with institutions situ-

66 Following the ongoing debate, 'denylist/allowlist' seem to become apparent replacement terms for 'black list/white list'. The original 'Beall's list' has been offline since 15 Jan. 2017. As *Beall's List of Potential Predatory Journals and Publishers*, https://beallslist.net, all items of the last version are preserved, with checked links and added notes last updated on 9 June 2020, visited on 29 June 2020.

67 Academic Journals, About Us, https://academicjournals.org/about_us:, visited on 29 June 2020.

> ated in the 'Global South' (Xia, Harmon et al. 2014; Macháček and Srholec 2017). Authors from South Africa confirm this in interviews, and relate it to quantified communication (Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018). As Olukoju (2002) reports, the older generations of scholars 'did not produce or hand over to a younger generation of successors'. The 'lack of confidence in the ability of the younger generation' led to a lack of understanding of the basic 'Global North' standards of scholarly communication. However, because of how this issue is debated,[68] 'such journals—and the scholars who publish in them—[are] becoming synonymous with an implicit academic Other' (Bell 2017).

In effect, Beall's list and its successors, as well as bibliometric research spotlighting 'Global South' scholarship in the context of 'predatory publishing', refreshed the doubts about the value of this scholarship which were already in place beforehand, on no qualitative grounds whatsoever. 'What the list has done is erase critical content emanating from the global south; it has cast doubt on the authenticity of excellent research produced in the global south' (Raju 2018). Eve and Priego (2017) confirm that

> established publishers have a strong motivation to hype claims of predation as damaging to the scholarly and scientific endeavour while noting that, in fact, systems of peer review are themselves already acknowledged as deeply flawed.

This way, major publishers can easily postpone their own extensive and exhausting overhaul once more.

2.3 Conclusion

As this chapter laid out, present-day scholarly communication has, in principle, worldwide reach, and it operates with its own inner logic of methods and theories, connecting contributions via referencing. It is an autonomous social system that, with its highly specialised communication, fulfils a

68 A collaborative investigation about 'predatory publishing' involving 60 reporters worldwide reached broad global news coverage July-August 2018; see e. g. Yadav 2018.

certain function in world society; namely, providing it with new and reliable academic knowledge. However, the research system fails to provide all communities with this. While this chapter helps point out some elements of 'Global North' privilege built into the system, further considerations are necessary to understand why, regardless of quality, research results produced by researchers in the 'periphery' remain hardly visible. This will be the focus of the following chapter.

This chapter aimed at explaining how the research system constructs itself as global. The short and simple answer is: because the terms 'science' and 'research' are often used without defining a place. Through colonisation, the 'Global North' hindered local 'Global South' knowledge production and reception systems from prospering, and succeeded in pushing them to the margins, alongside the research system, while the latter was institutionalised in basically all countries of the 'Global South'. Eigenstructures of this global research system can most evidently be observed when looking at the similarities of the national institutions, as e. g. the neo-institutional approach does. However, for different disciplines of the SSH, debates about their own globality manifest that expectations about what this entails are currently disappointed and contested.

After the liberation from political colonialism, 'Global North' researchers hardly changed their perspective on the 'South' and its research. Developmentalism and the Cold War, together with the global implementation of area studies, stabilised a degrading view. Area studies, as the re-invention or continuation of colonial anthropology, incarcerated the work of Indian musicologists, Nigerian historians, Chilean sociologists, *et cetera*, in the event they decided to study their local environments, and made it difficult for them to participate in their canonised 'mother disciplines'.

The chapter also provided initial explanations for why certain academic publications are less likely to be discovered and referred to by others. ISI citation indexes, when first developed, have been primarily intended as information retrieval tools. However, distributors of research funding soon used them as the principal monitor for the research system. Since the inclusion of research results in this monitor is especially unlikely when these originate in the 'Global South', depending on the non-transparent decisions of a private company, neglect is integrally reproduced in the research system. Mainstream bibliometrics, and the inclusion processes of the databases they rely on, help to prevent the system from changing. I therefore suggest decolonial bibliometrics that do not rely on citation indexes curated based on questionable criteria (see Chapter 4).

The problematic role of academic libraries as mediators between commercial information suppliers and researchers has also been addressed in this chapter. Selection processes are increasingly outsourced, partly to unpaid users. Instead, libraries provide help desks as well as monitoring and marketing services for the suppliers' products. Their justification as public administration organisations has been adapted to neoliberal terms, following economic interests. The libraries' agency in arranging records of knowledge minimises.

Open access paired with not-for-profit organisations that help with the creation of trust and discoverability might sound like a good solution, but business models are critical: when fees to the publisher are paid prepublication by authors or their institutions, libraries lose their only convincing instrument of agency towards the publishers: prices cannot be negotiated. Furthermore, researchers in privileged environments clearly are at an advantage once more. The constitution of open access as the new standard comes at a cost that often excludes 'Global South' participation, since it requires advanced IT infrastructure and considerable staff resources.

The 'Global North' publishing industry increasingly operates without irritation from outside its own organisations. For business organisations, this is an ideal situation, since the future is predictable, especially if competition basically serves as a pool for innovation—products are not interchangeable. As long as publishers offer similar functionalities on their platforms, consumers have no reason to complain, and any added functionality qualifies for a price increase, additional the surplus that is created by tracking users—users that libraries sent over, unpaid, naturally (see Hanson 2019).

The increasing presence of the notion of 'diversity' in library contexts is indicative of a growing concern with social justice. However, in this chapter, it was briefly discussed that 'diversity management' might worsen the situation. Instead, the concept of cultural humility was introduced and will be used in the following. It shifts the focus from 'the other' to the self-evaluation of the privileged.

In the final section of this chapter, I established the relationship between the increasing demand for researchers to publish in large quantities, desisting from quality, and, on the one hand, a society-wide preference for quantified communication, and, on the other hand, the emergence of 'predatory publishing'. The latter has been publicly debated with close reference to 'Global South' scholarship, and is thereby disrespecting and repelling it.

In conclusion, the research system certainly has to tackle the problem of a overwhelmingly high volume of previous communication that is potentially relevant for topical communication. Complexity needs to be reduced, and technical systems that help with this task, such as relevance rankings in library discovery systems, are welcome since they require negligible input effort. If researchers rely on those systems without questioning their more or less complex way of functioning, and do not design reflexive literature research workflows for themselves accordingly, the systems' internal structures naturally have direct impact on scholarly communication. Only if over-simplification is recognised, and more complexity is allowed, can there be hope for more social justice and cultural humility in the system. The history of the global establishment of the research system justifies a responsibility of the scholarly communication itself, but also of all institutions in service of it, including academic libraries, firstly, to reflect on privilege and to resign from it, and, secondly, to actively oppose it wherever it appears.

3 Splitting the World, Splitting Scholarly Communication

Observing world society as primarily differentiated into worldwide operating function systems does not mean to claim that other forms of differentiation cannot be observed (any longer). Specifically, they reappear within social systems. This chapter intends to demonstrate how asymmetric antonyms (Koselleck), the handling of distinctions in social systems theory, and border thinking (Mignolo) are helpful for understanding which functions constructions such as 'centre/periphery' or 'international journals/-local journals' lean on. Those dual concepts are rooted in a certain tradition of 'othering', and therefore are, as the previous chapter aimed at clarifying, accompanied by social injustice. Besides following up on conceptual discussions, a very selective dive into etymologies and historical analyses will at least help to see more clearly how the research system is structured into centre and periphery.

Social systems theory and decolonial studies both support the following discussion by avoiding actively splitting anything by second-order observation. Rather, the chapter observes how dichotomies, 'splits', have been built into society and into the research system by second-order observation, evidenced by the scholarly discussion on centre/periphery. I agree with Mignolo (2000, p. 85) that this is 'thinking from dichotomous concepts rather than ordering the world in dichotomies'. By definition, border thinking is a 'third-order observation' (ibid., p. 87).

The main point of this chapter is that, from a social systems theory perspective, centre/periphery differentiates social systems, and therefore does not denominate territories, as in most other definitions.[69] Instead, it differentiates communication, and a territory will therefore never be peripheral itself, but can be referred to as such. I will discuss what can be gained from observing (scholarly) communication as differentiated into centre and periphery, without confusing sociological with topological meanings.

When self-reflexive communication *about* centres and peripheries points at territories, and these references are reproduced very often, they are stabilised. My project unavoidably adds to this reproduction in the case of Southeast African SSH (Chapter 4), but I hope that the following discussion of concepts and their reconceptualisation will destabilise these semantics even more so.

3.1 The History of Asymmetric Antonyms & the 'Omphalus Syndrome'

The belief of 'being invested with the prestige of the Center' (Eliade 1959, p. 12) is often symbolised by either a sacred natural site, like a mountain, or a city or royal residence (also see Grønfeldt Winther 2014). Examples well-known in the 'Global North' are the Temple Mount with the Foundation Stone, the Kaaba, and the several omphalos stones which mark the 'navel of the world', once identified, the myth goes, by two eagles that have been sent by Zeus. Edgerton made use of this myth to name the 'omphalos syndrome, where a people believe themselves divinely appointed to the center of the universe, [which] shows its symptoms in the history of cartography as often as in ancient city planning' (Edgerton 1987, p. 26). Further ex-

69 One exception I only address very briefly here: Schubert and Sooryamoorthy 2010 claim that an 'individual' is most likely ascribed a peripheral status via co-location with other peripheral individuals. This is not only tautological, but also inapt, since the individual is defined by its body, experience, self-image, roles, and whatnot. It is an extremely complex concept, largely only apprehensible introspectively. Even rephrasing this assertion in a way that is suitable to the context of scholarly communication, replacing 'individual' with 'researcher', I think it is presumptuous to claim that no matter what communication the respective researcher is involved in, the peripheral status is ascribed, unless the researcher as a whole is transferred to the centre. Finally, I cannot imagine how such a transfer could, practically, happen.

amples include Mount Meru, in Hindu mythology, which is positioned in the centre of the universe and is the axis of the world where the deities reside and Hindus wait for their reincarnation after death. The 'Ural-Altaic peoples also know of a central mountain, Sumeru, to whose summit the polestar is fixed' (Eliade 1959, p. 12). Zoroastrian beliefs hold that the sacred mountain Hara Berezaiti (in today's Iran) is situated at the centre of the earth and is linked with heaven. The need to define the centre of the world seems to exist in many different cultures (Anderson 1991, p. 13). Centres are perceived of as 'crossroads of the world, bringing together diverse traditions and serving as communication nodes for wider areas [...]. Cities may be centers in particular ways to particular people, dispersed in a transnational periphery' (Hannerz 2015, p. 309).

There is a important difference between these examples: the question is, whether a people imposes their definition of the centre upon other people who share neither their faith, nor their emperor. At least for the Roman Empire with the 'divine intelligence' of the citizens of Rome (as described by Vitruvius in *De Architectura*), and the Christian crusaders in the European Middle Ages, this imposition is an undisputed historical fact.

The present concept of periphery, meaning the fringe area, was introduced to various European languages in the 17th century (Kluge, Seebold et al. 2012) at the time of the European colonisation of the Americas. The word itself developed from the Greek and Latin words for 'circular line', and, later, 'moving something circularly', which implies a centre to encircle. It can also be argued that the distinction centre/periphery is a successor to the distinction Greek/*barbaros*, or, respectively, to Sanskrit/*barbaras*,[70] referring to those who do not speak the language (properly), and whose customs differ. Increasingly, Greek orators referred to 'barbarians' derogatorily, and in relation to slaves deported from the shores of the Black Sea (see the different contributions in Harrison 2002). The Archaic Greek might have been the first people who defined their centre *ex negativo*, making use of the other to protect their own position.

70 Though here, being not as clear cut; see Thapar 1971.

Koselleck defines asymmetric antonyms as pair of self- and other-references, in which the other-reference lacks appreciation (Koselleck 1975). In extreme cases, concepts of self- and/or other-references are stylised to appear singular, like in the case of the divinely intelligent Romans, to serve its purpose of increasing the capacity to act (politically) as a group, as 'we'. Koselleck (ibid., pp. 75 sqq.) also describes how Diogenes' universal concept of the cosmopolitan, after the conquering of 'barbarian lands', in order to integrate its people, grants a positive connotation to the 'barbarian' as natural, sincere and pure human, for purposes of self-criticism. This conceptual transformation is reversed when the Imperium Romanum makes use of the concept to name the other, those who are beyond its borders. According to Koselleck, the 'barbarian' in a pair of asymmetric antonyms also served more recent imperialisms as a tool to shield and expand one's own position. In National Socialism, the same function was fulfilled by the asymmetric antonyms of Aryan/Non-Aryan. Since there is no previous political, historical or cultural definition of 'Aryan', its negation is a very clear negation of one's own position. Only those in power could fill the conceptual vacuum.[71]

At the end of the 18th century, the idea of the primitive is manifested with the help of the differentiation between the colonisers and the colonised, as well as a temporal difference: that 'anthropologists are "here and now," their objects of study are "there and then," and that the "other" exists in a time not contemporary with our own' (Fabian 1983, dust-jacket text). The 'primitive' and the 'savage' become synonymous with backwardness and underdevelopment, of being located outside of Europe and outside of civilisation and modernity (also see e. g. Mignolo 2009b; Said 1978). In the 18th century, in 'Liberal mainstream thinking, Europeans had a right and a duty to "civilise" non-Europeans' (Pelizzon and Somel 2016, p. 830; also see Constantine 1966). Looking at their function of othering, the distinctions 'Greek/barbarian', 'civilised/primitive' and 'developed/devel-

71 In the German original, Koselleck 1975, p. 103, writes: 'Damit war eine elastische Negativfigur umschrieben, deren Zuordnung allein in der Verfügungsgewalt dessen lag, der die Macht hatte, den sprachlichen Leerposten oder Blindbegriff zu besetzen'.

oping' (or 'developed/underdeveloped') indicate one continuous line of thinking, with different 'policy features', depending on the dominant ideology of the time, in Europe. The 'other' is always lacking skills and culture, is imperfect, and can only hope to get rid of this status by adapting to the favoured side of the distinction. While this is partly true for 'centre/periphery', too, this distinction is more complex, at least for some authors, since it can be nested, as I will account for later. One of the first to make extensive use of the dual concept of centre/periphery in the SSH, but promoting a rather flat view of the distinction, was Shils' conceptualisation.

Shils, in his *Essays in Macrosociology* (1975; also see Shils 1972), interestingly, focuses on introspection and values to explain the distinction: the centre, or metropolis, is identified as a realm of symbols, beliefs and values that map one's own position, specifically the position of intellectuals, in relation to that centre. Self-value depends on how close or far the distance appears on this inner map, since the periphery is identified as unimaginative, unpolished and narrow, while the metropolis stands for the opposite, including the roles and institutions propagating the related values. Shils does not explain instructively where these beliefs come from, nor what their consequences are, in a macrosociological perspective.

3.2 Post-Marxist Concepts of Centre/Periphery

Typically, the concept of centre/periphery is traced back to either Shils or dependency theory, and here, most prominently, to Wallerstein's world systems analysis (Reifer 2012; Hannerz 2015). Yet, rarely considered in the current discussion, Wallerstein (1974)—and, actually earlier, Galtung (1971)—take inspiration from Lenin (e. g. 2015) to develop their centre/periphery concepts. Lenin himself refers to Marx' *Capital*, which names the centre 'metropolis' (Marx 1999), and uses it synonymously with Britain, which 'is able to supplement its own wealth-creation process by drawing on the surplus generated by the vast majority of the world's populations living in the much poorer, largely agricultural periphery' (Foster 2000). This move by Marxism-Leninism is of high importance because, probably resonating for the first time, the power executed from the centre is not appraised, but sharply criticised. Although the event of the disastrous First World War paved the way for recognised critique,[72] in most contexts, this remained a minority position until today. Yet Eurocentricity was increasingly challenged, for example in the 1930s and 1940s in the work of Arjun Appadurai, Cyril Lionel Robert James, Rajani Palme Dutt, Eric Williams, and Jacob Cornelis van Leur (see Blaut 2000, p. 8).

In my opinion, the credit for introducing an advanced concept of centre/periphery into social sciences is well deserved by the dependency approach,[73] which reacted to modernisation theory that in turn claims the periphery would catch up one day if it only introduced liberal markets (see Pelizzon and Somel 2016, p. 831). Neoclassical theory is another point of negative reference 'which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared' (Ferraro 2008). The Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America 1950-63, Raul Prebisch, led the opposition against these beliefs, stating that, for the periphery states, exporting resources to the centre states and importing manufactured products would always result in lacking purchasing power in the periphery states, because prices are highly competitive worldwide. For the centre state, savings enabled by new production technology go directly into profits and higher wages for centre workers (Prebisch 1962, also called the Prebisch-Singer hypothesis). Many other hypotheses attempting to explain dependencies between centre and periphery were discussed in the Latin American context, which cannot be detailed here (see Sanchez 2014, for a starting point). The basic idea is that as long as neoclassical economic theory dominates the world system, the periphery is trapped. As Sanchez demonstrates, with the exception of Wallerstein's historical analyses, the approach went largely unnoticed in 'the North', possibly also due to the fact that most scholars there are unable to read Spanish (including myself, unfortunately).

72 See Connell 2007, pp. 19 sq. about Oswald Spengler.

73 This is often referred to as 'dependency theory', while it actually is a large gathering of different theories.

While the post-Lenin antonym of centre/periphery is asymmetrical, just like the distinctions mentioned previously, it points at a reciprocal dependency that exceeds the function of stabilising one's own dominant position rhetorically. That is, first of all, the clear economic dimension to the distinction which supports a power that turns the positioning at the peripheral side into a continuous existential problem. In the following, I will introduce another theory focusing on the centre/periphery distinction(s) that followed up on the ideas of Marx and Lenin, namely Galtung's theory of imperialism, which is systematically multidimensional and multifaceted from the start.

Galtung's theory of imperialism (1971) is based on nested distinctions between centre and periphery, labelling relations of different types between Centre- and Peripherystates (note the capitalisation), while within, both states are again differentiated in centre and periphery. It is the centre of the Periphery, and the periphery of the Centre, that, taken together, Wallerstein will later call 'semi-periphery', the intermediate zone. For Galtung (ibid., p. 81), these nested relations define imperialism:

> Imperialism will be conceived of as […] a sophisticated type of dominance relation which cuts across states, basing itself on a bridgehead which the center in the Centerstate establishes in the center of the Peripherystate, for the joint benefit of both. [… I]mperialism is a system that splits up collectivities and relates some of the parts to each other in relations of *harmony of interest*, and other parts in relations of *disharmony of interest*, or *conflict of interest*.

While the 'harmony of interests' refers to the relations between the centres of Centrestates—the metropolises, the 'joint benefit' established both in the Centre and Periphery must be taken with a grain of salt, since disharmony and conflicts of interest within and between the peripheries are emphasised by Galtung. Because of these, the peripheries of Centre- and Peripherystates will hardly form any alliances. Furthermore, regarding the actual benefits for the centre of the Periphery, 'the interaction is cumulatively asymmetric in terms of what the two parties get out of it' (ibid., 85), while still keeping up enough harmony of interest to let the system persist.

In the case of cultural imperialism (Galtung 1971, p. 93), which includes research, the main interest of the centre-Periphery, most likely, is to learn, to keep up with the knowledge created in the centre-Centre, which appears as key to a more balanced relation between centre-Centre and centre-Periphery. In fact, an increasing asymmetry is enforced, because the centre-Centre receives a far-reaching validation of that knowledge as a surplus, and a dependency that can be exploited by trading information materials and teachers to the centre-Periphery, which will hardly ever reach its own periphery (see ibid., Table IV). The 'disharmony of interests' is the typical relation between centre and periphery of a state, no matter its status of peripherality, and it can easily develop into a conflict.

Differing from Galtung's theory, Wallerstein instead places whole countries in either centre, periphery or semiperiphery. It is therefore important to emphasise here that, instead of being an international relationship, imperialism is '*a combination of intra- and inter-national relations*' (ibid., p. 84). Furthermore, as with other types of imperialist relations, including in cultural imperialism, the Periphery provides the Centre with raw material. In the case of research, this would be research data and research objects. In return, it receives research results to research questions formulated in the Centre, to

> send the finished product, a journal, a book (manufactured goods) back for consumption in the center of the Periphery—after first having created a demand for it through demonstration effect, training in the Center country, and some degree of low level participation in the data collection team (ibid., p. 93).

This relation has also been called the 'academic division of labour', not least brought up in the context of the dependency approach (Waast 2002; Baber 2003; Alatas 2003; Medina 2013).[74] There, it extends to the centre performing strongly in theory, methodology and conceptual studies, while

74 In its extreme form, and specifically in the context of medical studies in the 1980s and 90s, according to the American Indian Law Center 1999, this has also been called '"Safari" or helicopter research, in which the researcher drops into the community, gathers the data, then leaves with the data for good'; also see Palca 1990; Acosta-Cazares, Browne et al. 2000.

the periphery focuses on empirical case studies about topics relevant to the author's home community, drawing on these foundations.

In most cases, centre/periphery concepts refer to places where certain power relations are played out: the distinction is tied to nations or actors who occupy a physical place or space. From those positions, control is exercised over the knowing and doing of other actors, positioned elsewhere (additional to those referred to already; see especially Strassoldo 1980). To conclude this section, I see three problems with these types of concepts. Firstly, they have to admit an enormous number of exceptions. The Kenyan writer that is nominated for the Nobel Prize for literature, the Philippine start-up that a whole line of business goes crazy about, and so on. A sound analytical concept, embedded in a theoretical framework, must somehow address the possibility of outstanding events like that. Secondly, if, for some reason, a country or a location is labelled as peripheral, it is stigmatised with everything it physically 'contains': people, businesses, culture, *et cetera*, while individual status and self-observations might lead to very different diagnoses with regard to a centre/periphery position. Thirdly, in the spatial conceptualisations reviewed, this stigmatisation does not entail much leeway for change. I agree that the economic, political, medical, and educational conditions in many countries are calamitous for the majority of the populations, and people have every reason to feel 'damned', but I claim that a sound theory must be capable of incorporating possible change, not least to identify points of potential intervention. This is the motivation behind my research.

3.3 Centre/Periphery as Inner Differentiation of Communication

Omitting a spatial concept of centre/periphery does not mean omitting related concepts like 'cultural imperialism' or 'academic division of labour' altogether, because they carry meaning that can be detached from a certain locality, in order to attach it to the observation of communication, which is referring to many different places and contexts, at many different moments in time. When observations such as Galtung's accumulate in a place, up to an unbearable level, this is where peripheries are produced. They appear to be spatial because of accumulations of attributions of peripheral status in certain world regions, so these regions are designated as peripheral.

As I discussed above, an all-encompassing spatial view on the periphery seems to be the standard in the literature. Von Gizycki's definition of the peripheries deviates from this standard (1973): the origin of work highly acknowledged by a certain community defines a scientific centre, either the worldwide scientific community, or, most often, communities on disciplinary or regional levels. Vanpaemel (2012) (who supports the standard definition), criticises that this leaves the periphery in a passive mode, but I see this as a typical misunderstanding, derived from observing communication not as communication, but as attributed to certain people. I am not claiming that von Gizycki is suggesting a preadaptive social systems theory concept, but in my reading of his text, there is a foreshadowing of a similar understanding of communication. This also becomes apparent when he cites Pasteur with 'Scientists have a country; science has none'. Von Gizycki never says that only researchers working in regions with central status have the communicative power to add to the assignment of centrality to certain places with their contributions. Peripheries actively contribute to the construction of centres.

Blurred and flexible spatial boundaries between centres and peripheries naturally emerge from contributions to scholarly communication. Consequently, a definition of the distinction needs to account for them. Additionally, a communicative definition emphasises the significance of the periphery to the centre: theories and methods developed by the centre, in order to confirm its central status, must be acknowledged by the periphery (cf. Bhambra 2014a, p. 81). The centre is more dependent on the periphery than the other way around, because it relies on highly *inflexible institutions*, where fears of betraying their trajectory are always present. In contrast, '[t]he periphery can change and reorient itself' (von Gizycki 1973). As Vanpaemel (2012) concludes, 'the perspective is shifted from a competitive model [describing how the periphery is emulating the centre] towards a complementarity model', in which the periphery is just as significant as the centre.

Luhmann suggests a similar explanation for why the centre/periphery differentiation is useful in society and therefore has not been overcome so far, although it reduces opportunities of action for large parts of society: maintaining a centre that works on the forefront of what is perceived as new is risky—it costs a lot of resources. If something goes seriously wrong in the centre, the whole system will remain functional only because of the periphery (Luhmann 2005, p. 250). While the periphery could very well continue to exist on its own terms, the centre depends on the system-stabilising effect of the periphery (Luhmann 1992b, pp. 355 sqq.). The centre therefore also depends much more on this form of differentiation, and this is what creates conflict: the periphery is exploited as some kind of back-up system. Its capacity to serve the main task of the research system, to provide society with new knowledge, is obscured by this back-up function. Furthermore, the overlay of the communicative with the spatial concept stabilises the references to places *as peripheral*, so central communication can reassure itself *of itself as central*.

Contrarily, Keim (2008, pp. 53 sqq.) suggests a somewhat communicative model of centre and periphery that focuses on the content of the scholarly communication—of sociology, for that matter—and includes spatial correlations only as precondition and effect, in terms of infrastructural development. At the core of this definition is the reliance of peripheral and dependent sociology on cooperation with central sociology in order to contribute to it. Peripheral sociology lacks autonomy. Further, it is characterised by a lower level of abstraction, and studies its direct environment only,[75] without being well embedded in and accepted by it—not least because of a merit system that places greater weight on foreign appreciation (Mkandawire 1989). This multi-levelled definition might capture the situation in places that are perceived of as peripheral, and it does provide some descriptive flexibility, but it offers only a diagnosis, and no potential for

75 Keim 2008, pp. 132 sqq., confirms the peripheral status of African social sciences by analysing self-reports by research institutions from the now ceased UNESCO database DARE, in 2003: while 60% of German or French institutions in the sample focus on continents beyond Europe, only 6% of African institutions study populations outside their home continent.

change of typical perceptions, unless they are simply cleared. In the competition for centrality, peripherality will always be the losing part that is left behind (Keim 2008, pp. 110 sq.). Compared to that, social systems theory offers a concept that sees important system-wide functions on the peripheral side of the distinction, which are attributed not to researchers or organisations, but to communicative contributions.

Without arguing functionally, Vanpaemel (2012) criticises any claim of a 'unidirectional spread of Western Science' as modelled by Basalla (1967), and supports this with the historical studies of science by Raj (2007) and Gavroglu, Patiniotis, et al. (2008). Rather than a 'simple emanation from a pre-existing centre', 'Western Science' was 'the result of complex processes of conflict, acculturation, and appropriation' (Vanpaemel 2012). While I do not doubt the reliability and value of studies which reconstruct the cooperative conditions of knowledge production and reception with a 'circulatory perspective' (e. g. Raj 2013), I suggest acknowledging the difference between contexts of production and the actual dissemination of the new knowledge via publication, in which the cooperation with indigenous scholars is obscured. Their role is not acknowledged in the same way as the role of European scholars, their names are omitted. Consequently, for the research system, indigenous scholars have no addresses for attribution; they cannot be referred to unless a historian of science creates these addresses posthumously. This historical type of exploitation for research purposes is what then developed into the 'academic division of labour', which would normally, or, depending on the specific role, occasionally, acknowledge the contribution of the indigenous scholar with a subordinated authorship, and therefore create a subordinated address (for a number of examples, see Esseh 2011, p. 92).

A communicative concept of centre/periphery can also be applied when single social systems are observed, without stigmatising places in an all-embracing way. When employing the concept as an analytical tool, one is forced to observe communication very closely: when and for what reason is a peripheral status assigned and in which communicative context? In order to better understand the implications of the concept of centre/periphery in social systems theory, I will draw on its role in Luhmann's historical considerations. Two simple examples, from the contexts of rural economy and spirituality, shall help to prepare the understanding of the complex case of current scholarly communication.

While Luhmann describes an evolution of 'Western' society that culminates in proclaiming world society, he still does not buy into a universal line of human social development (*Epochenbildung*) (1997, pp. 609 sqq.). Different forms of differentiation that structure society/communities overlay one another, changing in dominance over time. When people started farming, their society was typically organised in households and/or communities that exchanged and shared goods, knowledge and customs with other communities within reach. Only when a centre for this exchange was established, like a market or a town, did the primary type of differentiation change from segmentation to a centre/periphery differentiation. Then, the periphery would extend as far as the centre exercises attraction to perform certain activities mainly there, and according to specific customs established there. Different expectations of how the communicative exchange works, in regard to, for example, trading or spiritual rituals, are typically bound to certain types of differentiation; for instance, personal acquaintance might no longer be expected from all participants in a spiritual ritual of the centre.

The physical location identified as the centre is important for communication as a point of reference, and conditions such as whether there are, e. g., shady trees in the marketplace or not might have a huge impact on how the market is organised and how people interact. However, the trees only become important for an analysis of communication if this impact can be detected in the communication, implicitly or explicitly. Staying with these examples, peripheral would be spiritual activities happening in a community which is aware of the rituals performed in the spiritual centre, but which continues its own spiritual activities—deliberately or not. Peripheral would also be any trading happening in the area of influence of the central market, but which, for instance, has established deviating 'market rules' and remains separated from the central market's action—deliberately or not. As long as the central procedures stick out, peripheral activities reinforce the central status by contrasting it, and thereby highlighting some of the centre's features.

How can communication, loaded with attributes such as an affiliation that carries a lot of peripheral meaning, possibly move to the centre? Dasgupta's (2009) discussion of 'progress in science' in periphery-Peripheries can help to find an answer:[76] progress, meaning opportunities for own research programmes, presumes that peripheral researchers engage creatively with an 'unsolved issue within metropolitan science'. This resonates with a communicative concept of centre/periphery. It is quite unlikely—but not impossible—that this paratext can coexist with scholarly claims that end up in the system's centre. To begin with, the references of such contributions to claims that are already in the centre must be extraordinarily strong so that the scholarly 'value' is recognised.

Centre/periphery is not the only form of internal differentiation of the research system.[77] For instance, it is also functionally differentiated internally, in disciplines, and again in research areas or fields. Internal functional differentiation creates an internal environment for each subsystem, that therefore helps to reduce complexity, and to mediate the environment external to the research system: relations between subsystems can be of help when there is outside pressure (Stichweh 1988, p. 86). These subsystems are differentiated internally even further: for each research area, its representatives will more or less agree on where they locate the world centre or centres of the research area. Instead of referring to certain countries or regions, it is likely that specific institutions are pointed out as centres of these subsystems. Often, disciplinary centres concentrate in one location because they share facilities (Luhmann 1997, p. 673), such as public attention, administration, representative lecture halls, and libraries (also see Altbach 1981). As in any other region of the world, in Southeast Africa there are locations where these facilities accumulate, and these are perceived

76 Dasgupta does not refer to Galtung, but while the meaning that Galtung gave to 'periphery-Periphery' is what he works with, he never uses this label.

77 For a comprehensive list, see Stichweh 1988; for the theoretical roots, see Luhmann 1997, pp. 760 sq.

of as regional centres of research (see Section 4.2).[78] Where the communication places the centre always depends on the topic, on participation, on the composition of further self- and other-references, *et cetera*, within a row of communicative sequences; and to be remembered as centre, the denotation has to be repeated very often.

Derived from this concentration, it becomes increasingly difficult to establish centres elsewhere. However, when facilities become seriously outdated, libraries are run down, reputed researchers cannot be attracted, and therefore communication does not coincide with that place any longer, a centre status can be lost. Normally, the differentiation reinforces itself, and even if this does not have any function for science, it simply comes with the package of this form of differentiation (Luhmann 2005, p. 79). Furthermore, that package also contains the self-description of the centre as superior, upon ignorance of the periphery. Everything that does not belong to the self-perception, or that creates problems which cannot be solved, is externalised (Luhmann 1997, pp. 854 sq.).

The current need for distinguished centres, long-term focal points for a discipline, can be questioned. One rather hard-to-realise option is 'scratching off the whole thing' and rejecting the concept of one research system that developed with strong references to Europe all along the way. For instance, this is demanded in the widely discussed video of a discussion at the University of Cape Town.[79] In this line of thinking, it is preferred not to build on the foundations of the often racist, exploitive and discriminative history of research. The idea is to position alternative systems based on 'indigenous knowledge production' and reception opposed to the established research system. Alternatively, it is demanded that the research system

78 Those accumulations, including human and non-human 'actants' are constitutive for what Latour 1988, pp. 179 sqq. denotes as 'centres of calculation'.

79 Science must fall?, YouTube, published on 13 Oct. 2016 by UCT Scientist, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9SiRNibD14, visited on 29 June 2020. According to Roy 2018 'the phrase also runs the risk of being used by religious fundamentalists and cynical politicians in their arguments against established scientific theories such as climate change'. Furthermore, Roy continues, the call for full rejection also does injustice to critical and progressive scientists from postcolonial countries.

should accommodate a variety of ways of doing research (see e. g. Alvares and Faruqi 2012; Alvares 2014; Anyidoho 2008; Bowker 2010; Sitas 2004; Smith 2012; Wilson 2008). 'Indigenous knowledge production' and reception potentially provides new knowledge not only to a certain community, but to all of society.

Multiple and mobile centres of the research system, while certainly requiring at least a wider distribution of resources, are not putting the whole system at risk. Since research institutions have been created in almost every country of the world now, risk can be distributed more evenly, to stop the exploitation of peripheral research as verifiers of research results from the centres and data collectors in collaborative projects (see e. g. Holm, Jarrick et al. 2015, pp. 114 sqq.). According to dependency theory, even if collaborations are set up on equal intellectual footing, contexts where scholarly centres accumulate always benefit most from the projects, because of their 'advanced capacity to disseminate, absorb and act upon knowledge produced' (Boshoff 2009, with reference to Nagtegaal and de Bruin 1994). Therefore, research projects need to take responsibility in order to compensate for those effects. 'Additive' approaches are insufficient to tackle the social injustice that is reproduced by the system, regardless of whether they concern data collection in remote places, far from established centres, or the implementation of selected 'indigenous' concepts or methods into the research system (cf. Bhambra 2014a, p. 81).

The world economy is described as being increasingly decentred (see e. g. Lash and Urry 1994, p. 4). 'Human life, it is also argued, is increasingly deterritorialized' (Hannerz 2015, p. 311). Even if that was true (only) for those who can afford mobility, and who therefore are likely to claim something like that, it leaves society with open questions about how to acknowledge and tackle injustices. At least in the case of research communication, this can be done by analysing how the differentiation of centre and periphery is created in communication.

Most deeper analyses of the locality of academic knowledge focus on historical examples from the natural sciences (e. g. Livingstone 2003; Delbourgo and Dew 2008), and therefore mostly on implicit references in research communication to European territory. The reason for that might be that in the SSH, with the exception of the field of history (see e. g. Chakrabarty 1992; 2008), universality claims are less often made. However, they are abundant in theories and methods (see e. g. Mignolo 2000; Sitas 2004; Connell 2007; Smith 2012). Yet the locality of knowledge must not necessarily lead to an internal differentiation of centre and periphery that is perceived of as racist and neo-colonial. This perception cannot be explained on the basis of historic trenches alone, but is also due in part to current stabilising mechanisms built into the research system, some of which I will describe below.

The scholarly communication system is observing itself in many forms; on the one hand, with the help of reflection theories (epistemology, science studies), and on the other, by quantifying self-observation (citation databases, rankings, institutional audits, *et cetera* whose sound methodology has to be accepted—with good right or not). In any ranking, the idea of comparability is implied, while especially for university rankings, this is, as Connell (2019, p. 85) notes, a 'fantasy', in which '[s]erving distinctive local needs counts for nothing'.

The visibility of a cited publication is multiplied by its citations, and this effect is reinforced by self-observation techniques, resulting in a Matthew effect.[80] Many citations increase the reputation of a certain author, whose future work is automatically more visible. Institutions with a long list of reputable affiliated scholars rank highly, and therefore are specifically attractive places at which to conduct research, and so on. Because of these structuring effects of the research system's environment, entire world regions appear peripheral, because references in the 'centre literature' rarely point to literature written or published there. The effect is a neglect of whole regions in global self-observation exercises. Such a gap can then become a reference of follow-up communication.

This selective process of not recognising everything that has been published tackles the problem of volume that the system has to address some-

80 'The Matthew effect may serve to heighten the visibility of contributions to science by scientists of acknowledged standing and to reduce the visibility of contributions by authors who are less well known'; see Merton 1968.

how: it usually is sufficient to include 'centre literature' in a literature review; as WOS founder Garfield says, 'a few hundred core journals would satisfy the needs of most readers' (Garfield 1997). Stichweh talks about a 'legitimate constriction of the view'[81] that works as long as all crucial research innovations that might happen in the periphery are absorbed into the centre. As Vessuri, Guédon, et al. (2014) make clear, work that gained some visibility, e. g. by being retrievable via GS, or even published in a 'Global North' journal, is not automatically positioned in the centre (see Ondari-Okemwa 2007): 'visibility alone is not enough. Effective presence requires being in such a state of visibility that anyone neglecting it will be faulted for carelessness, incompetence or ignorance'. At the same time, every centre of scholarly communication in history brought a restriction of the acceptable and possible with it, a homogenisation (Stichweh 1988, p. 92). With the advanced technology available today, homogenisation and Matthew effects could probably be minimised.

The large output characteristic for centralised places becomes noticeable because it clusters around certain ideas and topics, and timely participation via selected media is key to gaining attention. UK and US scholars have a head start for various historical, linguistic, and infrastructural reasons, but their contributions also do not always succeed in the run for global reach. Peripheral communication is clearly linked to central communication, yet sometimes delayed. It might thus miss the hot topics, and it uses media, including language, that can make it hard to overcome the improbability of successful communication. Paratexts of prestige also help to overcome this barrier (also see Schmidt 2016c). To repeat that point, peripheral communication can only live up to the expectation of functionally differentiated communication in world society because it makes global reach happen. This global reach is a requirement of the function system in world society, and not a requirement of local knowledge communities. In other words, if the peripheral scholarly communication referentially attached to a large

81 '*Legitime Sichtverengung*' in Stichweh 1988, p. 91. Similarly, von Gizycki 1973 states that 'being at the centre, their members may no longer feel the need to inform themselves about what is going on in certain peripheral countries where serious scientific exertions might be taking place'.

variety of world regions via affiliation did not refer to central work, global reach would remain hypothetical.

> The inclusion of non-Western authors thus seems to have a stabilising function in the hegemonic production of knowledge; it serves a legitimatory, self-assuring purpose, similar to the consideration of 'indigenous knowledge' in development co-operation that tends to merely legitimate interventions while, as a side effect, it hierarchises different sources of knowledge (Krenceyova 2014).

Again, this is not a normative claim, but a possible explanation for why the research system is differentiated into centre and periphery; it reduces complexity while a limited number of contributions are flagged out as central, so 'must-have knowledge' stands out. The question is if this strategy leads to a satisfyingly structured body of knowledge for world society, potentially for everyone. As I argued before, at least in a 'Global South' context, it does not. Wherever different interests are involved, an equal level of satisfaction with current structures is highly unlikely to be achieved, but social justice requires that maximum effort, from all sides, is put into getting as close as possible to this goal. Currently, it cannot be observed that social justice is seen as a ubiquitous ideal, so efforts to reach it are rather sparse.

There are voices which suggest that the 'global science network no longer displays a core/periphery grouping' (Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018; also see Leydesdorff, Wagner et al. 2013; Maisonobe, Grossetti et al. 2017) since the highly reputed researchers, according to the mainstream scientometric indicators, are more often found outside the traditional 'core countries'. There also are 'fewer highly central nodes, and it becomes less important to have direct contact with the "star" nodes' (Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018). This indicates that there already is a development taking place that leads to more complexity. However, new nodes are still only included under the terms of the criteria set up by 'Global North' institutions; therefore, the goals I just delineated will not be reached when the system does not engage with issues of social justice in its constructions of possible futures.

In conclusion, there is no general periphery of the world, neither a geographical—starting with physical difficulties of defining the centre of an almost ball-shaped shell with two poles—nor a single communicative centre, although accumulated peripheral status, across function systems, makes world regions look like that. In the scholarly communication system, a centre/periphery differentiation becomes apparent when a large majority of references of registered publications points to the same cluster of work, which then forms a centre of scholarly communication.

The establishment of centres in research communication helps with the production of new knowledge and the avoidance of overload, because it concentrates capacities on solving problems that society and research systems established as crucial. However, the conjunction between communicative and geographical location in scholarly communication seems to be disturbingly tight, as this thesis continues to illustrate, so 'Global North' populations are better served by the research system. Since this system is supposed to be global, and serve all of world society, research communication, ideally, needs to counter the accumulation of references to certain localities in order to avoid hypercompetition and effects such as brain drain (see Section 4.2) that impede the emergence of a more balanced and efficient worldwide system. This way, valuable contributions to the system could get more attention, even if they do not refer to a 'central' address or to an 'international journal', an expression used to label 'central' journals, as the following section will explain in detail.

3.4 International/Local Journals

This section addresses the origin and effects of the charged distinction between 'international' and 'local' journals. The confusion that this creates starts on a very low semantic level: *Inter*-nationalism implies two-way communication between (citizens of) nation-states, but this rarely is what is meant when the term is used. Haider (2008, p. 131) found a 'general trend' that 'international journals' actually mean '"western"/European/North-American journals' (also see Canagarajah 2002; Medina 2013), even if there are exceptions. In the literature, definitions, if they are given at all,[82] are diverse. To mention just the most common ones, an 'international journal'

1. is *indexed* either in WoS (see references in Paasi 2005, Vessuri, Guédon et al. 2014, Ramkissoon and Kahwa 2015[83]), or other 'international bibliographic databases' (Tijssen, Mouton et al. 2006), passing through the task of defining,
2. works with *authors* who are affiliated with a wide range of institutions situated in different countries, especially if those authors also collaborate,[84]
3. is written in English, especially when authors are from non-English-speaking countries (Paasi 2015), or in another widely spoken *language*, or appears in different language editions,
4. reaches a global *readership*, recognised by citations from different countries (Aman 2016),
5. is mainly *edited* in the 'Global North', or simply outside of (most) authors' countries,[85] or has an editorial board composed of members from many different countries, and/or
6. is defined by the international *scope* of the debate it contributes to (Simonsen 2002; Martín 2017).

A combination of different criteria was suggested,[86] but it was rarely put into action in scientometric research. It is enigmatic that a term so widely used in the research management context is discussed in depth so little. My suspicion is that putting a weighted combination into place—which also would need to consider field-specific differences—is too complex of a task

82 Buela-Casal, Perakakis et al. 2006 confirm that in scientometrics, 'international' is 'used extensively without qualification'.

83 Several other contributions to the 'UNESCO Science Report' use the term without definition, but since the bibliometric analyses in the report are based on WoS, it can be assumed that it is used synonymously.

84 According to Buela-Casal, Perakakis et al. l. c., this probably is the most common definition. In my reading, it competes with the first definition of this list.

85 See the promotion policy of the University of Ibadan, discussed by Omobowale, Sawadogo et al. 2013; see below.

86 By Buela-Casal, Perakakis et al. 2006; also including more examples and a discussion of the different definitions.

for mainstream bibliometrics, similar to the task of setting up a database that actually mirrors the communicative centre/periphery pattern for each research subject, and not only publications which for some unclear reason ended up in that database.

Interestingly, some of the above definitions rule out each other. For instance, Aman (2016) found that many Wos-indexed journals in the humanities have a primarily local readership. The study also shows that it is not only the Ssh journals from the 'Global North' that score high in internationality: journals from Iran, India, Taiwan and China are found many ranks higher than journals from the Usa, France, Germany, and Spain.

Tierney and Kan (2016) compared the top North American education journal (Aerj), considered an 'international journal' according to some definitions, with the top education journal from China (*Jiaoyu Yanjiu Yuekan*), clearly seen as a 'local journal', and they found that both are reflecting local policy concerns, and are addressing a rather local readership. However, papers published in the North American journal rarely reflect any research done outside their local scope, while papers published in the Chinese journal are usually well-informed about debates taking place abroad.

Regardless of the definition, the literature seems to agree that most 'local journals' are not indexed in Wos. However, publishing in Wos-indexed journals is decisive for career development—more or less—in every place and field.[87] This automatically and unpreventably leads to the expectation of quality problems in 'local journals', since the results that a researcher perceives of as his or her most relevant and brilliant work are very likely sent to a Wos-indexed journal (cf. Murray and Clobridge 2014; Pouris and Richter 2000). Only if there are no Wos-indexed journals left to submit to,

87 Trevor Barnes in Ward, Johnston et al. 2009 is very enlightening on different publishing cultures in the Ssh: 'One of the insights that I have gained from serving on the [...] Promotion and Tenure Committee at the University of British Columbia is seeing how other disciplines do it. [...] Economics has a holy quintet of journals, and if you publish in two of them you become a Full Professor. But under no circumstances should an economist write a book until they publish in the holy quintet. In Psychology, textbooks are good, but pure gold is the multi-authored scientific paper with triple-figure citations. In History and English, it is a single-authored book per professorial rank [...]. But in Geography anything goes.'

is the rejected paper offered to a 'local' journal. Canagarajah (1996, p. 441) maintains that it 'is widely known that the papers of both Third World and Western scholars published in such journals are usually those rejected by Western journals or by scholars lacking access to Western journals'. Interestingly, 'internationality' is also used as an indicator for journal quality (see Buela-Casal, Perakakis et al. 2006) which leads to a circular definition: an international journal is a top-quality journal, and a top-quality journal is an international journal.

However else 'quality' is defined—and it is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss definitions of quality—some of the typical expectations that WoS-indexed journal reviewers and editors might maintain seem to be hard to meet by typical 'local journal' contributions: the 'idiosyncratic form of writing used by each national or linguistic educational community' (Martín 2017) is usually not appreciated there. Those expectations exclude contributions that quite simply deviate from the 'Global North' cultural standard (also see Vessuri, Guédon et al. 2014). In an anonymous interview, an Ugandan researcher appends well to this by saying that

> [i]nternational journals have their own standards, and we have had problems with that. So, that is also something that blocks people. There is a hindrance to our development. So, we also need to link into collaborations that promote local publications (Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018).

In another interview of this study, a Zimbabwean researcher adjoins his experiences with reviewers from 'international journals':

> They don't really understand the African context in terms of the issues, in terms of some of the challenges that we face, like, on the ground, and some of the comments that you get from the review process, they're very depressing if I can use that word. [… Y]ou kind of lose your motivation, because you are on the ground, you see those issues and you want to report or write about them, and you really feel very strongly that this is a problem in Africa, but probably it's not a problem in Canada, it's not a problem somewhere in Europe. So it kills the drive in many researchers and it also explains probably why many African researchers end up in those pirate journals now. [… T]hey always reject, so the journals, they're like for Europeans or Americans, a certain group of people, which then also affects the quality of our research […].

Some rejected papers are send to 'local journals' (or even 'pirate journals', see Section 2.2.7) because the author felt misunderstood, and was not willing to change the text according to the reviewers' comments, since this would change the point he or she wanted to make. 'Local journals' could also be a place for experimenting, and for innovation—it is left to future research to validate this conjecture.

For South African science journals, Pouris and Richter (2000) also report other reasons for publishing in local journals: the perception that 'local journals' are the best outlet for the paper because of their focus on domestic or regional issues and on a corresponding audience, and that they are a community effort worth supporting (also see Alemna, Chifwepa et al. 1999; Kell and Czerniewicz 2016). Sivertsen (2016) argues, based on data from Norway, that a local audience interested in the SSH complements the peer community in ensuring quality standards. The 'SSH would lose their raison d'être by disconnecting from the surrounding culture and society and by mainly communicating in international journals that are only read by peers abroad' (ibid.). In order to preserve the journals and the abovementioned reasons to publish with them, a respondent of the *World Humanities Report* survey (Holm, Jarrick et al. 2015) requested 'a condition that one must publish in local journals and in a local language (say Kiswahili), along with the international avenues, in order to get promotion'. As interviews with Kenyan medical researchers showed, the 'desire for international recognition overrides social benefits', namely, providing research information to (local) practitioners. In this case, authors decide to publish in an 'international journal' instead of in a (local) open-access journal (Obachi and Kachero 2012). Similarly, a South African interviewee states that '[s]ome of my research is very particular, [t]o a South African context, but I get no recognition if I publish in the South African journal [...]. In fact, I've been told that I must not publish in that journal because it will look bad' (Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018).

From Nigeria, it is reported that even though well-reputed journals with high quality standards exist(ed), the University of Ibadan promotion policy requires that a 'reasonable number of articles should, at least, be published off-shore.'[88] As several interviewees in Omobowale's study (2013) state, the background to this regulation was disingenuous publication practices of some researchers that led to high submission rates at those 'local journals', so their editors could not handle the volume. Even though the interviewees concede that measures were necessary, they understand that this policy is the death sentence for those journals. Since the policy is still in place seven years after the publication of the study, a follow-up investigation about the development of the Nigerian scholarly journals would most likely bring forward only a few remains. Opposing such developments, Obachi and Kachero (2012) argue that, in Africa, 'a paradigm shift towards building reputable local journals' is needed.

The newly established *Journal Publishing Practices and Standards* (JPPS) aim at supporting 'local journals' from the 'Global South' and increasing 'global visibility' and 'respect', so authors are encouraged 'to submit their work to regional journals'.[89] The guidelines have been jointly developed by INASP and *African Journals Online* (AJOL), and implementation in AJOL and similar platforms started in 2016. Since 2019, all AJOL journals are displayed with one of six possible badges: three stars to no stars, inactive, or new. Are the criteria for a three-star-badge any different from the criteria to be included in the WOS *Emerging Sources Citation Index* (ESCI)?[90] Compared to the three WOS standard indexes, those sources do not need to comply with any *impact* criteria, but only with 28 'quality criteria'.[91]

There are some important differences between JPPS and WOS criteria (see the discussion of criteria exclusively required by WOS in Section 2.2.4). However, there also are some problematic (and many unproblematic) com-

88 University of Ibadan, Appointments and Promotions Committee for Academic Staff, Regulations and Guidelines of Promotions for Academic Staff, 2019, https://www.ui.edu.ng/sites/default/files/2019%20Promotion%20Guideline.pdf, visited on 29 June 2020. Also cf. Vessuri, Guédon et al. 2014.

89 JPPS, A new framework for assessing publishing practices and standards, https://www.journalquality.info/en; and Background, https://www.journalquality.info/en/about/background, both visited on 29 June 2020.

90 See Fn. 19.

91 This approach of consolidating the separation of 'the "best" (the "west") from the rest' has been criticised by Bell 2018; Somoza-Fernández, Rodríguez-Gairín et al. 2018.

monalities. Regular appearance is one of the problematic ones, required even for 'new' JPPS-assessed journals—a criterion that 'local journals' often cannot meet, for a variety of reasons. When the fate of a journal lies in the hands of only a few people, the absence of just one of those people can easily prevent scheduled publication dates from being met. Moreover, when there is political unrest, or even war or famine, editing a scholarly journal naturally receives subordinated priority. There is no reason to assume that the content quality is bad, just because the journal did not follow its schedule, and I cannot think of a good reason why this is a criterion at all—it prevents the inclusion of journals edited under poor environmental conditions before content-related questions are even considered. Furthermore, if an editor were to stick to the schedule even under disastrous conditions, this would necessarily compromise quality.

Another problematic JPPS criterion, for which compliance is required by 'new' journals as well, is a 'geographically diverse (or varied)' editorial board. WOS actually is less strict here: 'affiliations, geographic diversity, and publication records must be consistent with the stated scope'. The latter is more adequate, and the comparison clearly points to a double standard: JPPS, which is addressed to 'Global South' journals, does *not* support 'local journals' solely edited by locals. WOS would not exclude those journals, officially, *because* of that, and a 'European Journal of Some Science' solely edited by Europeans might be in the realm of the acceptable. It seems like the 'international/local journal' distinction is somewhat enforced here, and as long as the role of WOS in research evaluation and bibliometrics is in place, it will always be preferred over the 'local'.

An open question is if the next resort for a JPPS '3-star journal' is WOS, and if JPPS becomes a somewhat preparatory stage, so the distinction between 'international/local journals' resolves. Hazen (1999) cautions that '[u]ninformed adherence to international standards can be expensive, unsuccessful, and profoundly counterproductive'. Furthermore, it leads to homogenisation, as many of the respondents to the *Humanities World Report* survey from the 'Global South' bemoan; 'Global North' respondents usually do not hit on this issue (Holm, Jarrick et al. 2015).

In a comparison of Latin American, Spanish, and Portuguese journals indexed in WoS, on the one hand, and *Scopus*, SciElo (Scientific Electronic Library Online), or RedALyC (*Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y El Caribe, España y Portugal*), on the other, Chavarro, Ràfols and Tang (2018) found that journals which meet all of the following editorial standards are more likely to be covered by WoS:

1. at least two-thirds of the editorial board are not affiliated with the publishing institution,
2. at least half of the authors are not affiliated with the publishing institution,
3. regular periodicity according to stated schedule,
4. at least 40% peer reviewed content, and
5. titles and abstracts are available in English.

External authorship was the criterion most clearly related to being indexed in WoS, but another was having an 'open' editorial board. However, even if Latin American journals fulfilled all criteria, the odds of being indexed still did not improve in a relevant way. In contrast, the criterion of being published in Europe showed a massive correlation with being indexed: 'being covered by WoS is to a good extent an indicator of community belonging or readership and less an indicator of quality' (ibid.). Nonetheless, Zincke (2014) writes:

> [t]he central indexes, like SSCI and Scopus, despite the fact that they began with a definitely local character, referring to countries like the USA and UK, have defined themselves from the start as global, as representing a science authentically universal, covering the whole world, whereas, in contrast, the regional indexes of Latin America, like SciElo and *Latindex*, are conceived and projected as local, and are used by the countries of the region—definitely so in Chile—as second class indexes. [… T]he strong emphasis given to global science by universities and public funding institutions is a threat to the current local focus and relative autonomy of social sciences in this country.

In a study of Czech research, Stöckelová (2012) comes to a similar conclusion: 'orientation toward "global" science' is not always desired. Furthermore, there are reports that some of the most-read journals found in SciElo and *Latindex* 'have been approached by commercial companies interested in including them in profitable indexes' (Beigel 2014), which is criticised as 'predatory' (ibid.). In my view, as long as the offer does not include the obligation to remove the journals from the Latin American indexes, and to adjust to certain guidelines, this would rather lead to more editorial diversity in what is indexed by those 'commercial companies', and likely also an increased permeability of the centre/periphery distinction, making a Latin American affiliation less of an obstacle to contributing to centre communication. However, since it is unlikely that it would impact the 'Global North' editorial standard-setting power, including those journals contributes to the further normalisation of this power. This would also reinforce a centre/periphery distinction within the contributions indexed in Scielo and *Latindex*. While these indexes would still be perceived of as local, journals that have been moved to central indexes would gain a hybrid status, and be referred to as 'local' in the context of Latin American indexes, but as 'international' in the context of 'profitable indexes'.[92]

In conclusion, I tried to show throughout this section that the labels 'international/local' are confusingly used and imprecise. After all, 'all knowledge is local' (Bowker 2010, also see Haraway 1988), especially knowledge that is produced with the approach of stripping all context from it, in the lab, in order to let it appear universal, since this approach in itself is a very European enlightenment idea. 'Place matters only to those for whom Great Truths are not an option. The local is local for those without the power not to make it matter' (McDaniel 2003).

Even though there are some forces pulling to strengthen 'local journals', many signs point to their disappearance rather than to a gain of momentum (also see Section 4.5.2). There is little understanding in the 'Global North' that their support is worthwhile, as Garfield (1997) confirms once more:

> [Wos'] coverage of some local journals has discontinued. In fact, total article coverage has increased substantially because Third World scientists in-

92 Wos already included so-called *Regional Citation Indexes*, see 3.6.

> creasingly publish in the international peer reviewed journals, where their work is seen and read by peers worldwide.

Albeit this quote is dated, few current initiatives, including the INASP projects AJOL and JPPS, which have been criticised for their adherence to 'Global North' standards in this section, take a different direction.

3.5 The Generalisation Barrier

Like social systems theory, decolonial and indigenous studies often see knowledge as something social, not as something that an individual can possess, or something that can be preserved by recording it. Preserved information only comes to life as knowledge when a social 'community' context provides a framework for making sense of the information, for processing meaning. When the framework changes, the knowledge changes—this is why knowledge can be erased by 'teaching'. As Wilson (2008, p. 80) puts it, '[r]ather than viewing ourselves as being in relationship with other people or things, we are the relationships that we hold and are part of'. In contrast to that, rationality, as one of the central ideas of European enlightenment, is understood as producing knowledge via investigation, as a subject-object relation (cf. Lugones 2007; Quijano 2007). However, insights produced that way are the most local imaginable: they only hold true when context variables are under control.

Coloniality can be understood as a multi-dimensional power structure which includes the claim of its own global universality (cf. Mignolo 2000; Grosfoguel 2007; Lugones 2007; Quijano 2007; Mignolo 2009c). While it evolved during the European colonisation projects of the 'overseas territories', it also includes mechanisms of its own reproduction, maintenance and alignment to social change, until today, even though formal political colonialism only continues to exist sporadically. Coloniality is rooted in specific types of epistemology, hermeneutics, and *aesthesis*, and expands through forms of political, legal, economic, bodily-sexual knowledge and expressions of control. Through a large variety of control mechanisms, the dominance of an elitist culture, on the one hand, and the silencing of the subaltern, on the other hand, is consolidated. Active contributions to keep those mechanisms running are not conducted by a personally identifiable elite, but basically by everyone who uncritically participates in globalised social life. Modernity is the other side of the same coin, but turns attention to the putatively positive effects of the 'colonial matrix of power': economic growth, education and health care for all, democracy, *et cetera*. What becomes visible when turning attention to coloniality is the exploitation of labour and nature as well as the obtrusion of strange bodies of knowledge and forms of social organisation that lead to the destruction and neglect of previously dominating social structures amongst communities of people.

Exteriority then is the realm where awareness of the mechanisms of modernity/coloniality is created—questioning one's own solid structures of thinking and doing and striving for alternative epistemologies, hermeneutics, and *aesthesis* (see e. g. Vázquez 2012). In contrast to the bird's eye perspective of objectivity and neutrality that has been so crucial in the development of 'Global North' epistemology (Grosfoguel 2007), the perspective must be personal, and embedded in one's own community. Then, through invited meetings of different perspectives, a pluriversality is created, replacing the idea of universality. However, it must be emphasised once more that there is no (social) 'exterior' to society. As Grizelj and Kirschstein (2014, pp. 73 sq.) note, 'differences are deviations and exceptions *in* world society' (my translation and emphasis), and therefore require the contextual meaning of world society. For instance, Schroer (2005, p. 148) points out, 'only against the backdrop of a consistent frame of reference which society itself creates, can the "different states of development of single areas on the globe" be recognised' (my translation).

Connell (2007, Chapter 2) lists four 'textual moves' that characterise a 'general social theory' which claims centrality (and Connell attributes these approaches to works by Coleman, Bourdieu and Giddens):

1. 'the claim of universality',
2. 'reading from the centre',

3. 'gestures of exclusion', meaning rare or no references to theorists from the colonised world,
4. 'grand erasure' of colonial relationships as a social structure.

Of course, not every social theory which complies with these criteria will automatically become central (see the above definition of the communicative concept of centre/periphery), but it cannot be denied that almost any central social theory complies with these criteria. Since post- and decolonial approaches move towards the centre, more sensitivity can be expected from social theorists. Indeed, these approaches hardly arrived at the social science canon, also illustrated by curricula, so, in my opinion, Connell's diagnosis is still valid.

Connell postulates that any universalisation of theory should be avoided, because no sociological concept can be moved to any other place and still mean the same (ibid., p. 206). Also with social systems theory, meaning cannot be copied or repeated; it is either produced in the minds of individual people, inaccessible to communication, or produced in communication, inaccessible to the minds of people (see Section 2.1). People understand what they can or what they want to. Connell points at 'dirty theory', based on an argument that 'tries to arrive at a configuration of knowledge that reveals the dynamics of a given moment of human history' (ibid., p. 207) whereby it also drives the collection and selection of data. Universalisation is not to be taken for tentative generalisation.

Social systems theory also rejects the bird's eye view, but finds a different, yet still similar alternative: by always including statements about whose observations are reported, references to positionalities are given. However, multi-level observations are an important tool: while I am writing from my personal perspective, I am still observing other observers, and those can be social systems. Of course I am limited to observing only tiny excerpts of, for instance, their self-descriptions, and therefore, by proxy, self-observations of a social system, and other researchers, other third-order observers, might come to different results. Analyses lead by social systems theory do not claim universality.

Coloniality labels a source of social interests and norms which serve as observation mechanisms within function systems. In the case of the research system, this means that they serve as a programme by which a research contribution is judged as true or false, as accurate or misleading, as credible or untrustworthy, as valid or not. This decision is not taken by a certain judge, but by scholarly communication which refers to that contribution, or not. If a contribution is neglected, that does not mean that it *is* false, but rather that, at least up to this point, its truth or plausibility has not been confirmed. The colonial difference is the semantic pattern which makes it possible, and even likely, that poor conditions in certain research environments, such as those found on the African continent, are tied to low expectations concerning the quality of research emerging from those environments. This socially unjust bypass reproduces the colonial difference, and makes sure that conditions can hardly improve.

In order to produce knowledge that possibly is of interest outside the local or regional context, it must comply with some latent and variable standards that can concern many features of a scholarly text. Even if a text written in the 'Global South' complies with the manifest standards that can be learned in scientific writing courses, or looked up in journal submission guidelines, it is likely that it fails to comply with some of the latent ones. Such latent standards include, for instance, that the population studied should not be African-only if the results are to be of relevance beyond Africa (for other latent standards, see e. g. Sithole 2009; Wasserman and Richards 2015). The 'Global North' interest in local African research problems seems to be limited to the field of African studies, while almost everything observed on 'Global North' grounds can be included in a general description of society and culture in the 21st century. It seems like African scholars have to take a decision between studying local problems and publishing in local journals, on the one hand, or starting a scholarly dialogue with international peers about what those peers perceive of as global problems, on the other hand. This has been referred to as 'academic dependency' in the context of dependency theory (see Section 3.2), as an example of 'extroversion' (Hountondji 1997), and as 'phagocytosis of the periphery' (Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014): accepting that participation in the system requires placing one's own contribution outside of one's own local context.

If this observation holds up, scholars based in Africa are entrenched in the contradiction 'between demands for internationalisation and demands for local relevance' (Jensen, Adriansen et al. 2015). Scholars based in the 'Global North' rarely struggle with this, even though their studied populations might be even more limited. A possible explanation for this is that, while local 'Global North' research is easily generalised (Henrich, Heine et al. 2010), African research cannot be, because 'cultural differences' are seen as a barrier, a *generalisation barrier*. This barrier is semantically closely related to what I denoted as 'area studies incarceration' in Section 2.2.5.

African authors tend to make it clear right from their titles when they are studying an African or local population (also see Collyer 2018). When querying the titles of my sample of 1,089 SSH publications by 85 Southeast African authors[93] for terms like 'Africa/n/s' and terms related to the individual countries of the region, I found that 742 (68%) of the publications made use of these terms in their titles. This does not even include when mentioned locations are more specific, as for example mentioning a city or region within a country. In comparison, North American behavioural scientists only recently started to reflect upon their generalisation practises: in around three-quarters of their studies about general human behaviour, they recruit study participants from undergraduate courses in their own discipline, and very often, their own institution (Arnett 2008).

> In top journals such as Nature and Science, [typically 'Global North' behavioural science] researchers frequently extend their findings from undergraduates to the species—often declaring this generalization in their titles (Henrich, Heine et al. 2010).

Researchers in other social sciences have also noticed this type of limitation and unjustified generalisation (Baber 2003; Kurzman 2017; Stevens, Miller-Idriss et al. 2018).

93 See Section 4.5.1 for a detailed description of the sampling process.

3.6 Social Sciences & Humanities in 'International' Indexing

This section provides a mostly empirical description of the reproduction of spatial peripheries in scholarly communication by indexing in the citation database which is most often used for mainstream bibliometrics. The analysis visualises, for all countries with populations larger than one million, the ratio between population and production of WoS publications in SSH basic research. The study is intended to complement the conceptual discussion in the previous sections.

I combine UNESCO data about the size of SSH workforces in single countries with publication data from WoS.[94] To my knowledge, there is no other study combining researcher demographics with bibliometric data on a global scale.[95] This absence of a relative indicator surprises me, because without knowing how many researchers are responsible for a certain number of publications, it is impossible to interpret meaningfully if this number is comparably large or small.

To find out how well the work of SSH researchers is represented in WoS, within a certain time frame, globally, the actual number of all publications published in that time frame must be known in order to have a *comparandum*. Unfortunately, this task is impossible to accomplish, so it has to be scaled down to samples. In Chapter 4, I propose and develop the notion of decolonial scientometrics and analyse full publication lists by a sample of Southeast African researchers. In the following section, I will only relate numbers of researchers to publications indexed in WoS.

To reflect the existence and prosperity of institutions for SSH research, I suggest the indicator x: the ratio of one SSH researcher working in higher education institutions (HEI) to n inhabitants of the country. If this indicator is then compared with the number of publications in WoS—also relative to the number of inhabitants—gaps between a large relative num-

94 Using data from *Scopus* was considered, but it was not possible to query the database for global results.

95 Tirado 2018 suggested that, but did not execute it. Also see the review by Frenken and Hoekman 2014.

ber of researchers, and a low relative number of registered publications can be identified. A further interpretation of these gaps will not be possible at this point, because it could mean either a) that these researchers do publish little, or that b) WoS covers their publications badly. The picture that evolves from my study derives from the same data that almost any bibliometric analysis is based on, so it makes a lot of a difference for the assessment of the soundness of mainstream bibliometrics to which extent b) is true. To that end, the results from this mainstream-scientometric study will be revisited in Chapter 6.

3.6.1 Scientometrics of SSH

Analyses of SSH can to some extent be considered a peripheral part of scientometrics, since they are not part of the scientometric core identity. Scientometric indicators were originally developed to analyse publications in STEM. Therefore, mainstream scientometric methods and data sources are problematic in terms of analysing SSH publications (see e. g. Aksnes and Sivertsen 2019). They should not be adopted without considering the effects of different publication and citation behaviour, both between the SSH and STEM, as well as between different SSH disciplines (Hicks 1999; Moed, Luwel et al. 2002; Hicks 2004; Nederhof 2006; Hammarfelt 2016). For instance, STEM bibliometrics almost never include monographs and book chapters, while for the SSH, they cannot be ignored. Hammarfelt (2012, p. 31) did a meta-study on SSH citation data from 1995-2005 and found that the share of book publications in reference lists ranges between 45% in information research to 88% in studies of religion. Engels, Istenič Starčič, et al. (2018) could not find any clear trend, at least for European countries, that the status of book publishing is decreasing.

For older citation analysis studies in the humanities (1951-2010), Ardanuy (2013) established that only 22% made use of mainstream bibliometric databases, while the remaining collected data mostly through citation chaining.[96] More recently, the collection of full publication records on

96 For whatever reason, there is more methodological discussion about scientometrics

institutional or even national level in Cris became an ideal data source for studies limited to those levels (see e. g. Sivertsen 2016). In general, because of scientometric research interests in the SsH leaning more towards the mapping of disciplines or topics than assessing quantities of production, few studies with a broad scope are available (cf. Franssen and Wouters 2019). One exception is the global study on Ssci (Wos Social Sciences Citation Index) data by Mosbah-Natanson and Gringas (2014), who found that over the period 1980-2009, North America and Europe are the unchallenged 'centres' of social sciences, and even though more authors from other regions appear in the index, they tend to cite 'central' research. Zincke (2014), whose study of Chilean social sciences I will introduce in Section 4.1, even found that 'using the Ssci database, the citations from Latin American authors to other Latin Americans have been declining'. However, a centralisation effect naturally appears with larger national research communities, because their communication is more inward-looking than the communication of smaller research communities. Large structures also attract more attention globally (Danell 2013). However, Danell also found that this tendency is somewhat levelling out internationally. A cartogram visualising all publications indexed in *Scopus*, comparing 2007 with 2017, also shows that global indexing proportions are stable.[97]

One of the major problems with the use of mainstream databases for scientometrics of the SsH is the clear language bias found there, most evidently in Wos (van Leeuwen, Moed et al. 2001; Archambault, Vignola-Gagné et al. 2006; van Raan, van Leeuwen et al. 2011; van Leeuwen 2013). Since the SsH frequently deals with phenomena that are strongly connected to local cultures, local languages are often used to describe them. Yet a drift towards publishing in English and Wos-indexed journals is recognisable in the publication behaviour of European researchers (Kulczycki, Engels et al. 2018; Guns, Eykens et al. 2019). At least for those social sciences authors

of the humanities than of the social sciences.

97 Alperin, Juan Pablo, and Rodrigo Costas, World Scaled by Number of Documents, http://scholcommlab.ca/cartogram, visited on 29 June 2020. The cartogramm for the number of publications as a proportion of the population in 2017 is displayed on the cover of this book.

who publish in Wos-indexed journals, in different 'Global North' countries, publication and citation patterns are similar (van Leeuwen 2006).

Since the study of SSH Wos indexing on a global scale does not intend to analyse the SSH, but rather Wos indexing, this short overview solely served to emphasise that SSCI and AHCI (Arts & Humanities Citation Index), both included in Wos, are not accepted uncritically by the scientometric community. However, the indexes are still used a lot, and therefore feed back on the SSH, and on the reproduction of splits and trenches that follow geopolitical lines.

3.6.2 Global Basic SSH in the *Web of Science*

The data for the following analysis was derived from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics[98] and from Wos (see the query in Appendix A), and limited to publication years 2007 to 2016. I queried the SSCI, AHCI, as well as the Conference Paper, Book, and Emerging Sources Citation Indexes to get the broadest coverage of basic SSH indexed in Wos. Beyond the Wos collections I queried, there are *Regional Citation Indexes* available, ingesting data from SCIELO, as well as from indexes compiled in China, South Korea, and Russia. However, this data is not as rich as data from the *Core Collection*, and all of the following filters I applied to my query are not available for this data, so I decided to set those collections aside: since I focus on basic research, I excluded all Wos 'category terms' which, to me, denoted rather applied or natural sciences. The search result of 1,366,280 records was not edited in any way, so there might be duplicates and errors in this data. After the critical analysis of the Wos indexes by Tüür-Fröhlich (2016), it can be taken as a given that each search in Wos returns highly defective results. I am therefore convinced that publication counts derived from this data can only be read as a vague relative indicator of publication activity directed towards Wos-indexed journals, while the absolute number means very little. To make that visible in the text, I never number the publication records for any country, and my indicator for the relative numbers will be rounded to two decimal places.

98 See http://data.uis.unesco.org, visited on 11 April 2017.

Further, co-authorships count as one full publication for every author from a different country. For some countries, combinations of researcher count and publication data seem to be implausible, but I decided not to look into it deeply for these single cases because I wanted to treat every record equally. It is simply not feasible to review and correct the data.

Recent demographic data was not available for every country, so I decided to preferably select data from 2012 or the year closest to that, with more recent data being preferred if there was a tie. 2012 is exactly between 2007 and 2016, the year range chosen for the WoS publication data collection. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics does not provide detailed descriptions of the data, and it can be expected that countries deliver data which correspond to divergent phenomena in reality (also see Keim 2008). In the UN *Statistical Yearbook* (2017, p. 475), the following description is given for the researcher counts:

> Data for certain countries are provided to UNESCO by OECD, Eurostat and the Latin-American Network on Science and Technology Indicators (RICYT). The definitions and classifications applied by UNESCO in the table are based on those set out in the Frascati Manual (OECD 2002).

Further, professionals are considered as researchers if they are 'engaged in the conception or creation of new knowledge, products, processes, methods and systems and also in the management of the projects concerned' (UN 2017, p. 475). This includes postgraduate students at PhD level.

Inconsistencies in the UNESCO data became apparent when I discovered that the year chosen is very relevant for the results: for Russia, the SSH HEI head count (HC) doubled within four years (2009-2012); for Maylasia, it doubled within three years (2010-2013); and for Thailand, it increased from 16,000 in 2011 to 24,000 in 2014. According to the data, six times as many researchers were employed in Bosnia 2014 compared to the previous year, and in Ethiopia, 2007 compared to 2013, eight times as many. For Iran, the number almost doubled every other year between 2004-2008 to more than 21,000. For Kazakhstan, the growth rate was 160% between 2011 and 2013; and for Kyrgyzstan, almost four times as many researchers were counted in 2014 than in 2011. However, global demographic data always has to be taken with a grain of salt, since there is no single agency which creates them. Therefore, lacking any alternatives, caution is demanded when interpreting the results.

For a number of countries, UNESCO did not provide the head counts for SSH researchers working in HEI, which is my preferred indicator, and also the indicator for which UNESCO provides researcher counts for most countries. It also is my preferred indicator, because for a part-time SSH researcher at HEI , it is rather atypical to spend working hours outside of this position on something that is totally unrelated to research, except when caring for relatives. Publications are not necessarily written during paid hours.[99] If there were no head counts for HEI SSH, I collected data for these countries with the following preferences:

1. full-time equivalents (FTE) at HEI SSH,
2. head counts in the SSH,
3. FTE in the SSH,
4. head count for HEI, no disciplinary limitation,
5. FTE at HEI, no disciplinary limitation,
6. FTE, limited to neither discipline nor institution type.

As long as the data were distinguished by disciplinary fields, I included the counts of researchers working in other institutions than HEI, and FTE instead of head counts, simply because in most countries, SSH researchers typically work at HEI. I accept that a comparability is not fully given because of this decision. Furthermore, if information about the discipline was missing, I had to estimate the SSH share. Since for 98 countries, the head counts for SSH at HEI as well as the head counts for science, technology, engineering and medicine (STEM) at HEI was available, I could calculate the mean ratio with the help of 476 data sets from the years 2005-2014.

In conclusion, globally, there are 1.88 STEM researchers for every SSH researcher. This ratio was then used to estimate the head counts for SSH at

99 In Africa, many researchers are, besides their position at a university, consultants; see e. g. Cloete, Maassen et al. 2015; Kell and Czerniewicz 2016; Maassen 2012b; Mouton 2010; Zeleza 2002. However, for Africa, the literature does not indicate that this type of research leads to a publication output.

HEI for 21 countries (see Appendix B, Tables 18 and 19). For the Southeast African countries Rwanda, Tanzania and Zambia, I estimated the numbers according to the head counts for SSH at HEI of other Southeast African countries because the higher education development in this region roughly follows similar lines in the whole region, and I will continue to work with these estimations in Chapter 4. As with WOS publication data, the initial data as well as my estimations have to be taken with a grain of salt, so I decided to round the counts to hundreds, or tens if there were less than one hundred researchers, when I mention them in the text.

For 30 countries with a population larger than one million, UNESCO did not provide researcher counts at all; in some cases, a note said 'magnitude nil or negligible'. Countries with smaller populations and unavailable data were excluded. For eight of these countries, WOS SSH publication count 2007-2016 was higher than one hundred (see Appendix B, Table 16). Since it is unlikely that this could be achieved without any researchers present in the country, I estimated the number of SSH researchers with the help of the UN Human Development Index 2016 (HDI). I decided to use the HDI, and not e. g. only the education index which is one of the three sub-indexes from which the HDI is calculated, because health and a decent living standard (the other two indexes) are also relevant preconditions for doing research.

For each of the 30 countries lacking researcher counts, the HDI was consulted to identify the neighbouring countries in the index. Some ranks are shared by several countries, and some are not occupied, in order to compensate for shared ranks. I took all countries into consideration which were positioned closest to the country without researcher counts, in both directions, and including those which it shares the rank with, but excluding those for which I do not possess the necessary data. I made sure to base my estimation on at least two other countries. The eight countries for which the SSH researcher count and related indicators have been estimated according to this procedure are flagged with a double asterisk in the charts.

For the remaining 22 countries, the ratio *x* of one SSH researcher to *n* inhabitants has been set to equal the population count (see Appendix B,

Table 17). The large majority of these countries are low-income countries or/and are involved in conflicts. This serves the purpose of representing the inhabitants of these countries in my analyses, and their non-representation in research, in general. For the following analysis, to make visible that these are estimations without serious grounds, these countries are not mentioned by descriptions in the text, and are starred in the charts.

In 2012, all 161 included countries together have a total population of approx. 7,030,510,000, so roughly 27,000,000 world inhabitants, presumably living in states with a population lower than one million, are not represented by the researchers of their home country in my study. The total estimated number of SSH researchers working at HEI in all included countries is 1,290,000.

3.6.3 The Size of the SSH Workforce vs. *Web of Science* Publications

In Figures 2 to 7, the country with the most SSH researchers relative to the population 'ranks' first, reflected by a low ratio x of one researcher per n inhabitants. The top-ranked country then is Iceland.

The first 26 countries listed in Figure 2 feature mostly European countries, but also Oceania, Canada, Tunisia, and Japan. The bars show the number of publications in basic SSH research 2007-2016 registered in WOS, relative to the number of inhabitants. In the description, I will also mention total WOS SSH publication counts, which will again play a role in Figures 8 to 10, but for the ranking diagrams, relative publication counts are in focus. To attain an indicator that is manageable on a diagram's scale, for each country, I first multiplied the total number of WOS publications by 100,000, and then divided the result by the number of inhabitants.

For example, the four countries with the highest relative number of SSH publications in WOS are Australia, Iceland, New Zealand, and Norway. The indicator tells us numbers between 280 and 244 for these countries. For Australia then, this number means that per one Australian, there is almost a three-hundredth WOS publication, or, in different terms, to make it graspable, per 280 Australians, there is one SSH publication registered in WOS within ten years.

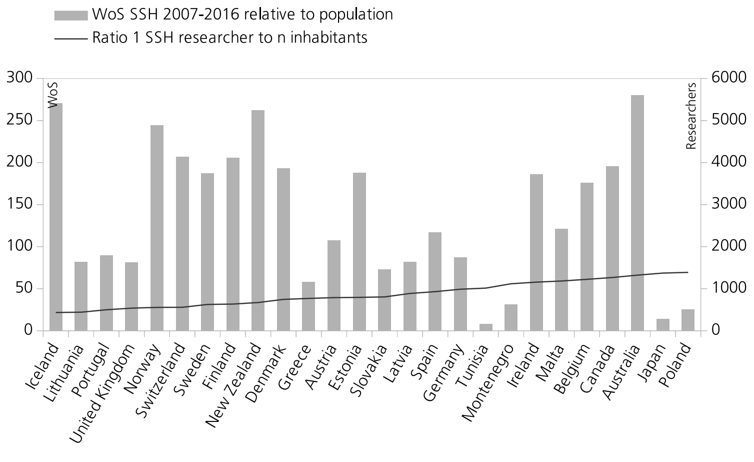

Figure 2. The first in a series of six diagrams, each displaying a group of 26-28 countries in a ranking according to the ratio of one SSH researcher per *n* inhabitants (the line, right scale). The bars (left scale) display the number of publications in WOS, 2007-2016, relative to the population.

For four countries in the first group, Tunisia, Japan, Poland, and Montenegro, the publication bar is quite low, although their relative number of SSH researchers is comparable with the other countries in this group and also with the countries that have been mentioned before as examples of countries with the highest relative WOS publication output. For the examples of Tunisia, Japan, Poland, and Montenegro, it becomes apparent that the two indicators displayed here only somewhat correlate. However, compared to the countries well represented in WOS, which are complemented by other countries predominantly found in Northern and Western Europe, it is worth mentioning that countries which have a very high total number of publications registered in WOS, such as the UK and Germany, are in sync with many Eastern and Southern European countries.

Naturally, the size of a country, in terms of inhabitants, at least for the first, but, with limitations, also for the second group, makes a huge difference: in relative terms, local research facilities and staff have a similar extent,

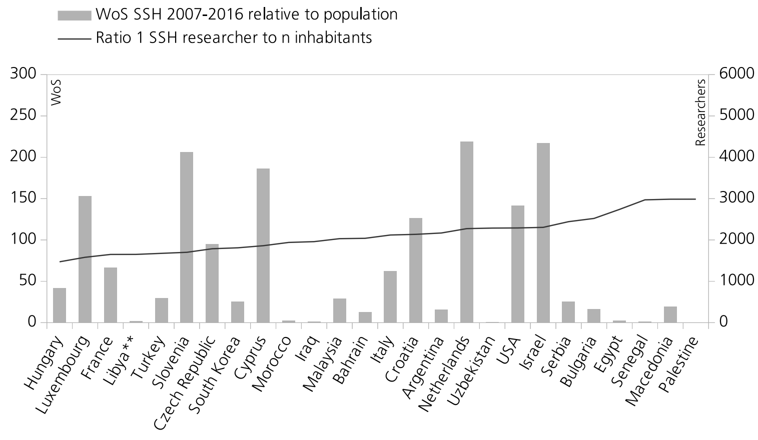

Figure 3. Second group of countries, see Figure 2 for a description.

and publication output is often correlated to that. However, this results in 'large countries' having a large total number of publications in WoS, and therefore they dominate search results, while the relative productivity of 'small' countries is similar in many cases, but less noticed.

It becomes more visible in Figure 3 that the four countries with rather low relative publication counts despite high researcher numbers in group one are not exceptions. In this second group, 16 countries have a WoS indicator lower than 50: amongst them, low to high, Morocco, Egypt, Bulgaria, South Korea and Turkey. Turkey is an interesting case, because it has a high total number of WoS publications, but a very large population. In relative numbers, it compares well with Hungary, on the higher end, and South Korea, on the lower end.

In this second group of countries, all continents are represented: besides many European countries, Argentina is the top-ranked Latin American country, and Senegal 'leads' sub-Saharan Africa in terms of researchers/inhabitants ratio. I would also like to point out the position of the United States: while having, by far, the largest total number of publications in

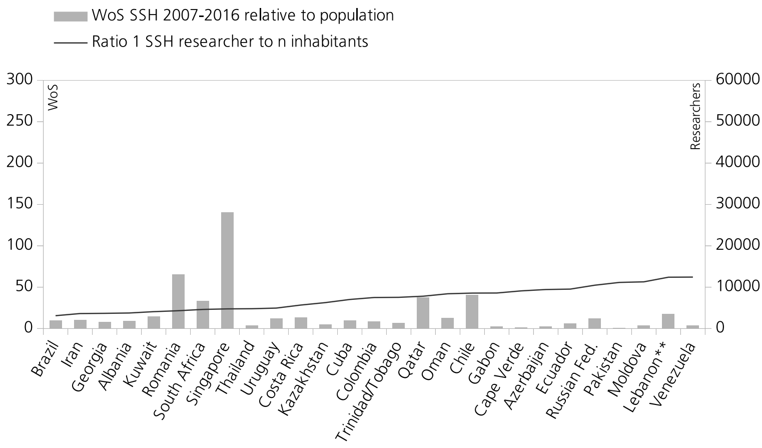

Figure 4. For the third, here, and the fourth group, to display the ratio between researchers and inhabitants, a scale ten times less detailed as for the first two groups is suitable.

Wos, its relative number of researchers (estimated, see Appendix B, Table 18 and 19) is, compared to the first group, rather low, and its rank by relative publication count is only 18, just before Singapore.

For groups three and four (see Figures 4 and 5), the scale of researcher counts was zoomed in by a factor of ten, and the same magnification is used once more for the publication scale from group four on, resulting in a zoom-factor of 100. Despite the different scales, jumps in the data visualisation are relatively smooth. In group three, some countries pop out with a high relative number of SSH basic research publications; first of all, as mentioned before, Singapore, but also Romania, Chile, Qatar and South Africa. Russia is, in terms of relative Wos publications, positioned exactly between Ecuador and Pakistan.

In the fourth group, four Southeast African countries appear: Zimbabwe has the most researchers per inhabitants of the region, and a respectable publication indicator of three, just a little lower than those of Thailand,

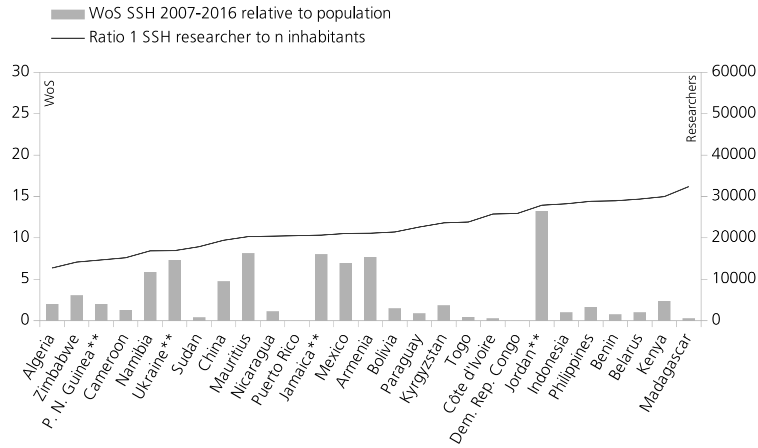

Figure 5. For group four, here, and the following groups, the scale for displaying the relative number of publications had to be zoomed in by a factor of ten.

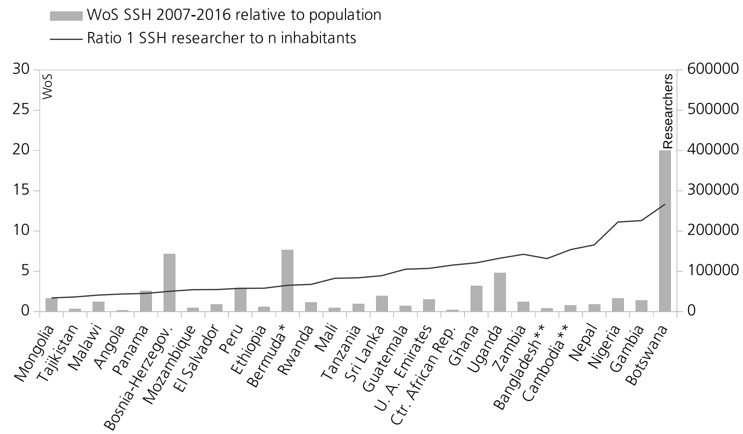

Figure 6. In the fifth group, the scale for the researchers/inhabitants ratio was again zoomed in by a factor of ten.

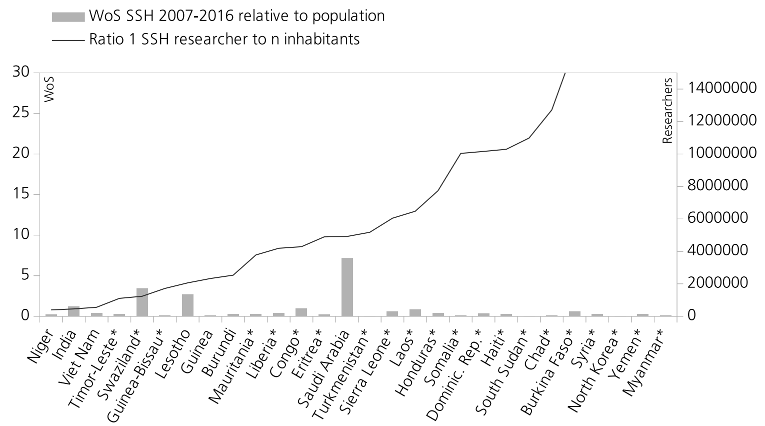

Figure 7. In the sixth and last group, many publication bars are almost invisible, but some stick out. The researcher ratio is mostly based on estimations, and the scale was adapted again, by a factor of 23.

Moldova, or Venezuela in group three. Mauritius, another Southeast African country, has, after Jordan, the second-highest publication indicator of this group. Kenya and Madagascar are also found in this group. While having almost the same relative share of researchers as Mauritius, China has considerably less publications registered, in relative terms. However, according to the total number of Wos publications, China would rank fourth, between Canada and Australia, both in group one. China has only one Ssh researcher working at Hei per 19,400 inhabitants, less than Sudan, but 70,200 Ssh researchers at Hei in total, while Sudan has only 2,100. Puerto Rico, also found in group four, is the only country on the entire list that does not feature even one Ssh basic research publication in Wos.

In the fifth group (see Figure 6), with a researcher/inhabitants scale ten times less detailed, Botswana dominates the picture. In groups four to six, most African countries can be found, side by side with many South American and Asian countries which are also comparable in terms of relative Wos publications.

For group six (see Figure 7), the researcher scale was zoomed in again. India has a much lower relative number of researchers than China, one to 451,900, but produced almost 15,000 WoS publications—still quite few in relative terms. For most countries ranked after Viet Nam, no researcher counts were available, or the UNESCO source states 'magnitude nil or negligible'. The line therefore instead displays the number of inhabitants. In 2012, Myanmar had 52.5M, Yemen 24.9M, North Korea 24.8M, Syria 20M, and Burkina Faso 16.6M inhabitants. It has to be acknowledged that although the estimation of relative researcher counts tell that few are present, some countries exhibit relatively high publication numbers. This is true for Swaziland and Lesotho. However, the most apparent case of errors in the data, as explained earlier, can also be found in this group: Saudi Arabia. According to the data, the total number of six researchers in Saudi Arabia (2009, 74 in 2007, all working in the government), were able to produce more than 2,000 publications in WoS.

Overall, some general tendencies might surface despite problematic underlying data when the UN Human Development Index 2016 (HDI) is consulted to support the interpretation:

- If a country is 'very high developed', this is also not necessarily reflected in a high relative number of SSH HEI positions. With roughly the same relative share of researchers as Uzbekistan and Iraq, the USA is the best example of that.
- Being 'very high developed' does not necessarily lead to a share of publications indexed in WoS as high as could be expected from their large relative numbers of SSH researchers. Japan is the most notable example of that, followed by Poland and Hungary. Further, Bulgaria and Serbia, ranked as 'high developed' by the HDI, are characterised by considerably less favourable ratios between SSH researchers and inhabitants. However, these ratios result in ranks following up closely after the USA and Israel. Compared to these, they have very low relative publication counts.
- Conversely, a low relative number of researchers, in addition to a rather low rank in the HDI, does necessarily lead to a negligible num-

ber of publications in WOS-registered journals, as the examples of Botswana and Namibia show.

One of the things I illustrated with the analyses of data from WOS is that categories such as those developed by the HDI should not be transferred directly to scholarly communication, although there surely is some kind of correlation. Still, the inner differentiation of scholarly communication follows its own rules, and indexing in WOS creates some of them.

In Figures 8 and 9, I used the same underlying data and visualised it in a different type of chart. The two figures feature different scales. The x-axis displays the known indicator of one SSH researcher per *n* inhabitants, and the size of the bubbles represents the total number of publications in WOS. To visualise these two indicators in relation to each other, I introduce a new indicator, WOS:*x*, again a ratio, from the other two indicators, to be displayed on the y-axis. This indicator, WOS:*x*, has also been used to rank all countries and to select the first 26 countries for the first group, and the next 34 countries for the second group. Group sizes were chosen according to the legibility in the charts.

The ratio between the number of publications in WOS and the relative number of researchers results in rising bubbles if either the first of these indicators or both are advantageous. The preferred spot for every country to show up with a large bubble would be the upper-left corner (which is empty in the first figure). Countries that are exceptional by either indicator become especially visible. In Figure 8, the USA almost flies out of the picture in both directions, in part because of the high number of publications, but also because of the disadvantageous ratio between researchers and inhabitants. Brazil used to be on the last rank of group two. In this visualisation, it improved its position, because of comparatively many WOS publications, combined with a ratio between researchers and inhabitants on the level of the USA.

On the different scales of Figure 9, China's exceptional status is most notable. On the one hand, many countries with a comparably high relative number of publications in WOS that have formerly been in groups three and

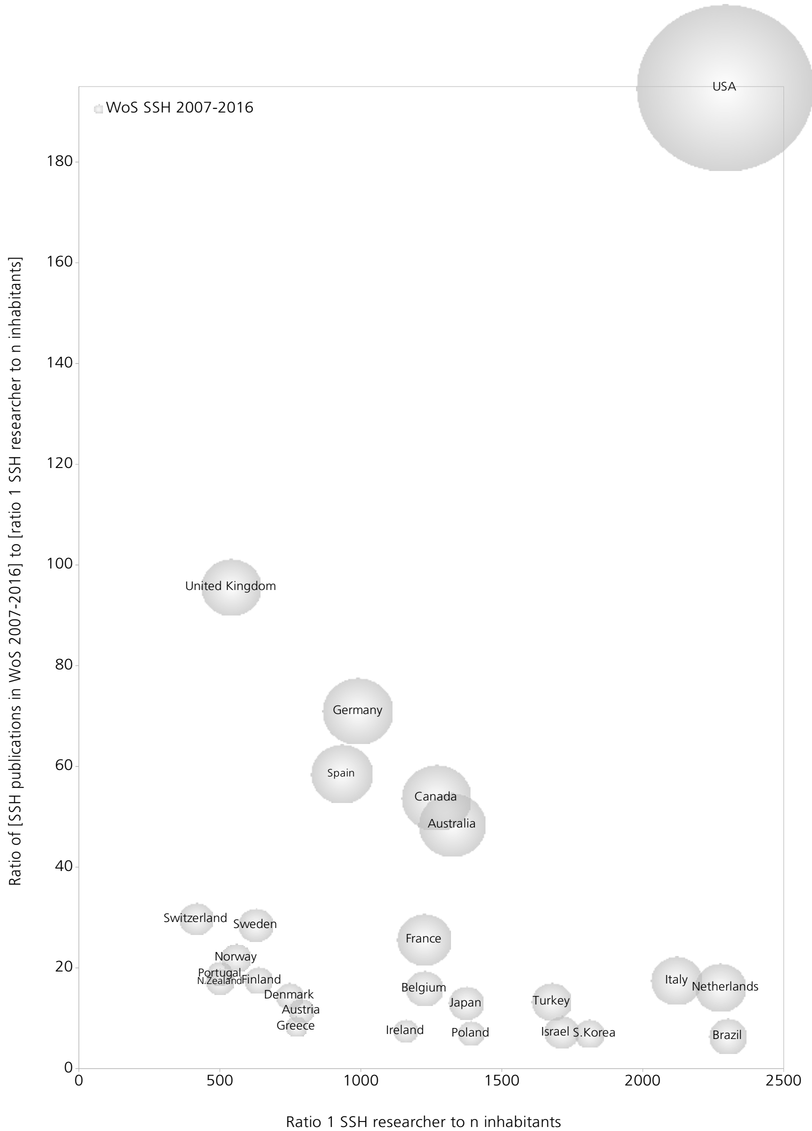

Figure 8. One of two bubble charts: ratio between SSH publications in WOS, 2007-2016, and number of SSH researchers relative to the population (first 26 countries).

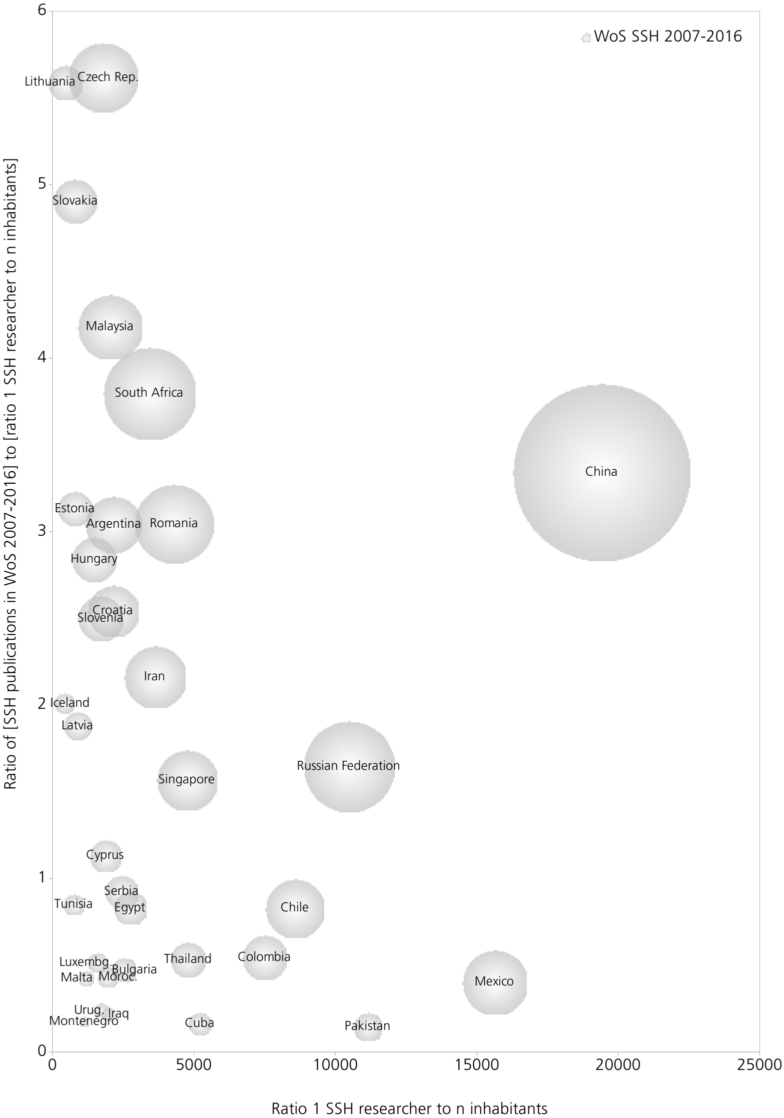

Figure 9. To display the next 34 countries in the second bubble chart, the scales had to be adapted. The bubble sizes are not comparable to Figure 8.

four are now found here. On the other hand, some group-one countries dropped into this group now, such as Iceland, Lithuania, or Tunisia. Not even one sub-Saharan African country made it into these 60 first ranks.

While the ranking I presented in Figures 2 to 7 had little in common with the outcome of usual—contested—research performance rankings,[100] the similarities with those rankings cannot be overlooked in the bubble diagrams. As soon as a non-relative WoS publication count is introduced, the picture becomes much more familiar. Countries known to host 'world-class universities' become visible, notwithstanding that the indicators used to arrive at these rankings are much more complex. The bubble diagrams show how references of SSH basic research communication accumulate in certain countries, which are then seen as 'centres'.

Focusing on countries which have a WoS:*x* higher than ten, results in a top-twenty list, see Table 1. Greece would rank 21st, but with a WoS:*x* of eight, it is rather distant from Austria's WoS:*x* of 12. The distance between ranks six and seven is also rather long, so if there is a way to denote the home countries of SSH basic research centres statistically, this ranking is my suggestion for doing this, with the USA, UK, Germany, Spain, Canada, and Australia in the very centre, and the countries on ranks seven to twenty in the wider centre. It does not come as a surprise that this top-twenty list is strongly dominated by North America, Europe, and Oceania. With Turkey[101] and Japan, two countries predominantly situated on the Asian continent can be found on the lower ranks. Latin America, Africa, and most of Asia are not represented. If the ranking were to rely on WoS publications only, China would rank fourth, Brazil 13th, South Africa 17th, Russia 18th and India 20th.

Considering solely the 'inner centres' in Table 1—the first six of the ranking by WoS:*x*—their total number of WoS publications equals 55% of the total WoS query result; see Figure 10. If ranks seven to twenty are also included, three-quarters of all WoS publications are covered. Compared

100 See e. g. Jöns and Hoyler 2013; and Section 4.2.1.

101 In Turkey, research policy changes which started to unfold in 2001 provided strong incentives to publish in WoS journals; see Önder, Sevkli et al. 2008.

#	Country	Wos Ssh 2007-2016	x=1 researcher to n inhab.	Ratio Wos to x
1	Usa	445,900	2,289	195
2	Uk	51,461	538	96
3	Germany	70,192	988	71
4	Spain	54,526	931	59
5	Canada	68,209	1,266	54
6	Australia	64,123	1,323	48
7	Switzerland	16,613	414	30
8	Sweden	17,860	626	29
9	France	42,329	1,223	26
10	Norway	12,255	556	22
11	Portugal	9,428	499	19
12	Finland	11,166	635	18
13	Italy	37,103	2,119	18
14	N.Zealand	1,1621	499	17
15	Netherlands	36,677	2,273	16
16	Belgium	19,494	1,223	16
17	Denmark	10,825	746	15
18	Turkey	22,347	1,675	13
19	Japan	17,825	1,372	13
20	Austria	9,104	788	12

Table 1. Top 20 countries according to ratio of Ssh basic research publications in Wos 2007-2016 and the number of inhabitants per one Ssh researcher.

to that, the 'big 6' are inhabited by only 8% of the world population and host 34% of the Ssh researchers at Hei. The 'big 20' are home to 14% of the world population and to 58% of the Ssh researchers at Hei.

It is striking that the main tool used for bibliometrics, of high importance for world research policy and monitoring, to a very large extent only covers the publications prepared in some selected countries. Figures 8 and 9 in particular made visible that many countries with a high relative number of researchers do not leave many traces in Wos. In that regard, e g., referring to the spatial concept of centre/periphery, the 'peripheral' status of Cyprus

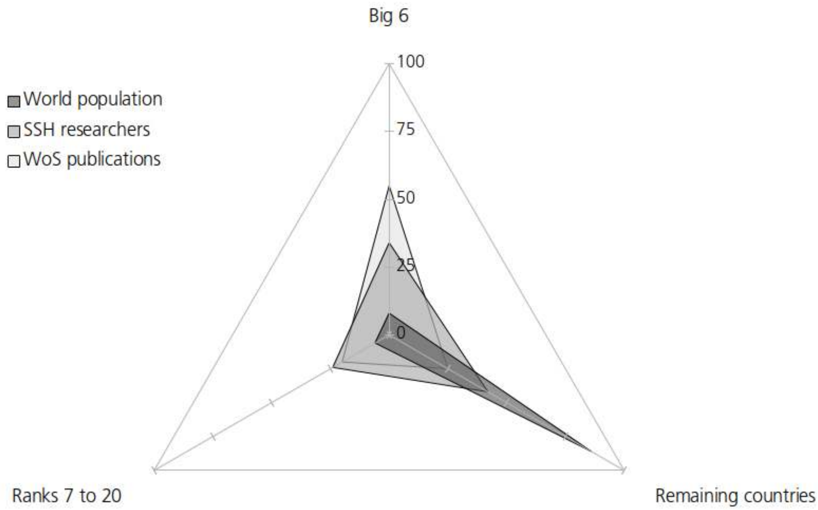

Figure 10. Relations between the number of SSH publications in WOS, SSH researchers and inhabitants in the three groups of countries derived from Table 1.

is comparable to that of Egypt, that of Bulgaria to Morocco, and Argentina is similarly 'peripheral' as Hungary.

Stretching the interpretation of this data and Figure 10 a bit further, three-quarters of WOS publications in disciplines which are to a large degree publicly funded, represent the research interests of only slightly more than half of the global SSH researchers, who are working on behalf of less than a seventh of the world population.

3.7 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, I discussed the origin and trajectory of the dual concept of centre/periphery. The more recent concepts in particular carry a spatial, a geographic, distinction, semantically related to the 'Global North/South'. As I argued above, this has a number of downsides. Most importantly, it stabilises the accumulation of referentially produced communicative peripheries in the 'Global South', and of centres in 'Global

North'; this is a way of (re)producing privilege, and therefore socially unjust. I argue for replacing the spatial reference with a reference to the inner differentiation of social systems. For the research system, centres flexibly evolve around research results that are outstandingly often referred to in other research results which are interrelated via topic, theory or method. What is peripheral to one communicative cluster can be central to another. Peripheral communication is a realm in which epistemological risks can be taken, and where the centre is produced and stabilised as such.

The conceptual spatial distinction of centre/periphery is semantically mirrored in the distinction of 'international/local journals'. While definitions are often implicit and various, the former is generally identified with publishing for career advancement and high global visibility, and the latter with relevance to the local community or questionable quality. What those definitions fail to consider is the capacity of journals operating independently from major publishers to design author guidelines that can deviate from established 'Global North' standards. Here, leeway is given for productive irritation in scholarly communication, beyond technical innovation. In order not to lose this capacity, research management urgently needs to review its paradigms; those gateways for evolutive impulses are already disappearing in large numbers. Libraries and researchers themselves can effectively support those 'local' structures, globally.

However, the problematic constellation concerning the development towards open-access publishing in the previous chapter reappears here once more: supporting those local structures comes at a cost that most institutions in the 'Global South' can hardly afford. At the same time, the publishing infrastructure in the 'Global North' could diversify more, including major commercial publishers as well as stand-alone journals hosted by non-profit service providers, and small university presses.[102] In the 'Global South', however, a possible scenario rather is that, on the one hand, even more research results are remodelled in order to pass the generalisa-

102 The movement to reclaim the publishing infrastructures by the scholarly community is exemplified by the *Fair Open Access Alliance*, https://www.fairopenaccess.org, and the *Radical Open Access Collective*, http://radicaloa.disruptivemedia.org.uk, both visited on 29 June 2020.

tion barrier of 'international' publication venues. Thereby, the research's local visibility and relevance can be lost. On the other hand, locally relevant results will tuck away from global visibility in commissioned reports, often lacking peer review, persistent accessibility and preservation. Both sides of this scenario are already strongly developed, and everything else will be hard to maintain under current conditions, as Chapter 4 will set out to illustrate for the case of Southeast African SSH.

Scientometrics often supports the reproduction of a spatial centre/periphery distinction describing the research system, by identifying centres of research communication—countries or institutions—quantitatively, based on non-representative data. Scientometrics about the SSH do this less often, since the use of mainstream bibliometric databases is only one method of many, and studies rarely have global scope. However, the field cares little about the peripheries it still produces with each ranking or network map. Exceptions started to surface only recently.[103]

My intention is not so much to point at the limitations of single citation indexes, but rather to highlight the way they are used. The problem is not that journals are not included—either because they do not meet the inclusion criteria or because they are overlooked. The problem is rather the striving for standardisation of communication which observes the research system. Each inconsiderate use of so-called international bibliographic databases for bibliometrics reproduces the 'standards' that were set by a very small group of people from the same cultural background. There is nothing wrong, however, with this group setting up a strict inclusion policy and practice for their database. I am not interested in incriminating any database creators for not including any journals, whether they meet the inclusion criteria or not. The point is: as soon as the database gets to impact who receives tenure and grants, and how much public money is spent on research, and what reputation an entire workforce of a country receives, the database carries meaning beyond being a collection of bibliographic

103 For example, with the 21st International Conference on Science and Technology Indicators in València, 14-16 September 2016, under the theme 'Peripheries, Frontiers and Beyond'.

records based on contingent inclusion criteria. Those who are responsible for the database are then also responsible for communicating to *any* user in an *unmissable manner* that this database is nothing more than a collection of bibliographic records based on contingent inclusion criteria.

In the case of Wos, an intra-organisational policy was indirectly moved to other contexts without assessing carefully if it was actually fit for the intended purpose. It is therefore very important to remember that this study is not about unequal participation in publishing, but about unequal participation in indexing. Mixing up levels leads to wrong conclusions. As I stated earlier (pp. 48 sqq.), third- and fourth-order observations, such as bibliographic databases and studies about those databases, feed back into the scholarly communication system, and are part of it as environmental references, and there is no better example of that than Wos. Mixing up the levels, believing that a fourth-order observation truly is a direct observation of research excellence, has vouched for a series of systematic errors. First Isi, and then the subsequent owners of the database, profited from the growth effect which was based on this error—while a small group of insightful researchers (and isolated policy makers) are working hard to control the damage that seems irredeemable at the moment.

Wos' competitors might have more balanced inclusion criteria or excellence-ranking indicators. The fact that there is competition in providing 'global rankings' of research excellence actually contains the consequence that indicators are contingent. However, the idea of *a* 'global ranking' set up by a single (composite) indicator is widely accepted. The competition between indicators leads to the development of more complex algorithms, such as, for instance, *Eigenfactor*, or 'altmetric' approaches. This tends to obscure the initial error even further, because it can lead to a satisfied perception of a fixed error (or, for that matter, levelling different citation dynamics between disciplines; impact can happen without citation), untroubled by remaining problems. The more complex an algorithm, or a list of criteria, the harder it is to review it, and therefore also the less likely. It could very well be that the *Impact Factor* is in use so persistently because it is a simple formula created by a reputable institute. Furthermore, alternative indicators, such as different 'altmetrics', could not convince the community of scientometricians and policy makers so far. Increasingly, the audit industry is competing with composite indicators which are even more of a black box than the journal inclusion process for the *Impact Factor*.

There is no simple solution to what I would call an *underlying error of flattening levels of observation in scholarly communication*. There seems to be no easy way out of reproducing this error, since audit culture heavily relies on it. Today, the obsession with benchmarks, growth, and competition—in short, quantified communication—has struck the large majority of research institutions already; actually, all kinds of organisation-based labour and education. Quantified communication is making it extremely hard to just point out the underlying error and be heard; although it would be quite helpful: companies whose business model it is to provide benchmarks and rankings would work against their own interest when suggesting a collective misconception of their product. No action can be expected from their side. Policy makers and research managers could make a huge difference, but large parts of their occupation are provided by audit culture, so a counter-culture needs to be in reach before anything can be expected from this group. Due to their large number, the researchers themselves might be the most promising stakeholders here. However, they are divided into those who profit from the error, and those who are fighting to stay funded, to stay in the system.

Derived from the discussion of a communicative distinction between centre and periphery in Section 3.3, and from what was concluded in Chapter 2, the strategy that this thesis proposes is to burden the research system with a higher degree of complexity, in order to get rid of the colonial difference which the system reproduces through accumulated spatial peripheries. The colonial difference is a shortcut serving the reduction of complexity in the research system and alternative means to that end are needed.[104] I agree with Keim (2016) that instead of a programme that is supposed to mend the system, first of all, 'an adventure' is needed; the

104 They might develop simultaneously or afterwards, though not in this thesis (but see Schmidt 2016c).

'Global North' measures of reducing complexity in the system, including all its criteria, need to be suspended and additive approaches avoided, in order to allow for more complexity to emerge, and to trigger the emergence of structures better suited to a global system, and to social justice.

4 Decolonial Scientometrics†

'Decolonial scientometrics' sounds like a contradiction in terms, because measuring is one of the most important methods of colonisation (see e. g. Dirks 2001). However, as mentioned before, decolonial thinking can be seen as a crossover strategy of irritating dominant ways of reasoning by confronting them with previously marginalised ideas. What I would like to suggest in this chapter, is to confront mainstream scientometrics with a culturally humble way of gathering and interpreting metrical clues which help to describe a certain section of the research system. Mainstream scientometrics actually limits its scope to whatever database it is using, while it very often still claims to quantitatively describe research output as such. By doing that, it is not sensitive to the limits of observability it sets by choosing the data source.

Contrarily, decolonial scientometrics would limit its scope to the section of the system it can feasibly describe by gathering a nearly complete database, sampling with uttermost care. Decolonial scientometrics could, for instance, focus on a certain discipline, but without accepting that data describing this discipline as it is practised in certain regions in the world may not be included in the data source chosen. Simply acknowledging this limitation like it is usually done, and still claiming generalisability of the results for the discipline, cannot be tolerated by a decolonial scientometric approach. Decolonial scientometrics is a methodology that questions the use of regionally or linguistically biased databases for analyses that aim for generalised global results.

† The sampling method for Southeast African journals, including some preliminary results laid out in this chapter, was presented at the *21st International Conference on Science and Technology Indicators*, see Schmidt 2016b.

In this chapter, I will present a bibliometric approach that is sensitive to the conditions of academic publishing in the selected field, and concentrates on capturing what the mainstream bibliometric methods based on WoS data miss out on, at least by sample. As mentioned earlier, decolonial scientometrics only evolve when metric studies are embedded in a larger hermeneutic context. Without this context, these bibliometric studies are rather meaningless.

Therefore, Section 4.2 introduces the research environment of Southeast Africa. I will relate the number of WoS publications in the SSH, authored by scholars affiliated with Southeast African institutions, to the numbers of researchers based in the region. Then I will venture into one of the few comparisons in this thesis, which I deem necessary to arrive at a more appropriate conception of the Southeast African SSH environment: I will select countries situated on different continents that host approximately the same number of SSH researchers as Southeast Africa, and compare government research expenditure and 'international' citation database indexing.

Section 4.3 will then give an overview of journal publishing, major book publishers, and databases from, as well as publications from, (Southeast) Africa. In order to see more clearly how visible those sources are to European SSH researchers, in Section 4.4, firstly, literature on their preferred search tools is examined, and secondly, the presence of data on Southeast African publications in those tools is assessed.

Beside methodological reflections, from Section 4.5.1, this chapter gives a rough overview of Southeast African-published journals dedicated to basic SSH research, which are ceasing to exist at least since the financial crisis 2007-2008 (no claim of causality). This chapter adds explanations of this 'journal dying' to what has been said before about the situation of 'local journals', now focusing on the more specific case.

Feasibility prohibits a comprehensive publication count of Southeast African scholars or publishers. I therefore start the exploration with a sample of 'local journals' which appear to be—or rather have been—well-established in Southeast Africa. Based on a sample of papers in these journals, I find out the affiliations of their authors, limiting further investigations to Southeast African authors. Which publication venues do they employ apart from 'local' journals? How discoverable is their work to me, to which extent did GS register citations of it, and where do those citations lead, geographically? Finally, a different sampling strategy based on affiliation with a single university, the University of Mauritius, is applied to find out if the results are somewhat generalisable for the field and region.

During these investigations, I do not differentiate between disciplinary research fields within the SSH for two reasons. Firstly, the primary sample of articles directly picked from Southeast African journals, while being quite balanced in terms of disciplines, is too small to create meaningful sub-samples. This is also true for the secondary sample consisting of publication lists by Southeast African authors. A further reason is my interest in establishing more broadly what type of publication venues SSH researchers based in Southeast Africa turn to. A more detailed view would be rather an overload to my broader argument, of which this scientometric study is just a piece. This broader argument is directed towards advancing global social justice in scholarly communication.

For the same reasons, I do not pay a lot of attention to co-authorships. I investigated the affiliations of all co-authors from the sample of papers published in the selected Southeast African journals.

4.1 Scientometric Methods with Decolonial Sensitivity

In Chapter 3, I discussed the lack of decolonial sensitivity in mainstream bibliometrics. Nevertheless, bibliometrics of the 'Global South' very often make use of WOS or *Scopus* data (e. g. Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018; Maisonobe, Grossetti et al. 2017; Thelwall 2017; World Bank 2014, in browsing the journal *Scientometrics*, this becomes very apparent). However, some bibliometric approaches stand out as sensitive to the issue: Zincke's exhaustive research on Chilean social science (2014) is, in my view, the most important example. The research team travelled to regional research centres, looking for social science texts published between 2000 and 2006 by residents of Chile, and included everything they could find. The final corpus comprised of 479 texts (42% articles, 36% books or book chapters, 22% working papers). Each text was reviewed, and a total of 21,787 references analysed. The results are groundbreaking:

> only 7.6% had been published abroad […], nearly half of the most frequently cited authors in the country have not been published abroad […], international prestige does not coincide with national prestige. […] 42.6% of the references cite Chilean authors […]. Among the most cited theorists only 12% are of Latin American origin or have had prolonged stays in the region.

However, Zincke could identify a group of Chilean theorists who received 16.8% of all theoretical references. Through a network analysis it became apparent that, even though they received fewer citations, they are just as central to Chilean social science as a group of canonical European theorists. There is little variation between fields.

Furthermore, studies based on indexing in subject databases[105] are another example of decolonial sensitivity, as long as all records included in the database serve as population, or uttermost care is taken with random sampling, and it is not claimed that the results represent anything else but the database. Keim (2008, pp. 101 sq.) was interested in the distribution of sociology authors and publishers within a certain country, as they appear in a standard subject database: *Sociological Abstracts*. The study measured how often single countries show up in the list of affiliations for a certain publication, and how often as the country of publication. For the African continent, this resulted in a clear misbalance for the side of authorships. Only South Africa (1,293:844), Nigeria (279:54), Kenya (107:10), Senegal (46:8), and Tunisia (24:6) are mentioned as countries of publication.

Curriculum vitae-based data collection is another approach to provide scientometrics with decolonial sensitivity (Dietz, Chompalov et al. 2000; Sugimoto, Sugimoto et al. 2016), but so far, they have not been used to study scholarly communication in the 'Global South'. Institution-based approaches, especially those which do not aim at evaluation, can be understood as an extension of curriculum vitae-based methods. Where inter-

105 Walsh 2004 provides practical advice for dealing with bibliographic data in African studies reference librarianship that certainly is helpful in this context.

institutional mobility is rather low, as can be expected for the 'Global South' (for Mozambique, see Fellesson and Mählck 2013), institutional records group curricula vitae somewhat, in terms of a co-presence of individual researchers at the same institution over a period of time. For the study presented in this chapter, database indexing, curricula vitae and institutional records constitute data sources.

4.2 Southeast Africa & Its Scholars

The project at hand started with the intention of sampling research from East Africa, so for defining the region, I referred to the UN geoscheme[106]; see Figure 11. As my study progressed, I realised that this scheme is not used in the literature relevant to my study and by the East Africans I talked to. A better option might have been to focus on the member states of the East African Community (EAC): Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. In 2010, Tanzanian officials expressed interest in inviting Malawi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Zambia to join the EAC, and Somalia's membership is still under negotiation.[107] Ondari-Okemwa (2007) suggests a third option, excluding the island states, a category on its own, and Burundi, including Djibouti, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. However, since the analysis was already in progress, I decided to stick with the UN definition, but to change the label to 'Southeast Africa', which describes the included countries much better and is less used and therefore less confusing for anyone who has a stable concept of East Africa which will most likely differ from the UN definition.[108]

While a large body of literature referring to a divide between research in the centre and research in the periphery focuses on sociolinguistic problems

106 United Nations Statistics Division, Methodology: Standard country or area codes for statistical use (M49), https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49, visited on 29 June 2020.

107 See Wikipedia, East African Community, last updated on 27 June 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_African_Community, visited on 29 June 2020.

108 I see it as an important aspect of decolonial studies to acknowledge eye-opening moments that can be traced back to my own previous world view, formed in a culture characterised by insensitivity to coloniality issues.

Figure 11. Map of Southeast African countries included in this study (UN definition of East Africa).

(see e. g. Lillis and Curry 2010), these cannot be prioritised in the case of Southeast Africa where English is an official language and/or the language spoken at the universities in almost all countries of the region. Still, it is an important factor, because for most inhabitants of the region, English is not their first language. From the countries where English is not a widely spoken language, only some will be taken into account for the study: in Mauritius, although English is rarely spoken by the population, higher education is mostly conducted in English. In Mozambique, Portuguese is clearly the academic language. The second language of the Madagascan people usually is French, and the Université d'Antananarivo is francophone, and so is the Université de la Réunion. According to my online search for university homepages, Somalia, Eritrea, Djibouti, South Sudan, Comoros and Mayotte were, in 2017, not institutionally engaged in research.

The history of higher education in the region cannot be unfurled in this thesis (but see e. g. Kamola 2014). Under colonial rule, the 'authorities were generally suspicious of, and opposed to, the creation of a substantial modern, educated African elite' (Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018, p. 4). The elites produced at the colonial universities that they installed solely served the authorities' own administrative purposes and the colonies' supply of skilled professionals. Even though research and the newly established universities in postcolonial states had a great momentum in the years after independence, maintaining modest libraries and starting scholarly journals (see e. g. Esseh 2011; Mazrui 2003), the legacy of colonial science still strongly impacted the thinking of scholars, not least because many of them had studied in the 'Global North' (Akiwowo 1980), and the few who managed to decolonise their minds within a few years (to make use of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's book title), were mostly pushed back by the destabilising influence of political events and civil wars, struggling economies, and regimes that did not allow for academic freedom (cf. Mkandawire 1989; Oanda and Sall 2016; Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018). Jowi (2009) claims that 'much of modern higher education in Africa has its roots in the colonial legacy and the consequent adoption of western university traditions', conceding only a few exceptions like the Upper Nile Valley civilisation educational system. Therefore, 'the assumption, partly still held today, that superior education existed abroad', offered a poor breeding ground for African universities. However, Jodi's assertion is also tautological, since 'modern' always points to a European legacy.

Interestingly, the colonial legacy did not lead to a full adaption of European university ideals, namely academic freedom and institutional autonomy. In 2016, according to Appiagyei-Atua, Beiter et al. (2016), a quarter of all African countries provided explicit constitutional protection of academic freedom. In Southeast Africa, this is the case in Kenya, Malawi, South Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe—enforcement being a different question that cannot be tackled here. Institutional autonomy, defined as financial, administrative, pedagogical, proprietary, legal and disciplinary autonomy, is attributed to the universities of Comoros, Kenya, Mauritius, and the Seychelles by the authors. In many countries, such as Ethiopia and Rwanda, leading positions in university administration are dispatched from public services, or even directly from government offices.

Beaudry, Mouton, et al. (2018) list the factors that are responsible for the broad deinstitutionalisation of research in many African countries that took place between 1980 and 2000. First of all, the deconstruction of higher education requested by the World Bank's 'structural adjustment programs' has to be mentioned (see especially the contributions to the edited collection by Federici, Caffentzis et al. 2000). The World Bank's motto was: there cannot be higher education until everyone has received primary education. Investment in higher education infrastructure was thereby basically made impossible. Even when the World Bank realised the mistake in 2000, African governments largely continued with unaltered higher education funding levels.[109] Another factor are misdirected donor programmes, which will be discussed further in Section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 The Region's Flagship Universities

Three large projects on African research and HEI gathered extensive data from all over the continent. All three projects were directed from South Africa: firstly, *Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa* (HERANA), 2007-2017, mainly funded by *Ford Foundation* and *Carnegie Corporation* (Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018); secondly, *Flagship Universities in Africa*, funded by the *German Academic Exchange Service* (DAAD) and the University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014-2016 (Teferra 2017a); and thirdly, *Young Scientists in Africa* (YSA), 2015-2018, funded by Canada's *International Development Research Centre* and *Robert Bosch Stiftung* (Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018).

Of all places, the concept of flagship universities might be most suitable to describe universities in Southeast Africa (cf. Teferra 2017a) and for Makerere University and the Universities of Dar es Salaam and Nairobi even more so because they emerged from a single university, the Univer-

109 For a discussion of the World Bank strategies for a 'knowledge economy' on the African continent, see Mkandawire 2010.

sity of East Africa, once established as an external college of the University of London. The University of East Africa used to be the only university in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, between 1963 and 1970. Similarly, the University of Addis Ababa was founded in 1962 as the first secular university in Ethiopia as Haile Selassie University on the initiative of the imperial government (supported by the USA).

In Southeast Africa during the decades around independence, each country typically had only one university, if any. At present, additional institutions are commonly (specialised) colleges or private universities that focus entirely or predominantly on education. Despite the interest in 'indigenous knowledge institutions', Cloete, Bunting, et al. (2018, p. 23) regard universities as 'the core knowledge institutions; in Africa and elsewhere there are no substitutes'. Flagship universities such as Eduardo Mondlane University, Makerere University, and the University of Mauritius have enormous shares in the total WoS-listed publication outputs of each country, namely 39-65% (for 2000-2016, ibid., p. 34).

Only one of the four well-known university performance rankings (to differentiate them from online relevance rankings), THE *World University Rankings*, lists Southeast African universities: the University of Nairobi, since the 2016 edition, and since 2019, the University of Dar es Salaam and Makerere University are also included.[110] Consulting online relevance rankings is therefore a way to get an overview of the universities that have good visibility from a European viewpoint, e. g. at the *Ranking Web of Universities*,[111] which is part of a research project and uses a complex methodology of link analysis. Secondly, *uniRank* (formerly known as *4 In-*

110 See Times Higher Education World University Rankings. University of Nairobi, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/university-nairobi; University of Dar es Salaam, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/university-dar-es-salaam; Makerere University, https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/makerere-university, all visited on 29 June 2020. The other three rankings are CWTS *Leiden Ranking*, ARWU *World University Rankings* (also known as Shanghai Ranking), QS *University Rankings*.

111 Ranking Web of Universities, Sub-Saharan Africa, http://www.webometrics.info/en/sub-saharan, visited on 22 Oct. 2017.

ternational Colleges & Universities)[112] relies on four different known commercial Web metrics, and, finally, journalistic positions can be helpful as well.[113] I am aware that relying on rankings and online information does not tell much about the local reputation of the institutions.

Combining the information from those sources, and additionally making sure that all institutions host SSH departments, I concluded the search for the best-known and best-reputed universities in Southeast Africa, from a European perspective, with a list of 22 (Table 2).

Enrolment numbers are increasing significantly, and, in all sub-Saharan African countries together, doubled from 4 million in 2005 to more than 8 million by 2017.[114] Gross enrolment ratios in Southeast Africa[115] vary between 3 and 5% (Eritrea, Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Madagascar), between 7 and 12% (Mozambique, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Comoros, Kenya), to as much as 22% on the Seychelles and 39% on Mauritius. In the smaller countries of the region (in terms of population and/or size of the research system), only at the national flagship university can a doctoral degree be achieved.

Basic conditions for research in Southeast Africa, such as Internet connectivity, have considerably improved over the last decade, and will further improve with the new subsea cable *Equiano*, running west of the continent. Some countries and institutions are disadvantaged. As Ayalew (2017, p. 112) reports from Ethiopia, Internet access is 'extremely limited'. Regular access to personal computers, especially for early-career researchers, cannot be taken for granted in all places (Chawinga and Selemani 2017).

Science policies of each country are very much focused on the flagships, and on STEM, just like donor strategies, as will be discussed in the follow-

112 uniRank, Top 200 Universities in Africa, http://www.4icu.org/top-universities-africa, visited on 22 Oct. 2017.

113 Emeka Chigozie, Latest Ranking of Top 50 Universities in Africa 2015, Answers Africa, 12 April 2015 http://answersafrica.com/top-50-universities-in-africa-latest-rankings.html, visited on 22 Oct. 2017.

114 UNESCO data, see Ft. 98, on 12 Sept. 2019

115 Five-year age group starting from the official secondary school graduation age. For data source, see Ft. 114.

University Name	**Country**
University of Burundi	Burundi
Hope Africa University	Burundi
Addis Ababa University	Ethiopia
Jimma University	Ethiopia
University of Nairobi	Kenya
Egerton University	Kenya
Kenyatta University	Kenya
Moi University	Kenya
Université d'Antananarivo	Madagascar
University of Malawi	Malawi
University of Mauritius	Mauritius
Universidade Eduardo Mondlane	Mozambique
Université de la Reunion	Reunion
University of Rwanda	Rwanda
The University of Dodoma	Tanzania
University of Dar es Salaam	Tanzania
Makerere University	Uganda
Ndejje University	Uganda
Uganda Christian University	Uganda
University of Zambia	Zambia
University of Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe
Midlands State University	Zimbabwe

Table 2. Southeast African universities hosting SSH departments with high visibility from a European perspective. Emphasised universities are included in the extensive study by Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018, together with the universities of Botswana, Cape Town, and Ghana.

ing section. Central government agencies have been installed in all African countries that engage in research. Hydén (2017) claims that those do not act autonomously and under conditions of academic freedom. Cloete, Bunting, et al. (2018, p. 19) found in their study of eight African universities (including five from Southeast Africa; see Table 2), that only in Botswana and Mauritius were higher education and research management strategies developed and implemented by the government: 'university leadership generally favoured the self-governance or instrumental notions, which reflect the traditional debates about academic autonomy and community engagement, respectively'. The leaderships of eight universities see their primary mission in enhancing both national and regional development. However, one of the study's results was that 'with exception of the University of Cape Town, the levels of new knowledge produced by the other seven universities were unlikely to contribute to national development' (ibid., p. 36). While it is out of the question that the University of Cape Town produces larger quantities of new knowledge, the operationalisation of the threshold to the 'contribution to national development' is never clearly explained by Cloete, Bunting, et al. Theoretically, even a single publication can make huge change happen, while hundreds of publications may not necessarily have any impact at all.

4.2.2 Researchers, Funding, & Environment

'Brain drain' has often been listed as a huge problem for African research and development. During the 1980s and 1990s, about 30% of the African researchers (not counting other professionals) left the continent (Nunn and Price 2005, p. 7). 'One in every nine persons born in Africa with a tertiary diploma lived in the OECD in 2010/11' (UN-DESA and OECD 2013). Mauritius and, to some extent, Rwanda score relatively high in retaining their talents, comparable with many East European countries, according to the 2019 *Global Talent Competitiveness Index* (GTCI), which is measured based on national policy analysis and availability of resources.[116] However, Madagascar, Burundi, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Mozambique are at the very bottom of the world ranking.

The public flagship universities of Southeast Africa cover most of the research activities that take place in the single countries. Makerere University and the Universities of Addis Ababa, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi all employ more than 1,300 academics each (of which only 3.3-7.7% are full professors; see Teferra 2017a); in the case of Addis Ababa University, this number is as high as 2,168. The case of Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane University is also exceptional since its staff grew by 248% within 14 years

116 Adecco Group, https://gtcistudy.com/the-gtci-index, visited on 13 Sept. 2019

(2001-2015), from 514 to 1,790 (Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018).

The percentage of female researchers is alarmingly low in many countries in Southeast Africa.[117] Among other factors, the low attendance rates of girls already at the secondary school level comes into play here. Ethiopia is an extreme case, with only 13% (in 2013) women among its researchers, while a proportion from a quarter to a third seems to be the average in the region.[118] In the 'Global North', the percentage is around 40%, but unequally distributed among disciplines.

Of the permanent academic staff members (>3 years full-time contract) who spend at least 50% of employment time on research and teaching activities, many do not hold a doctoral degree. In 2015, at the five Southeast African Universities participating in the study by Cloete, Bunting, et al. (ibid., p. 49), shares range from around a quarter at Eduardo Mondlane and Nairobi, to around half at the remaining universities. Taking 1-2 enrolled doctoral students per senior academic in the SSH as target measure, it turned out that, apart from Nairobi, all other Southeast African flagships have spare supervision capacity. At the University of Nairobi, 2-3 doctoral students are enrolled per senior researcher (ibid., p. 52 sqq.). On average, at each of the five universities, 15 SSH PhDs graduated in 2015.

The numbers of SSH researchers working at Southeast African HEI are similar to the basic population of my study: all (potential) Southeast African authors in those disciplines (see Figure 12). Again with the help of the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (see Fn. 98, p. 151), this number can be estimated to be around 7,000; in May 2016, numbers of SSH researchers were given for eight Southeast African countries, dating from 2010-2013. For Tanzania, Rwanda and Zambia, I estimated these numbers based on the given total number of researchers at HEI and the mean proportion of SSH researchers in the other eight countries. For Burundi, Seychelles and Réunion, either no numbers are given or the numbers are very low and can be assumed to be negligible.

117 I used the latest available UNESCO data, on 12 Sept. 2019; see Ft. 98.

118 For more evidence, and the description as a deeper social problem applying to larger parts of the continent, see Veney and Zeleza 2001; Chimakonam and Toit 2018.

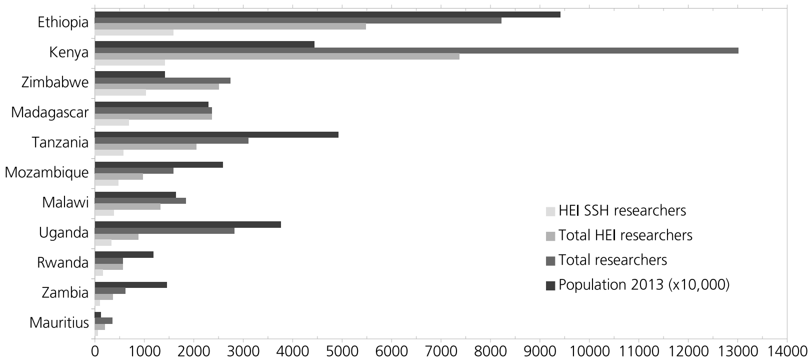

Figure 12. Numbers of Ssh researchers in Southeast Africa, compared to the total numbers of researchers, those working in Hei, and to the population count.

The estimated 7,000 researchers, working in a broad but interconnected field, should form a 'minimum critical mass that probably is required for the proper functioning of a scientific discipline', and Pouris and Pouris (2008) could only find it in a few African countries for the field of ecology 2000-2004. Weingart (2006) also mentions the problem of too-small local communities that do not allow for a fruitful debate. The minimum production of publications per year and country is set at 75 by Pouris and Pouris, which seems rather random. Of course, only a fraction of these 7,000 Southeast African Ssh researchers working at Hei might publish on a regular basis, but the rather atypical method I will apply in the following reveals a substantial quantity of publications in this field.

To have means of comparison for this, I will now show how many publications of these estimated 7,000 Southeast African Ssh researchers are indexed in Wos and *Scopus*, and how this representation compares to countries that have a similar number of Ssh researchers. First, I looked up the Unesco Institute for Statistics data again (on 2 Oct. 2019), and selected all countries that were recorded to have 7,000±550 Ssh researchers working at Hei, in the years 2009-2012 (I found the largest number of countries within this time range, and it still compares to the currentness of the data from Southeast Africa). The result forms the list of affiliations in Table 3. It

Affiliation	SSH Publications Wos	Scopus	GERD per HC 2011	GERD SSH HE (x 1,000) 2012
Southeast Africa	250	638	*no data*	132,372
Lithuania	370	497	28,268	90,611,615
Slovakia	460	316	31,068	87,735,226
Hungary	500	871	55,909	87,428,680
Colombia	317	403	59,503	*no data*
Malaysia	189	659	77,950	403,677,885
Russia	1,133	881	57,441	416,486,939
Denmark	1,026	1,306	97,934	370,734,474
Netherlands	4,286	5,596	149,096	1,189,543,719

Table 3. SSH publications in Wos and *Scopus* by countries that roughly have the same number of SSH researchers working at HEI as Southeast Africa, plus their GERD per HC researcher and for SSH research performed in HEI, specified in purchasing power parities constant to 2005 USD prices, times 1,000.

should be mentioned that, in this list, Colombia has the most researchers, and Russia the least. Then, for each affiliation in the list, I queried both indices for all publications in SSH basic research from 2008-2009—with the same focus on basic SSH that my entire study has (the queries can be found in Appendix C).

The regions can be grouped according the number of publications: especially the Netherlands, but also Denmark, Russia, and, at least in *Scopus*, Hungary, are more or less ahead of the other countries. The correlation with different funding levels is manifest. At least in Denmark and the Netherlands, it might be more common to write in English, and therefore to cater to the preferences of the indexes, but I point out that in Southeast Africa, SSH writing in other languages than English is rare, and in Malaysia, English proficiency is widespread. Other possible explanations, such as incentives imposed on researchers by research policies, cannot be examined here. However, the most intriguing number of this comparison clearly is the extremely low gross domestic spending on research and development in higher education for the SSH (GERD HE SSH) of Southeast Africa that is not reflected by the number of indexed publications, which is comparable to the four other locations at the top of the table. It has to be emphasised that, due to the lack of data, Southeast Africa's GERD HE SSH is partly estimated.[119] The public funding situation, combined with fee-based education at Makerere University,[120] for instance, leads to its position as 'one of the country's biggest taxpayers, rather than being a major recipient of taxpayer resources' (Whyte and Whyte 2016).

A main reason for the high number of indexed publications from Southeast Africa, however, surely is that they result from research collaborations with 'Global North' countries. A World Bank study (2014) on *Scopus* data found that up to 79% of the indexed publications of the years 1996-2013 with affiliations in Southern and East Africa come out of international collaborations. Of those, only up to 6% are inter-African, of which half are collaborations with South African researchers. In a more recent study on less than 10% of *Scopus*-indexed publications, Thelwall (2017) found[121] that while the total African output is increasing, its 'citation impact' is decreasing, relative to the world average. Thelwall interpreted those results to be due to growing research capacity, and a reduced 'reliance upon international collaboration'. Considering that most indexed publications (still) come out of 'Global North' collaborations, and therefore few 'African-only' publications are found in the database, it is seen as a valid explanation that 'international publishing capacity' and 'quality' are not sufficiently present on the continent. However, why collaborations should lead to an *above* average 'citation impact' is not accounted for. Also, Thewall's results somewhat contradict the study on WoS data by Tijssen and Kraemer-Mbula

119 Countries with very small or negligible research environments, as mentioned before, are excluded, except Burundi, which was included because of available data. Since no data was available for Malawi, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, their GERD HE SSH was estimated based on the average of the available 2010-12 data from Ethiopia, Kenya, Mauritius, Mozambique, and Uganda, according to researcher numbers; see Figure 12. For Burundi, Madagascar, and Tanzania, GERD HE SSH was estimated based on their total GERD.

120 While the World Bank policies to establish private universities did not materialise, many public universities introduced privately sponsored studies to cope with increased student numbers; see Oanda and Sall 2016.

121 The sample of this study is heavily biased towards STEM: every seventh narrow subject category was included, while three of four broad categories are STEM.

(2018), who found that some researchers affiliated with African flagship universities are definitely solely responsible for a number of 'top 1%' cited papers published 1996-2015. This is especially true for researchers from the Universities of Botswana and Mauritius, where only around half of those papers resulted from non-African cooperation.

The governments of the countries for which GERD full data was available to me—Ethiopia, Kenya, Mauritius, Mozambique and Uganda—spend 4-12% of the total GERD on HE SSH. Other interesting aspects appeared when looking at the available timelines of expenditure data: the total GERD increased by more than 330% in Ethiopia (2010-13), 250% in Mauritius (2012-17), and 170% in Tanzania (2010-2013). For Mozambique, a GERD HE SSH data series revealed an increase of 140% (2010-15). At the same time, in Uganda, it decreased by almost 50% (2010-14); around the same figure is valid for its total GERD. Most troubling is that the Madagascan research expenditure of 2014 dropped to 15% of the 2010 figure, with only a very slight increase since.[122] This shows that the individual conditions in each country are extremely varied: prospering in some, declining in others.

Returning to the analyses in Section 3.6, it can be assumed that there are 'Global North' as well as 'Global South' countries which do not add particularly much to the number of SSH publications indexed in WOS. It is notable that the reason for this is not a low number of researchers, and also not, to some extent, low funding levels. While funding naturally plays a role, other reasons might be varied and cannot be tracked down here entirely, but research management, including donor-funded projects, certainly is a factor, which is closely related to the issues discussed in the previous chapters: quantified communication, the colonial difference, and the generalisation barrier.

Governmental as well as external funding for sub-Saharan African universities, since the structural adjustment programmes, focuses on building educational capacities, while losing sight of building research capacities (Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018, p. 9; also see the contributions in Teferra 2013). In 2015, 16 sub-Saharan African flagship universities estab-

122 Data was available until the year 2017.

lished the *African Research Universities Alliance*,[123] following several 'Global North' elite university groups. The main purpose of the alliance is supposedly to attract external funding. Being thematically structured in two broad research areas, namely, 'Climate Change' and 'Poverty & Inequality', an important role of SSH can be expected at least in the latter.

Neither African governments nor donors invested much in central government departments for steering the higher education sector. Beaudry, Mouton, et al. (2018, pp. 10 sq.) confirm that this also did not change over the last few decades, adding that the private sector does not contribute much either, 'despite an explicit commitment by the ministers of science and technology in 2005 to aim for 1% [Gross domestic expenditure on research and development (GERD)]' (ibid.). Universities could never be run on current government funding levels alone: Makerere University, for instance, between 2000 and 2012, received a very small proportion of its budget from Uganda's National Council for Science and Technology (Mamdani 2017). For comparison, being the only local funder, it contributed $1.25 million, while the major funder, Swedish *Sida*, funded the university with $62.38 million. (Beaudry, Mouton et al. 2018, pp. 10 sq.).

In Malawi, foreign donors fund about 80% of all research activities (Holland 2009). Mainstream approaches to internationalisation and employability of graduates, enforced by 'Global North' donors, leave little room to design the universities according to local intellectual needs, especially in the SSH (Oanda and Sall 2016; Shahjahan 2013; Stein 2017). At Addis Ababa University, for instance, 70% of the students are admitted to STEM studies, by policy, since 2007, and the entire SSH section officially has low priority (Ayalew 2017, p. 133). At the University of Dar es Salaam, for the academic year 2013-14, not a single student applied for enrolment at the departments of literature or history, 'apparently because they are not "marketable"' (Ishengoma 2017, p. 418). According to Wane and Munene (2019), 'indigenous knowledge' is still awaiting integration into the curriculum throughout sub-Saharan Africa (also see Heleta 2016; Lule 2014).

123 About ARUA, https://arua.org.za/about, visited on 29 June 2020.

Musiige and Maassen (2015) interviewed academic staff at Makerere University about the funding and research culture. It turned out that donors usually only fund projects, with the result that the research infrastructure barely receives any funding at all, and the development of a clear research profile is impossible under these conditions (also see Cloete, Bunting et al. 2018, p. 110):

> The donor funding tends to be funneled through individual academics and targeted projects rather than institutions or networks, despite the rhetorical emphasis on capacity building among the donor community. In addition, such funding is not distributed through open, competitive, peer-reviewed processes, nor are the academics who are funded necessarily required to publish. As a result, most donor-funded projects resemble consultancy activities rather than academic research projects (ibid., p. 111, with reference to Maassen 2012a).

Even though there might be no requirement to publish, many researchers involved in funded projects will publish, not least to advance their careers.

Hydén (2017, pp. 22 sqq.) provides an overview of the external higher education and research funding set-up in low-income countries, and states that donors clearly concentrate on sub-Saharan Africa, and within that region on flagship universities, while a high number of new institutions is not on their agenda. Even though funded higher education sectors would have hardly developed positively without that support, Hydén writes, that 'many such partnerships have produced results at the cost of national and institutional development in the South', explained by three factors:

1. adherence to a neoliberal economic ideology: competition between private and public universities for staff; explosion of student numbers impacting the quality of education and research; university as a market for marketable skills rather than a place of fostering knowledge and culture (cf. Naidoo 2011),
2. commitment to global development goals: short time frames to reach goals that often require tremendous efforts in building infrastructure which again impacts the quality of how the goal was eventually reached; weak correlation between goals and actual local needs;

no consideration of the rather slow pace of research and development of curricula, and

3. the bureaucratisation of aid relationships: 'OECD's Development Assistance Committee has played a leading role in harmonising donor approaches and methodologies […]. Donors […] prioritise recipients that develop policy documents that reflect the donors' development goals. Recipient country priorities, and the context in which policies are to be implemented, are of secondary concern' (Hydén 2017; about donor-induced research agendas in general, also see Zeleza and Olukoshi 2000).

As Mamdani (2017) reports for Makerere University, 'almost every activity has been monetised. Staff are paid an allowance to invigilate an examination or to mark a script, even to attend meetings'. Combined with low salaries and enormous teaching loads, this can easily lead to a constrained research environment where ideas and inspiration are not generated in fruitful exchange, but appropriated by individuals for maximum monetary gain (cf. Freeman, Johansson et al. 2010).

4.3 Publishing & Indexing in (Southeast) Africa

Previous research on scholarly communication in sub-Saharan Africa generally tackles challenges for authors, publishers and related organisations, and works out recommendations (for an overview, see Ngobeni 2010). This strand of research is based on working experiences, mainstream bibliometrics, and on surveys and interviews with the parties involved. Esseh (2011) provided the most comprehensive study of this type, encompassing both quantitative and qualitative aspects, and outdating earlier empirical results. Murray and Clobridge (2014) complement Esseh's findings with a survey that represents about a third of all active African-based journals. According to Smart and Murray (2014), the African publishing market, still, awaits an extensive description.[124] The authors estimate that there are around 2,000

124 For history and literature studies, Ilieva and Chakava 2016 provide an extensive description; van Schalkwyk and Luescher 2017 study university presses comprehensively.

journal titles in sub-Saharan Africa.[125] Most journals are published by departments and faculties. In Esseh's survey (2011) of 80 African journal editors (86% males), only one journal was independent from a research institution, and scholarly societies are also minor players. However, this does not mean that the research institution provides funding for the journal. Without fees paid by readers and/or authors, or help by external sponsors, many journals would have no budget whatsoever. Of all approximately one hundred non-South-African journals in Murray and Clobridge's study (2014), 33% rely entirely on subscriptions for income, while two-thirds provide full texts for free online. The two groups are not necessarily complementary, since most journals are available both online and in print. The publisher's awareness for open-access licences is generally limited (ibid.).

According to Esseh (2011), 'Global North' publishers are not keen to enter the African market, because it is

> so small, heterogeneous in nature, fragmented and unable to sustain their economic returns; moreover, their terms of operation, for example, assuming complete ownership of the journal's intellectual property, were unpopular with many journal editors in Africa

The more recent survey of African journal publishers (Murray and Clobridge 2014) indicates that more journals are now operated by commercial publishers (19%).

Massive overseas book donations strain local book publishers (Zell and Thierry 2015; van Schalkwyk and Luescher 2017), and widespread expectations that university presses can make a profit were disappointed (Smart and Murray 2014; Ilieva and Chakava 2016). However, *Addis Ababa University Press* (est. 1967) and the *University of Nairobi Press* (est. 1990), both fully integrated into the universities' governance, keep operating. While the latter is pressured to commercialise and internationalise, the former deliberately limits its distribution to 12 booksellers in Addis Ababa (van Schalkwyk and Luescher 2017). This corresponds to the WoS-based finding that the substantial and growing research output of Ethiopia is 'almost

125 'It is not clear how many journals [...] circulate in Africa', *African Citation Index*, http://www.indiancitationindex.in/aci/ici.aspx?target=aboutACI, visited on 29 June 2020.

entirely domestic' (Adams, Gurney et al. 2014). Further research is required in order to find out whether this strong domestic orientation is applicable to research in Ethiopia across all fields, and if a similar orientation can be found elsewhere in the world.

Major academic book publishers of Southeast Africa are few (Ilieva and Chakava 2016): *East African Educational Publishers* (Kenya, est. 1965 as imprint of *Heinemannn*, locally owned since 1992), *Kenya Literature Bureau* (est. as a government agency in 1980, mostly for textbooks), *Fountain Publishers* (Uganda, est. 1988), and *Mkuki na Nyota* (Tanzania, est. 1991). Beyond the region, especially South African presses provide their service to Southeast African authors; most notably for the SSH: the not-for-profit open-access publisher *African Minds* (est. 2012).

The *African Books Collective* bundles the programmes of Africa's independent publishers, offers print-on-demand, e-book and warehouse services, and supplies libraries as well as the book trade worldwide. Ofori-Mensah (2015) suggests that choosing a publisher involved with the collective is a way out of the local-international dilemma for authors. UK-based *Hogarth Representation* also distributes books from Africa, and even offers approval plans and periodical subscription management to libraries.

To shift the focus on Africa's journals again, according to Tijssen (2007), most of them are predominantly meant for local purposes. They tend to have relatively low circulation rates, and many are published irregularly. In Esseh's survey (2011), two-thirds of the journals paused publishing at some point.[126] Most often, this was due to financial constraints, e. g. lack of funds to cover the printing, but problems of sticking to the schedule with authors and reviewers also is a common problem. An interviewee in Esseh's study explains that editors and reviewers 'don't feel they have legitimacy to work for the journals at the expense of their academic workload.' Sometimes, there simply are not enough good submissions: the presentation style is weak, editorial criteria are not met, or methods are dubious, while theoretical frameworks usually meet the editors' expectations (also

126 The survey participants in Murray and Clobridge 2014 report that only 20% of the journals experienced an interruption, a figure which seems far too low to me.

see Collyer 2018; Martín 2017; Omobowale 2010). At least for some journals sampled for the study at hand, discontinuity seems to co-occur with disruptive political events (see Schmidt 2016b).

The collection of African-published scholarly e-journals, AJOL, provides open access to 264 journals, and fee-based access to another 262 journals, 69% in the SSH,[127] of which 70% publish frequently (Smart and Murray 2014). Criteria for inclusion are elaborate.[128] First of all, the publishing entity must be based on the African continent, including at least half of the editorial board, and basically all operations must take place there as well, at least at the point of application. Furthermore, for instance, quality control (peer review) is required and the according processes must be described in the application. Everyone involved in the production of the journal must be listed with full contact details, and fees need to be transparent as well.

Sabinet African ePublications is another important collection, but focuses clearly on South Africa and the natural sciences. Although African e-journal collections are developing quickly, printed journals are still the key medium (also see Section 4.5.2). Esseh (2011, also see Canagarajah 1996, p. 441) rates print quality as usually low, but looking at the sample issues retrieved through inter-library loan in the context of the study at hand, I cannot confirm this: print quality is not premium, but looks generally professional. It can happen that paper quality alters mid-issue, or the amount of ink varies across pages, but this is obviously due to the difficulties accessing material; printing becomes exceptionally expensive when everything needed has to be imported from overseas. Because of that, I assume, inferior print quality, which regularly occurs with old printing presses, will not be a reason to discard the print, as each 'Global North' printer would most likely do.

Journals are distributed to other universities mostly via swap; currency fluctuations and/or bank charges for currency exchanges are a common barrier (Smart and Murray 2014). It is often easier for local scholars to gain

127 As of 24 April 2020. Since 2015 when my observations started, both open access and SSH journals are increasing, see African Journals Online, http://www.ajol.info.

128 African Journals Online, Resources for Journals, https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajol/resources-for-journals, visited on 29 June 2020.

access to literature published in the 'Global North' than to publications from neighbouring African countries (Kell and Czerniewicz 2016; Harle 2010; Smart and Murray 2014).

So far, it has not been analysed if successful African journals also tend to be taken over by the major publishers from Europe or the USA, as continues to happen in the 'Global North'. A quick search reveals that African journals actually do go down that road: searching the AJOL website with *Google* for only three different strings, namely 'Taylor & Francis' (the most 'successful term'), 'Springer' (a difficult term, because many authors have that name), and 'Journal is published by', checking the first 50 results each, reveal eight journals that are now hosted by a major publisher. Half of them are open access, but only one stores the most recent issue on AJOL as well. In one case, *African Journal of Urology*, the new publisher *Springer*, after ten months, does not even refer to the 18 volumes of backfiles that are accessible on AJOL, 11 of them exclusively. Similarly, the *Journal of Psychology in Africa* on *Taylor & Francis*' website also does not refer to the two backfile volumes that are exclusively on AJOL, to not even mention the print-only backfiles of both journals. The latter journal is an example of African journals that partner with NISC (National Inquiry Services Centre), a South Africa-based provider for bibliographic information and a publisher that distributes its current three databases, most notably *Africa-Wide Information*,[129] through EBSCO, and collaborates with *Taylor & Francis* and *Sabinet* to disseminate its journals.

In conclusion, while AJOL increases the visibility of African journals, and facilitates their operation, these examples evoke the impression that the platform also improves the marketability of African journals, and thereby attracts major commercial 'Global North' publishers to acquire and control

129 This huge compilation database does not appear to be a standard database that European academic libraries subscribe to. I checked five random European academic and national libraries (no national African studies centres; database subscription lists easily retrievable) from the list of *Libraries with Major Africana Collections in Europe & Australia*, Columbia University Libraries, https://library.columbia.edu/libraries/global/virtual-libraries/african_studies/biblio_info/library_catalogs/eulibs.html, visited on 30 Oct. 2019. None of them subscribes to it.

them. With collective global distribution and progressive not-for-profit models, current developments in academic book publishing seem to increase the odds of remaining under local control.

4.4 Searching for African Research Literature in Europe

Rating the discoverability of publications by Southeast African authors by a typical European SSH researcher requires, on the one hand, knowledge about where Southeast African authors publish, and, on the other hand, knowledge about how this literature can be discovered during thematic literature research with standard discovery tools. Those standard tools do not include the catalogues of special Africana libraries.

Even if the emergence of the Internet has globalised the discoverability of research information to a large extent, location still matters in several regards. During publishing, indexing and curation processes, this locality makes a difference in the following aspects:

1. depending on discipline, affiliation and local funding opportunities, the author has a variable choice of publishers, and publishers differ in their support of discoverability;
2. not only potentially global service providers, such as indexing and discovery services, but also local collection managers at libraries decide on inclusion and exclusion of items; and
3. the decision of which search tools and access to databases to provide and to promote to users is also taken locally, e. g. by librarians, based on budget, policies, and acquaintance.

Discovery tools provided to and chosen by the scholar conducting literature research play a huge role in the research outcome. (Data) collections are never neutral (see Section 5.2), but GS provides at least an almost non-localised academic search tool (Yu, Mustapha et al. 2017) with decent coverage, supplying everyone with access to the website with the same results for the same query, no matter from where it is exercised. This cannot be taken for granted since general purpose search engines usually are localised per default, and library discovery systems often provide administration tools, so librarians can often at least slightly adjust the ranking algorithm for search results.

A survey among UK researchers (Wolff-Eisenberg, Rod et al. 2016) revealed how SSH scholars usually go about finding academic literature: social sciences scholars, even more so than humanities scholars, start off with a general-purpose online search engine (44% and 31%, respectively). Around a quarter of both groups prefer the local library website which, today, usually offers a library discovery system as primary option.

Large-scale comparative analyses of how library systems are configured and used are missing from the literature. However, those systems integrate a large variety of sources beyond the library catalogue, and usually make use of a central index acquired together with the system, and compiled by an external vendor.

When researchers start their literature research with a discovery system, they might not be aware whether they are searching within all resources that are accessible in full text at that library, or whether other bibliographic databases are additionally included in the default search index. There is usually a tick box for the first option, and vendors tend to treat their source list like a business secret. However, in the study by Wolff-Eisenberg, Rod, et al. (ibid.), a fifth of SSH researchers start with a specific electronic research resource, such as, for instance, a subject database (in the sciences, more than a third would most likely start there). Regional and international library catalogues like *Worldcat* are of rather low relevance. When asked for the starting point for *exploring* academic literature, adding an option for GS, the average throughout all subjects of selecting this option is 28%, putting GS in second place after the specific database with 37%.

GS is currently the academic database with the highest global coverage, even though there is no way to know *how* high the coverage actually is. Gusenbauer (2019) estimated GS to contain roughly 389 million documents including articles, citations and patents; only slightly more than Delgado López-Cózar (2018) had estimated, which is remarkable, considering that the study is older. For comparison, the largest provider of bibliographic databases, *ProQuest*, offers an estimated 280 million records across a selection of 19 databases that Gusenbauer (2019) had access to. The importance of Gs is further emphasised by Van Noorden (2014), who found that 70% of 480 SsH researchers who had participated in a *Nature* poll visit Gs regularly. Finally, a survey of more than 13,000 Uk generation-Y doctoral students across all fields confirmed the frequent use of both library databases and Gs (Carpenter 2012; also see Bøyum and Aabø 2015). It can be concluded that for the SsH, indexing in Gs (where *Google Search* refers to) has very high priority, together with subject databases. I will therefore focus on the discoverability through these two (types of) tools.

Another study provides some retrospective insights into preferred search strategies of researchers, in this case of 39 doctoral candidates who then graduated from Vilnius University, in a variety of fields (Grigas, Juzeniene et al. 2017; for a similar study in Croatia see Romić and Mitrović 2016). Through an analysis of their theses' references, it was found that information resources used were, on the one hand, covered by the library's collections and subscribed databases up to 80%, while on the other hand, on average, more than half of all utilised information resources (57%) were freely available, of which 10% were (news) websites.

Central indexes used in discovery systems are usually black boxes to the user, since source lists are not provided openly. Even for librarians, as customers of discovery system vendors, it is hard to evaluate and compare different products, and small content providers struggle to participate in the indexes with their content.[130]

Discovery systems are always supplemented by the local libraries' catalogues, but journal papers are rarely locally catalogued. Records are usually retrieved from an information provider. Viewed from this perspective, papers from African journals are problematic media, because often, either the journal is not indexed by any provider, or the provider does not support metadata harvesting; even if a library subscribes to a pre-paid AJOL account,[131] currently, the bibliographic data cannot simply be harvested for inclusion in the library discovery system. AJOL's OAI-PMH interface is

130 In the USA, the *Open Discovery Initiative* (ODI) was initiated to tackle this issue; see Varnum 2017, and NISO, ODI: Open Discovery Initiative, https://www.niso.org/standards-committees/odi, visited on 29 June 2020.

131 How AJOL's subscription journals are accessed is described further down.

not registered as a data provider with the *Open Archives Initiative*,[132] so a potential harvester does not know which URL to check for the metadata. For *Sabinet* journals, which are less relevant here, metadata is accessible for users, but the website does not state how exactly.[133]

Open-access journals always have the opportunity to deliver article-level data to the *Directory of Open Access Journals* (DOAJ), a source that is included in the central indexes of *Primo Central* and EBSCO *Discovery Service*, which many academic libraries subscribe to. DOAJ is open for reuse by any other database. In 2016, the process of improving DOAJ's data quality resulted not only in more rigorous criteria for inclusion, but also in the removal of 4,300 journals.[134] While of the 11,981 journals included on 22 August 2018[135] roughly two-thirds make use of this opportunity,[136] only one of the three Southeast African SSH journals listed in DOAJ is amongst them (*Regional Journal of Information and Knowledge Management*).

Almost the entire set of bibliographic data in my study originates from the *Quarterly Index of Africa Published Literature* (QIAPL), produced by the Library of Congress—and discontinued in 2011. By bilateral agreement, it is exclusively included in the freely accessible bibliography *AfricaBib* that comprises records about literature both from and about Africa. It is managed by the African Studies Centre Leiden Library. Its data cannot be reused in any central index or federated search system for contractual reasons.[137] I assume that it is typically used by SSH researchers who are focused

132 Open Archives Initiative, OAI-PMH Registered Data Providers, http://www.openarchives.org/Register/BrowseSites, visited on 29 June 2020.

133 See Sabinet, How to get access/subscribe, https://www.journals.co.za/how-to-get-access, visited on 29 June 2020.

134 DOAJ, Update on Reapplications and New Applications, 23 Dec. 2016, https://doajournals.wordpress.com/2016/12/23/update-on-reapplications-and-new-applications, DOAJ News Service, visited on 29 June 2020.

135 See the DOAJ data dump available from https://doaj.org/csv.

136 I searched for 'articles' in the DOAJ search interface, and then limited the 'journal titles' filter list in the search result to 8,500. All of the journals in the list except seven provided more than ten articles in the search result. I am aware that a journal title is not a unique identifier, so the result is rough. As of 22 August 2018, the search engine works with a total of 12,002 journals.

137 Personal communication with the manager of *AfricaBib*, Willem Veerman, African

on Africa: African studies scholars. SSH research from Africa, no matter what it is about, is therefore outsourced to a special interest area, to area studies, while it in fact could be of potential relevance to any other field in the SSH (see Section 2.2.5 for what I call the 'incarceration of area studies').

That GS is indexing this source anyway, seems to happen in a legal grey zone. Since information providers who supply libraries with discovery systems and central indexes sell the usage rights directly to their customers, they are legally obliged to ask the data owner for a licence to include a certain database. However, GS's presentation of the data as a list of links to the original resource, in response to a user query, is most likely covered by the fair use principle. However, the inclusion of the data in GS is of high value for the dissemination of research from Africa, at least for older publications. Furthermore, journals which are included in AJOL and *Sabinet* are also indexed in GS.

However, sources for GS can disappear as suddenly as they appear in the index, as the case of the Spanish *Dialnet* database shows (López-Cózar and Martín-Martín 2017). More than two million records from *Dialnet* simply disappeared in 2017, resulting in a drop in coverage of Spanish journals in *Google Scholar Metrics* to almost half, from 1,101 to 599. The most affected disciplines are law, chemistry, economics and business, political science and administration, urban planning, and engineering. López-Cózar and Martín-Martín consider several options for what could have caused the decrease, but could not track down the ultimate cause. Compared to other databases and search indexes, GS is a very special 'black box', since there is no customer service that would actually reply to enquiries. Inclusion criteria are mostly technical, and very basic in terms of content.[138]

Nwagwu documented the poor coverage of African publications in 'international' databases in 2005. This still applies to citation databases as well as to subject databases, but seems to improve for central indexes used in library discovery systems, because of collections with regional focus,

Studies Centre Leiden Library, 2 June, 2016.

138 Google Scholar, Inclusion Guidelines for Webmasters, https://scholar.google.com/intl/en/scholar/inclusion.html, visited on 29 June 2020.

like *Sabinet*. An *African Citation Index* (Aci; cf. Nwagwu 2010) has been open for journal inclusion suggestions since October 2016, as has been announced by its operator, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Codesria).[139] Its coverage is to comprise peer-reviewed journals of African origin in all research subjects, with at least one issue per year, and back-issue data from five years before inclusion. 'The overall scientific quality of the journal should be high and it must conform to international conventions' (ibid.) that are not referred to in detail. This approach can be interpreted as an attempt of African research management to participate in globally competitive quantitative communication (cf. Bakuwa 2014). Almost four years after this announcement, it includes 24 journals, and about 51,000 references.[140] Since it is subscription-based, and pricing information is not available from the website, which is largely 'under construction', I could not investigate the Aci further. The plan to also include other types of documents, such as books, research data and patents, has not been realised yet, and inclusion criteria for non-journal content are left to be defined.

In Section 4.5.2, I will return to the question of discoverability, with some concrete observations from the empirical investigation based on the data collected in the following.

4.5 Scientometric Study on Southeast African Ssh

Fragmentary indexing of Africa-published academic literature, which will be illustrated in the following, makes decolonial bibliometrics on this material an intricate undertaking. Therefore, I will describe, in detail, the workflow of bibliometric data collection, and discuss problems that occurred along the way. Data collected with the help of this or similar workflows are naturally limited to certain dimensions. I decided to base my

139 Codesria, The African Citation Index, 31 Oct. 2016, http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article2669, visited on 29 June 2020.

140 African Citation Index, http://www.indiancitationindex.in/aci, visited on 29 June 2020. The index apparently uses the technical infrastructure of the also subscription-based *Indian Citation Index*, which is reachable at the base Url.

argumentation on places and institutions of publication and of affiliation, since knowing about publication venues is a precondition for rating discoverability. Finding those venues requires a manual item-by-item search, just like with other dimensions that could have been added, such as gender or career stage. With a sufficient amount of collected data, quantity of publications with certain dimensions can be estimated, citations of publications indexed by *Google Scholar* (GS) can be measured and analysed, and patterns of publication careers can be recognised.[141] I am aware that standard bibliometric data can also help to analyse most of these aspects, but indexing in WOS or *Scopus* is a precondition for that. My laborious approach might call old times to mind, when the search for bibliographic information was often painstaking detective work. Actually, the availability of the Internet and contemporary search engines make this approach more reasonable, though still laborious.

4.5.1 Data Collection Workflow[142]

I will describe the data collection workflow in detail below, but in short, it can be delineated as follows (see Figure 13). First, I list all the journals published in Southeast Africa dedicated to basic SSH research and active in 2008–2009. Then, I collect bibliographic data and pick a sample. For these papers, I check where the authors are based. For all authors affiliated with a Southeast African institution, I collect full publication lists to determine which other publication venues they choose. The publication lists reveal information about book publishing which is important for SSH (see e. g. Samuels 2013), and about papers published in journals that are not in my sample. After collecting bibliographic data, I look up where the

141 Lateef, Ogunkunle et al. 2016 analysed GS profiles of African researchers, and found rather low numbers of East African profiles: Kenya (75), Zimbabwe (59), Tanzania (42), Ethiopia (35), Zambia (21), Uganda (15), Burundi (2)—for comparison, most African profiles are from South Africa (3133). However, many East African publications are not related to any profile, but still indexed in GS.

142 This section is based on my research-in-progress paper presented at the SCI conference in 2016b.

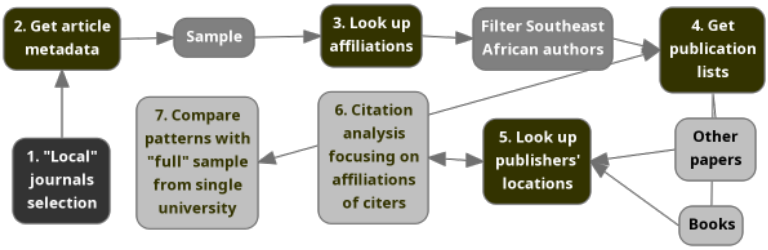

Figure 13. Data collection & analyses workflow: Southeast African journals, authors and their publications' uptake.

respective journals and book publishers are based. Then I collect citation data to measure and locate the uptake of research results published in different ways. Since these results are only generalisable for authors who publish in 'local' journals, I supplement the analysis with an affiliation-based approach: with publications by authors who are affiliated with the University of Mauritius.

Increasingly, with the spread of higher education policies buying into quantified communication, competition based on the length of publication lists is a very dominant factor in structuring scholarly communication. It therefore comes as no surprise that not all the publications in my sample appeared, subjectively, to be top quality. In Section 2.2.7, I discussed how the label 'predatory publisher' essentially is a neo-colonial tool, so I will not engage with my subjective reservations—which only apply to very few cases—any further, since this study does not include a content analysis.

The toolbox for the bibliometric study has very simple objectives: 1. collecting all existing relevant data with reasonable effort and preparing them for analysis in spreadsheets and with *R*, and 2. running smoothly on all common platforms. I chose open-source reference manager *Zotero* since it provides unique (and extensible) features, especially since the extension *Google Scholar Citations* can import citation counts.

The identification of the authors from the sample and the collection of the Southeast African authors' publication data took place from 16 August to 14 November 2016, and the second data collection phase for the University of Mauritius affiliation-based approach from 4 to 29 October 2019; see Section 4.5.3. GS citation counts could only be downloaded in batches, due to the restrictions of automated requests. The bibliographic data have been corrected and normalised intellectually, as this was necessary for the analysis.

Journal Selection

Africa-published journals and books are important media for many researchers based in Africa (Esseh 2011). Since there is no comprehensive index of these journals, and these journals are, if at all, sparsely covered by WoS and *Scopus*, another starting point is needed to pick a reasonable sample of work authored by Southeast African SSH scholars. The following options to set up an initial index are apparent:

1. Publisher index: low number of items, books could be covered right from the start, but even a general online search engine would not provide comprehensive access to the relevant information.
2. Author index: high number of items. As will become apparent with the search for affiliations at a later point, staff lists of universities are usually not available online.
3. Journal index: *Ulrichsweb* and QIAPL can be filtered according to the study's scope.

The decision to set up a journal index was easy, but less so the use of *Ulrichsweb*. It is known as *the* standard journal database, and has been described by renowned bibliometricians as 'an exhaustive and comprehensive source of scientific journals from all over the world' (Archambault, Vignola-Gagné et al. 2006). However, when it comes to African journals, Bowdoin (2011) found that it is an unreliable data source. She studied the indexing situation of journals from sub-Saharan Africa, which are found in the following listings: *Sabinet Open Access Collection*[143], DOAJ (63 journals), AJOL

143 As of 29 June 2020, 109 journals, see Sabinet, Open Access, https://www.journals.co.za/content/collection/open-access. The number is increasing.

(as with *Sabinet*, the number of journals at the time of research is not mentioned), and others that are not relevant here. While the journals in DOAJ are in any case listed in *Ulrichsweb*, this is not true for the journals from *Sabinet* (38% not listed) and AJOL (32%). For GS, the scores are much better, and seem to depend on the availability of bibliographic data (100% available *Sabinet* data in GS, 98% AJOL, 94% DOAJ).

Since neither DOAJ, nor AJOL, nor *Sabinet*, list more than a few Southeast African SSH journals, I queried *Ulrichweb* on 7 July 2016 (see Appendix D for the query):[144] in all nineteen Southeast African countries (South Sudan is not listed in *Ulrichsweb*) combined, 148 active scholarly journals are retrieved in the selected field, with no journals in Burundi, Comoros, Madagascar, Mayotte and Somalia.[145] The *Revue Universitaire de Djibouti* only appeared twice in 2003, and the university website does not reveal any information about research. The *Journal de Afrikana*, allocated to Eritrea, is actually chief-edited in Ethiopia, has no disciplinary focus, and, from checking a sample of titles, no papers in the SSH. However, of these 148 journals, 52 journal titles indicated a possible focus on applied research.

To analyse citation networks, SSH literature has to be older than five years (Archambault and Larivière 2010). I therefore decided to limit the selection of journals further to those which were active in 2008 and 2009. For a sample, I tested if the Kenyan Crisis (December 2007 to April 2008), which affected the whole region, presumably for a longer period, had an impact on the publication quantity: more papers were published in 2008 than 2009, but the difference is negligible. 37 out of the preliminary selection of 95 journals started only after 2005, and I had to exclude all of these, because even if they existed in 2008-2009, they would probably have been too young to attract a wide range of authors.

To make sure that bibliographic data are available, I decided to filter the QIAPL journal list[146] intellectually, looking only at the titles and the pub-

144 The process of selecting the journal sample can be followed in the accompanying research data (Schmidt 2016a).

145 There is no description available of what the field 'country' refers to. I inquired the database vendor, *ProQuest*, but did not receive a response.

146 Library of Congress Overseas Offices, Nairobi, Kenya, Periodicals Indexed in the

lisher, preferring research institutions, resulting in 103 journals. I found 27 titles matching the filtered *Ulrichsweb* list. Of these, only 12 journals were left after I checked for their activity in the relevant years 2008–2009; although they are described as active in *Ulrichsweb*, only seven of 17 have been publishing after 2013. It is interesting to see when they stopped publishing: the activity numbers reached a very clear bottom in 2009 (see Schmidt 2016b) when the financial crisis had its strongest impact. Many of the remaining titles in the QIAPL list are long ceased. Some meet my criteria, but they are not included in *Ulrichsweb* (nine), or are not labelled as 'Academic/Scholarly' there (five). However, following a closer look at the papers' titles, I added these 14 to my final journal list (see Tables 4 and 5), which then comprised 26 titles. After looking at a sample of full texts, I verified that all journals are within the scope of this study.

The subjects of these 26 journals are balanced: five journals publish the whole spectrum of SSH, two others concentrate on social sciences, and one focuses on the humanities. With six journals predominantly about education and five dealing with religion, these two subjects stand out. Further, linguistics are represented with two, and the following subjects with one journal each: archaeology, law, literature, philosophy, and sociology.

The countries of origin of the selected journals only partly reflect the size of the SSH faculties in these countries (see Section 4.2.2). While the numbers of SSH researchers are almost even in Kenya and Ethiopia, there are only three journals from the latter country included, and nine Kenyan journals make up the large majority in the sample. From Zimbabwe, only two journals were selected, and the large number of Madagascan researchers does not contribute to the sample with any journal at all. Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi and Uganda have comparable numbers of researchers, but only from Malawi and Tanzania is there more than one journal (three each), and none from Mozambique. Also from Rwanda, there is none, while the even fewer Zambian and Mauritian researchers each edit two journals from the sample.

Quarterly Index, last updated on 17 Sept. 2010, http://www.loc.gov/acq/ovop/nairobi/indexed_journal.html, visited on 29 June 2020.

Title	Country	Publisher	Subjects	First#	Last#	Ulrichs*
Africa Media Review	Kenya	African Council for Communication Edu.	sociology	1987	2013	
Africa Theological J.	Tanzania	Tumaini Univ. Makumira	religion	1968	2009?	/
African Christian Studies	Kenya	Catholic Univ. of Eastern Africa	religion	1985	2016	
AICMAR Bulletin	Kenya	African Inst. for Contemp. Mission & Research	religion	2002	2010?	
Chemchemi	Kenya	Kenyatta Univ., School of SSH	humanities	1999	2008?	x
East African J. of Peace & Human Rights	Uganda	Makerere Univ., Human Rights & Peace Centre	law, pol. science	1993	2014	
Eastern Africa J. of Hum. & Sciences	Kenya	Catholic Univ. of Eastern Africa	hum., soc. sciences	2001	2009	x
Eastern Africa Soc. Science Research Review	Ethiopia	Org. for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa	social sciences	1985	frequent	
Egerton J. of Hum., Soc. Sciences & Edu.	Kenya	Egerton Univ., Research & Extension Division	hum., soc. sciences	1995	2011?	
Ethiopian J. of Education	Ethiopia	Addis Ababa Univ., Inst. of Edu. Research	education	1967	2013?	
Ethiopian J. of the Soc. Sciences & Hum.	Ethiopia	Addis Ababa Univ., College of Soc. Sciences	hum., soc. sciences	2003	frequent	
Fountain (Nairobi, Kenya)	Kenya	Univ. of Nairobi, Faculty of Education	education	2002	2009?	x

Table 4. Some properties of the 26 selected Southeast African SSH journals. ⋆ Not labelled scholarly: (/); not listed in *Ulrichsweb*: (x). Question marks indicate that I found contradictory information (most recent year was recorded); continued in Table 5.

Title	Country	Publisher	Subjects	First#	Last#	Ulrichs*
Hekima Review	Kenya	Hekima College	religion, pol. science	1980	frequent	
J. of Education	Mauritius	Mauritius Inst. of Education	education	2001	2008?	x
J. of Humanities	Zambia	Univ. of Zambia Press	hum., soc. sciences	1997	2010	x
J. of Mauritian Studies	Mauritius	Mahatma Gandhi Inst.	literature	1986	2010?	
Kiswahili	Tanzania	Univ. of Dar es Salaam, Inst. of Kiswahili Research	linguistics, lit.	1930	2011	
Maarifa (Eldoret, Kenya)	Kenya	Moi Univ., School of Arts & Soc. Sciences	hum., soc. sciences	2005	2009?	x
Malawi J. of Edu. & Dev.	Malawi	Univ. of Malawi, Chancellor College Publications	education	2003?	2014?	x
Malawi J. of Soc. Science	Malawi	Univ. of Malawi, Chancellor College Publications	social sciences	1972	2008	/
Mulika	Tanzania	Univ. of Dar es Salaam, Inst. of Kiswahili Research	linguistics, literature	1971	2009?	/
Papers in Edu. & Dev.	Tanzania	Univ. of Dar es Salaam, Faculty of Education	education	1975	2014?	x
Quest	Zambia	Univ. of Zambia, Dep. of Philosophy	philosophy	1987	2013	x
Religion in Malawi	Malawi	Univ. of Malawi, Chancellor College	religion	1987	2009?	/
Zimbabwe J. of Edu. Research	Zimbabwe	Univ. of Zimbabwe, Faculty of Education	edu., economics	1989	frequent	
Zimbabwean Prehistory	Zimbabwe	Prehistory Society of Zimbabwe	archaeology, history	1983	2012?	/

Table 5. Continued from Table 4.

While I was in the middle of my analyses, I realised that Gs included Qiapl at some point, in mid-2016. I was still curious if I really would be unable to find bibliographic data for the thirty journals from the *Ulrichsweb* query that did not appear on the filtered Qiapl list. With low effort, I checked if these journals are really not indexed in a Gs source. Some few are partly, because they were cited, but for 16 journals there was not even one entry for 2008-2009. However, I found two journals that are indexed in Qiapl, but where the *Ulrichsweb* label 'Academic/Scholarly' is clearly misplaced. Admittedly, five journals from this list could have been part of my sample. Worth mentioning is the *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, which is available on Jstor. The *Ethiopian Journal of Education and Sciences* is open access on Ajol, but the remaining three, from Zimbabwe and Kenya, would most likely have only been accessible through interlibrary loan. At least in two cases it cannot be decided from the bibliographical data alone whether the journals are within the scope of the study.

I also checked if Ajol would have added much to my sample: I found mostly Ethiopian journals which were quite recently established, and therefore are out of my scope. However, it becomes apparent that a new generation of e-journals seems to be emerging, rather than journals with a longer tradition are transitioning from print to digital. While validating this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this thesis, I will look into discoverability issues of this new journal generation in Section 4.5.2.

Determining Authors' Affiliations & Publications

The basic bibliographic data retrieved from Qiapl, 376 records,[147] I reduced to a smaller sample, because the determination of author's affiliations is very labour-intensive. I decided to select one random issue per journal, resulting in 179 papers. The list of authors in this sample com-

147 Data was downloaded directly from Qiapl in Ris format, which was then converted by *Zotero* to Csv for analysis. Duplicates were filtered. When I finally got hold of the prints, I noticed that the bibliographic data were not complete in every case. This did not affect my research, but rather can be seen as another sign of how problematic it is to find the bibliographic information about this literature.

prises 203 individuals. They seldom recur within the two-year period: only six authors in the sample of 179 papers, and 27 authors in the full set of 376 papers appear more than once. Co-authorships are also rare: only 25 in the smaller sample, and 62 in the full set.

To identify the authors, each name is first queried in *Google Search*, then in Gs, and each search is limited to a reasonable amount of time. Ideally, a personal or institutional homepage with a publication list is found. In most cases, because the results lack relevance, queries have to be supplemented with a subject, derived from the paper's title, e. g. 'education' or 'religion'. If publication lists are found both on a personal website and in the from of database entries, they are not compared when there are more than ten titles in both. Database entries are preferred, due to the handier format.

The primary database used for the collection of bibliographic data is Gs. The results are checked for the author's name and likeliness of authorship regarding the subject of the publications (e. g. natural science topics are excluded) and exported to *Zotero*.[148] Data quality in Gs is quite low: often, journal titles or publisher names are missing, or other types of documents than academic publications are listed. These are cleared manually: duplicates are excluded, but translations and reprints included. The goal was to connect each title either to a journal title, or to a publisher and a location.

The large majority of Gs hits that link to the institutional repository of the University of Nairobi turn out to be records about talks, lectures, theses, (government) reports with scarce distribution, and other grey literature, which are not part of my scope. For the purpose of my study, the editor's location needs to be determined, and records of this repository[149] do not facilitate this venture. However, the high activity of many authors in consultancy and report writing is continuously mentioned in the literature and confirmed by my data.

Because this study focuses on common patterns of scholarly publishing, an author's publication list is cleaned and included only when the Gs query

148 The *Zotero Connector* allows selecting and importing all hits displayed on one page in the browser at a time.

149 I added '-site:erepository.uonbi.ac.ke' to any query.

returns less than forty hits. Scholars with an atypically high output of more than forty publications—4% of the Southeast African authors in this sample—are excluded.

The data from Gs is supplemented by *Worldcat*,[150] data which helps in adding book titles to the publication lists. Unfortunately, a *Worldcat* identity has not been created for all authors with records in *Worldcat*. This would have led to an automatic record in the Virtual International Authority File (VIAF). Clear identities would facilitate the queries in *Worldcat*. In several cases, more than one VIAF identity was found for the same person, so VIAF does not prove useful for this research.

The recording of current affiliations regardless of the publishing date is sufficient, because Southeast African researchers seem to be not very mobile (for Mozambique, see Fellesson and Mählck 2013). If the affiliation or at least the country of origin is identified to be in Southeast Africa, the search for the publication list is continued. There are few research institutions outside universities on the continent (Smart and Murray 2014). Therefore, it is not surprising to find that only one researcher in my sample is not working at a university.

It appears that Amharic names create inconsistencies in bibliographic databases. Inversion is no option here, while often applied falsely, which, I suggest, was one of the reasons why I could not identify some of the Ethiopian authors. Full names should always be written in the order: 'given name' 'father's name' 'grandfather's name' (where known). A similar problem appears with multipart surnames, as are common in Mauritius where many inhabitants are of Asian descent: parts of the surnames are taken for additional given names (or the other way around!) which makes it very difficult to identify authors in databases that abbreviate given names.

Finding the Publisher's Locations

As a rule of thumb, current publishers of journals and locations of book publishers are recorded. In some cases, this ahistorical but rational ap-

150 A 'potentially universalizing effect' of *Worldcat* has been acknowledged by Olson and Fox 2010.

proach might deviate from the facts at the time of publishing, because journals could have been transferred to different publishers and publishers moved to different locations.

For book publishers, the location acknowledged in the book or on the publisher's website (whichever is easier to find) in first position is recorded. Imprints of publishers are, where known, replaced by the name of the publishing company, but not if the brand became an imprint after a merger. For instance, *Routledge* is not replaced by *Informa*, although *Routledge* was acquired by *Taylor & Francis* in 1998, which itself was sold to *Informa* in 2004. However, the location of the headquarters of the owning publishing company at the time of publishing counts. Because of their temporal nature, I ignore buyouts to investment firms. Some African publishers have offices in several countries that operate independently without a head office. Entries with unknown locations are removed from the sample. If the publisher in the original list is a smaller unit of a larger institution, all smaller units are merged to this institution.

To locate journal publishers, all 371 journal titles are queried in *Ulrichsweb*. If the journal is not indexed there, I perform a *Google Search* for 'site:loc.gov "journal title"' to find a potential listing in QIAPL. Publisher addresses are given on these websites. As a last resort, I try a journal title query, or/and, if available, use the paper's URL to look for the needed information on the journal's homepage, which often is unsuccessful. If the journal changed its name, this new name is recorded to facilitate the matching with the records from *Ulrichsweb*. *Ulrichsweb* does not differentiate between local offices of huge publishing houses, e. g. Springer, unless they contain individual private companies.

4.5.2 Analysis

Author's Affiliations

In the following sections, I will analyse the collected data in more detail, starting with the distribution of author's affiliations from the sample of the 26 Southeast African journals. As displayed in Figure 14, slightly more

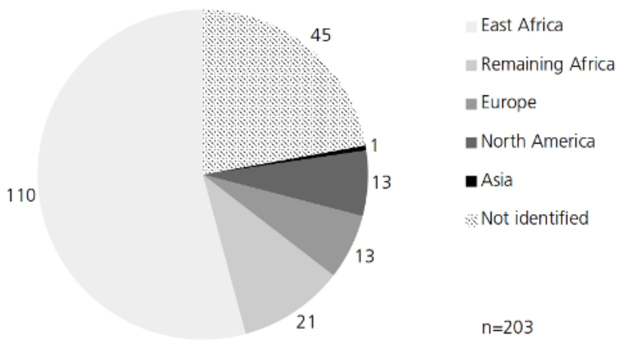

Figure 14. Sample authors' affiliations with selected Southeast African SSH journals.

than half of the 203 authors from the sample are affiliated with Southeast African institutions, all except one of which are universities. Unfortunately, almost a quarter of the authors could not be identified. The remaining quarter is almost equally split between other African regions, Europe and North America. There is only one author from Asia and none from South America or Oceania.

This shows that 'local journals' are certainly not limited to Southeast African authors. During my research, I noticed that at least some of those working outside Southeast Africa are part of the diaspora, while others were conducting research about the region and probably wanted the local community to recognise their results.

Now I will turn to the Southeast African authors only. As described in detail above, I recorded all publications of these authors that I could find, if there were at least three; 25 authors were excluded for that reason, resulting in a sample of 1,089. The average number of publications per author is 13, with a median of ten. Almost half of the remaining authors are from Kenya (see Figure 15), which can be explained by the fact that a third of the 'local' journals I started with are from Kenya; 42% of the papers that the author selection is based on appeared in these journals.

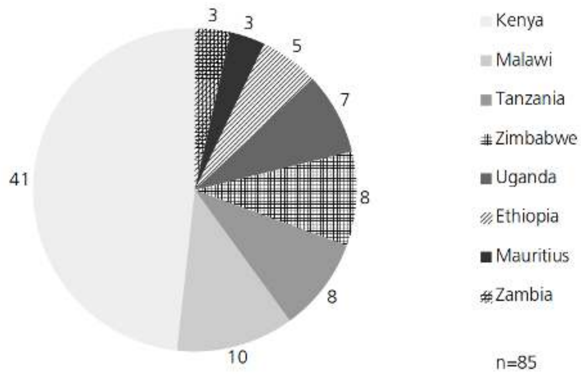

Figure 15. Countries that the Southeast African authors from the sample with more than two publications are affiliated with.

Kenyan journals also are 'more local' than others in the sample, since 36 of the 76 papers from the Kenyan journals are authored by Southeast African, mostly Kenyan, authors. That there are still more Kenyan authors than expected, can be due to the fact that websites of Kenyan universities usually include staff lists, which is not true for most of the other countries, so it is easier for me to identify these authors. A personally managed profile homepage of a Kenyan researcher is also more likely. Together with the problem of Amharic name inversion (see Section 4.5.1), it is simply more difficult to identify Southeast African authors when they work in a country other than Kenya.

Malawian authors also are overrepresented, since it is a comparatively small country with a low number of researchers (see Section 4.2.2). This is due primarily to the fact that the number of journals existent in a particular country does not seem to correspond with the number of researchers in that country. From the sample papers of each of the three Malawian journals, I was able to identify at least half of the authors as being affiliated with a Malawian institution and having published at least three times. From my small sample, I can cautiously conclude that there are some similarities in the distribution of author affiliations with the Kenyan journals.

Although the affiliation structure of the journals differs, it can be generalised that, if the journal is used by authors from abroad, they are most often not from another Southeast African country, but rather from South or West Africa, or from another continent.

Because of the author's affiliations, I suspect that around a quarter of the journals are institutional bulletins that mostly researchers from the publishing university actively make use of—even though it is hard to tell from only one issue per journal. Interestingly, this is not necessarily documented in the name of the journal, e. g. *Hekima Review* from Hekima University publishes papers from researchers working all over the globe. The rather broad thematic spectrum of many journals might be due to the multiple challenges of sustaining several journals at one institution (Esseh 2011).

Publishing Venues

The analysis of the Southeast African authors' publication lists shows to which extent they employ the local publishing infrastructure, journals and book publishers. How common is it to publish outside the region? How did this change over time? The 85 authors from the sample published 739 papers in total, almost nine papers on average. For 23 papers in 17 journals, the publishing location cannot be determined; for 13 of these, the publisher is also unknown. These 23 papers are excluded from the following analysis. A total of 24 conference papers are also found in the authors' publication lists. Because of the low number, they are also excluded, unless they were published as a journal paper or book section. The formats book, book chapter, proceedings paper and formally published report (with ISBN) appear 351 times in the publication lists, and thus less often than journal papers, which amount to 67% of all publications.

I visualise the locations of authors and the journals they chose for publication on a world map[151] in Figure 16. Table 6 focuses on where in Southeast

151 The proportions of the continents on the maps in Figures 16 and 17 might appear unfamiliar to some viewers. That is because the large majority of world maps in use comply with the Mercator projection. According to *Tissot's indicatrix*, a way to characterise local distortions of maps due to the projection from the three-dimensional globe to a two-

Africa the journal publisher is located, and Table 7 lists the most frequent publishers outside of the region. On the world map, only the countries' geographic centres are represented. Every author is a dark dot and every publication with its publisher location a light dot, overlaying the dark dots. The dots are scattered to make their density visible. It is thereby possible to see that Kenya, for instance, is a strong publication venue.

In Figure 16, it becomes apparent that publishing journal papers outside of the region is as popular as publishing within. Looking at the tables, a slight preference for the first option appears. The UK accounts for 14% of all journal papers; only Kenya, the country that almost half of the authors are affiliated with, has a larger share: 22%. The USA with 9%, Zimbabwe with 7% and Tanzania with 6% are also worth noting. After Malawi, the next popular publishing countries are India, Nigeria, Uganda, Ethiopia and South Africa. On the map, it clearly appears that especially Kenya's authors have strong publisher relations to other former British colonies: India, Australia, Tanzania and Nigeria.[152] If authors decide to publish in Southeast Africa, in most of the cases, they publish in their affiliation country. In total, 40% of the papers are published in the same country that the Southeast African author (there are, of course, cases of co-authorship) is affiliated with, and there is no notable variation between countries.

In Table 8, the focus is shifted from countries to publishers. Here, the picture is cut in two parts again, with most of the Southeast African universities that produce the highest research output occupying almost all places in the top ten: Nairobi, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Dar es Salaam, Egerton, and Moi, three of them Kenyan, and the Human Rights and Peace Centre, Ugandan. That leaves three ranks to the biggest SSH journal publishers: *Routledge*, *Springer* and *Sage*. This top ten accounts for 38% of all journal papers in this sample.

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dimensional map, the Mercator projection causes immense distortions in favour of the size of the landmasses of the Northern hemisphere. Especially in the context of decolonial studies, the Mollweide projection used here is the better choice.

152 Since in the sample, Kenya is overrepresented, the correlation might not be very strong in larger and more balanced samples.

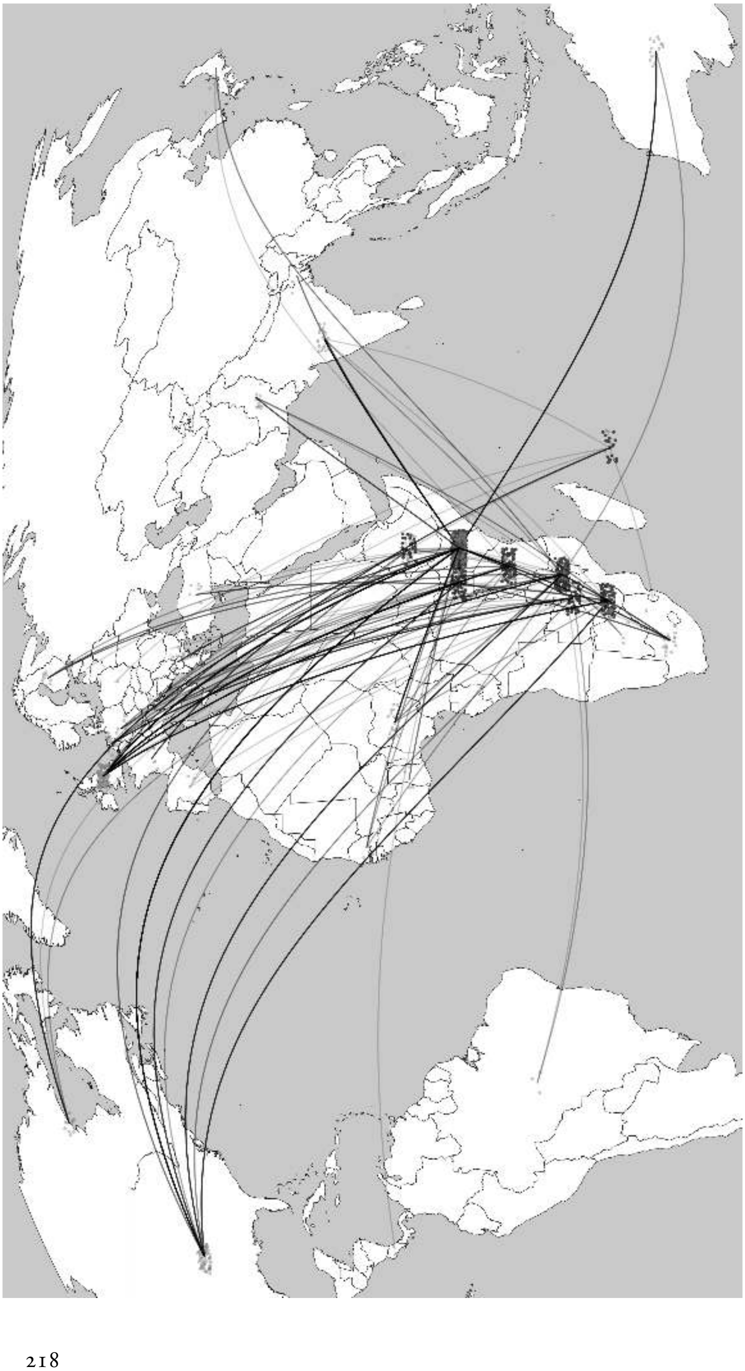

Figure 16. Journal publishers' locations of sample papers authored in Southeast Africa (n=716). Scattered light dots visualise the publishing country; dark dots the countries where the home institutions of the authors are situated. The stronger the connecting lines, the more authors from the same country publish in a certain foreign country.

Country	Affiliation	PubCountry
Kenya	321	161
Zimbabwe	79	47
Tanzania	69	41
Malawi	101	33
Uganda	62	21
Ethiopia	26	20
Zambia	41	9
Mauritius	18	6
Total	**716**	**338**

Table 6. Southeast African publishing countries of sampled journal papers authored in Southeast Africa.

PubCountry	Freq.
United Kingdom	100
United States	67
India	24
Nigeria	21
South Africa	20
Netherlands	18
Australia	14
Canada	13
Other, $\geq$ 10	101
Total	**378**

Table 7. Non-Southeast-African publishing countries of sampled journal papers authored in Southeast Africa.

The map in Figure 17 visualises the known book publishers' locations of 324 books and book chapters from my sample. It shows how the 23 countries in which 161 different publishers have their headquarters are connected to the author's affiliation country, by publication. Compared to the journal locations, books that Southeast African authors contribute to are more likely to be published 'locally' (see Table 9): 53% in Eastern Africa,

Publisher, Freq. ≥ 15, n=716	**Location**	**Freq.**
University of Nairobi	Kenya	42
Routledge	UK	38
University of Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	35
University of Malawi	Malawi	32
University of Dar es Salaam	Tanzania	28
Egerton University	Kenya	21
Springer	Netherlands et. al	21
Moi University	Kenya	20
Sage	UK	18
Human Rights and Peace Centre	Uganda	15
Total		**270**

Table 8. Journal publishers that the sample Southeast African authors publish with.

39% in Europe or North America, and 6% in other African countries. The additional 24 proceedings are to more than half published in Europe or North America (not displayed in the map). Unlike for the journal locations, other world regions do not play a role here. Also, interconnections inside of the region are much rarer in comparison with the publishing of journal papers.

The most frequent book publishers present in the sample, appearing at least seven times, make a list of eight which have similarities to the top ten journal publishers: looking at Table 10, two world-leading publishing companies are found, *Springer* and *Routledge*. Five ranks are held by Southeast African book publishers, mostly institutional, but the noticeable Ugandan commercial *Fountain Publishers* are also represented. *Kachere Series* is run by the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Malawi, and specialised accordingly. Additionally, a European print-on-demand publisher that has a rather bad reputation,[153] *Lap Lambert Academic* is on rank eight.

153 See Wikipedia, OmniScriptum, last updated 23 June 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/OmniScriptum, visited on 29 June 2020.

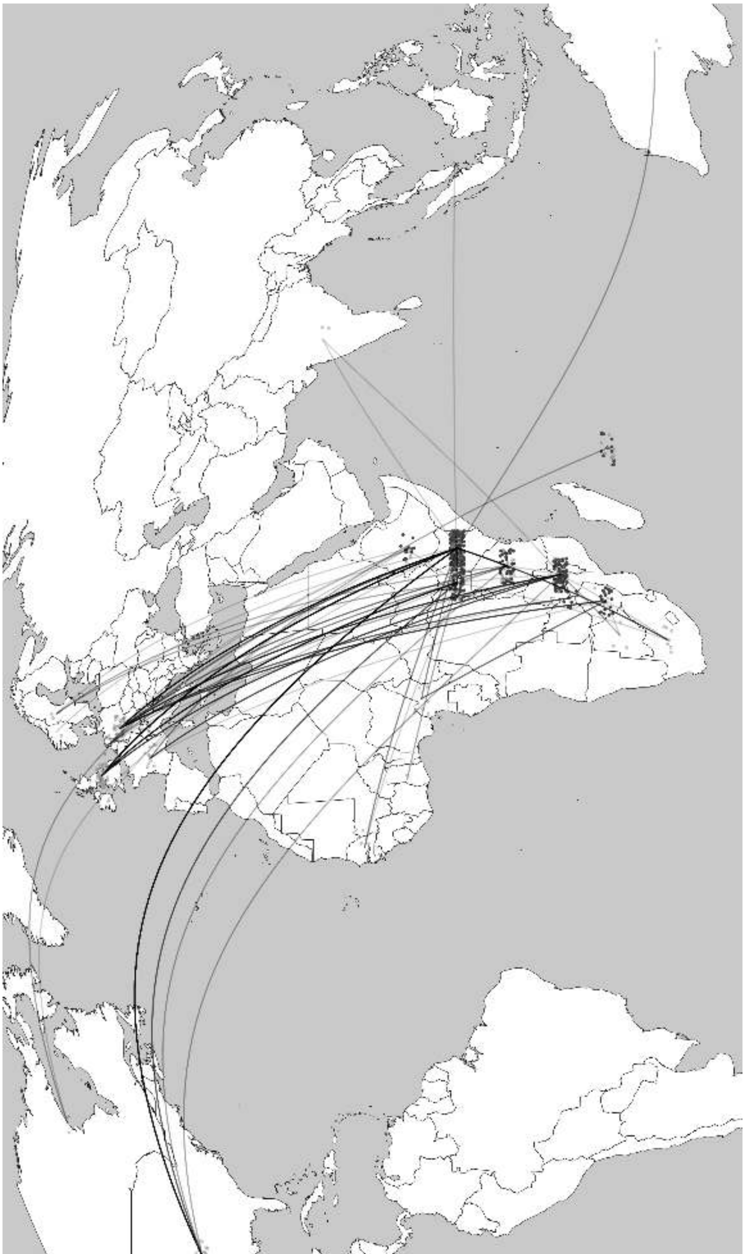

Figure 17. Book publishers' locations of sample books and chapters authored in Southeast Africa (n=324). Scattered light dots visualise the publishing country; dark dots the countries where the home institutions of the authors are situated. The stronger the connecting lines, the more authors from the same country publish in a certain foreign country.

PubRegion Books+Proceed.	Freq.
Southeast Africa	176
Europe	110
North America	32
West Africa	13
Southern Africa	12
Asia	3
Australia	2
Unknown	3
N	**351**

Table 9. Publishing regions of sampled books, book chapters and proceedings authored in Southeast Africa.

Publisher, Freq. ≥ 7, n=327	Location	Freq.
Springer	Germany	12
Kachere Series	Malawi	12
University of Dar es Salaam	Tanzania	11
Centre for Basic Research	Uganda	10
Makerere University	Uganda	9
Routledge	Uk	8
Fountain Publishers	Uganda	8
Lap Lambert Academic	Germany	7
Total		77

Table 10. Book publishers that sampled Southeast African authors published with.

After inspecting my sample with focus on locations and publishers, I will now emphasise the individual researcher's level:

- 68% of the authors publish half of their work in Southeast Africa, and the other half outside the region. This is reflected in the general publishing location counts,
- but: 21% publish mostly in the 'Global North':
  - 13% of them prefer the Uk and Usa,

    - 8% vary a lot between locations and publishers,
- 11% focus their publishing activities on their affiliation country, and
    - 6% of them even on their own university.

How did preferences for publishing 'locally' or in the 'Global North' change over time? In the sample of 1,058 publications with identified publishing venues, publication years vary between 1971 and 2017, with a median of 2008. This year served as a denominator of 'recent' publications. Even if the time span of 48 years is very long, the authors in both groups somewhat overlap: 40 of the 85 authors contributed at least three publications to both the sample of the older publications up until year 2007 (490 items), and to the more recent ones (568 items).

For the older just like for the more recent works, Kenya is by far the most popular publication venue (100 to 115 items, respectively). This seems to be one of the few similarities in this comparison; the other is the similar, but low number of works published in Ethiopia (11 to 15).

Malawi, on rank two for the older group, is the country that lost most popularity as a publication venue (54 to 16 publications). Similarly, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe have been chosen considerably less in more recent years (together, 119 to 61 times). At the same time, the UK, USA and Germany gained most popularity (together 103 to 181), ranking second and fourth in more recent years. This illustrates the ceasing of Southeast African journals and publishers, and the transfer of even more market and standard-setting power to 'Global North' publishers, with Kenya playing an exceptional role that would require more analysis than can be done here. Notably, two 'Global South' countries also improved their positions in this ranking: South Africa moved from rank 16 to eight, while India climbed from rank 20 to 10, which still indicates a low number of items (21 and 16, respectively).

Citation Analysis

From the first sample of 179 papers, derived from the selection of Southeast African journals, 50 were cited at least once in GS. In the larger sample of

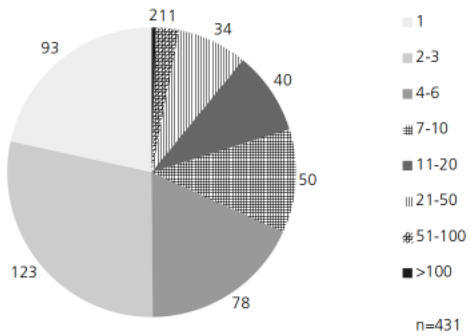

Figure 18. Publications by 85 sampled Southeast African authors which were cited in Gs. The total sample comprises of 1,089 publications.

1,089 publications, including all publication venues that appeared in the publication lists of the 85 authors, according to Gs, 40% were cited at least once (see Figure 18). Of these, half were cited up to three times, 20% more than 10 times, and only two more than 100 times (133 and 159). While this gives a hint that publishing in the selected 'local' journals decreases the odds of being cited, the two samples are not comparable because the smaller sample includes much more recent publications.

Of the 85 authors, 73 received at least one Gs registered citation for at least one of his or her publications, and more than half of those (40) received more than three citations. 14 authors are in the realm of double figures, but only three were cited more than 20 times. In order to obtain a better understanding about where the readership of the often-cited Southeast African authors is located, I conduct the following procedure:

1. As a starting point, for feasibility, I select all publications that had been cited at least six times: 157. Of those, slightly less than half are published in the 'Global South', almost all on the African continent.
2. Per individual author in this selection, of 42 in total, I pick the highest-cited publication in each category: published in the 'Global South' or 'North' (where available), even if one of the publications was cited fewer than six times. If there are publications in just one

of those categories, I only pick the highest-cited publication per author. This resulted in a sample with exactly half of the publications in each category. That way, single authors do not dominate the sample, and publications with fewer citations are also included. If citation counts are equal, I pick the more recent publication. Publication years in the resulting selection of 72 range from 1980 to 2015, with around 50% published before 2005. Together, they received 1,079 citations (mean 15, median 10). Even though some of the most-cited publications were published 'locally', 64% of the publications that have been cited 10 or more times have been published in the 'Global North'.

3. For each of the 72 publications, according to Gs' relevance ranking, for feasibility, up to the first ten publications that referred to it are included for the analysis of the citing authors' location(s) and other conspicuous features:[154]

    a) The data is cleared of items without clear titles or authors, and author names are normalised. The result is a set of 591 publications. The ratio between citations of 'Global South:North' publications is 45:55.
    b) The sample features 861 unique authors (including up to nine co-authors of a certain work). Since a full analysis is prohibited by this large number, the citing publications are randomised, starting with a subset of one hundred, making sure that the ratio between citations of 'Global South:North' publications is left intact. Analyses of the authors' locations are repeated, adding 30 more each time, up to saturation.
    c) The authors' names are queried in *Scopus* author search, and in case of several results, if the top-listed affiliation fitted the research field of the citing paper, the affiliation country was recorded. Results for names that appeared to be common underwent a quick plausibility check.

154 If the cited publication was listed with duplicates, the version with the most citations was selected.

d) If an author cannot be found in *Scopus*, the title of the publication was queried in GS. The effort proves worth it, because almost all of the authors found that way are located in the 'Global South'. Furthermore, wrong publication types become apparent. A number of those publications are theses, not journal papers—a structural problem in GS.

After analysing 130 random citing publications, and their 244 authorships (excluding 10 which could not be determined), it becomes clear that their geographical distribution is very wide. The argument that can be made from this remains limited to the claim that, if a publication is cited at all, the likelihood of being cited in the 'Global North' or 'South' is entirely unrelated to the geographical location of publication. Also, a possible suspicion that 'Global South' publications would be more likely to be cited by local students cannot be confirmed: the distribution of publication types, e. g. theses, in both groups is very similar. These findings confirm that 'local' journals or publishers are, in fact, very 'international', not only in terms of authorship, but also in terms of where they are read and cited. Just like the publication venues of the initial sample, authorship of the citing publications is almost evenly distributed between the 'Global South' and 'North': in total, 112 of the 244 citing authors are from the 'Global South' (46%). Furthermore,

- of the 126 authors who cite work published in the 'Global South', 61 are from the 'South' themselves (48%),
  - with 29 from four different Southeast African countries.
- of the 118 authors who cite work published in the 'Global North', 67 are from the 'North' themselves (57%),
  - while only 13 of the citing authors are from Southeast Africa, from two different countries.

The difference in uptake by Southeast African authors could hint at a better visibility of 'Southern-published', mostly Africa-published work by Southeast Africans, to Southeast Africans, compared to work published in the

'North'. However, when looking for matching countries of publication and citation, of the 58 cited publications in the full sample analysed, it appears that only six were also cited in the country of publication. Of those, five were published in the 'Global North'. It always has to be kept in mind that the samples are very small, and interpretation therefore is risky, but still, the point that 'local' publication does not automatically lead to a local audience can be made from this analysis. Also, Southeast African SSH do not appear to operate as a (nearly) closed system, but rather quite the contrary. Compared to the study on SSCI data by Mosbah-Natanson and Gringas (2014), who found that 'Global South' scholars prefer to cite 'central' research,[155] the above results confirm that this type of claim can only be made when the underlying data is based on a 'Global North' index. However, since I did not study the reference lists of the publications in my sample, further research is needed to strengthen the claim that a 'Global North' orientation of 'Global South' scholars can only be observed when the full range of their publication venues is limited to a very small excerpt.

Relating to Section 3.6, how is the work of the 85 Southeast African SSH researchers in my sample represented in WOS? To determine that without querying every author's name individually, I decided to do this only for those whose work appeared to have been cited in GS. Because of the higher inclusivity of GS, it is very unlikely to find a publication being cited in WOS, but not in GS. Since 74 of the authors have cited publications in GS and it is not feasible to query all of them in WOS, I started with authors who have more than four cited articles listed in GS: thirty authors. Additionally, I queried all of the remaining authors who have at least one publication which was cited more than five times: 21 more authors. 11 of the latter set could not be found in WOS, and the fewer GS citations their publications had, the less likely they could be found. Out of the total 51 authors queried, 33 are indexed with at least one publication, and 18 with more than one. All together, 94 publications by these authors can be found in WOS, of which eight are books. A bit more than half of these publications (48)

155 This is what Wagner 2009, pp. 42–43, refers to as 'preferential attachment'; also see Collyer 2014.

have citation records, and the total citation count is 276, while 115 of these are shared between two authors. In conclusion, the claim that Wos' coverage is insufficient for meaningful research on Southeast African Ssh can be confirmed.

Discoverability & Accessibility

In this section, I summarise what I learned about the discoverability of Southeast African research so far, and test some queries for publications from Southeast Africa with various search tools.

Many of the 371 journals that the 85 authors in my sample (full publication lists) published with are indexed neither in *Ulrichsweb* nor in Qiapl: 98 journals. Almost half of these (42 journals) are published by universities, mostly in Southeast African countries, and for 15 journals, I could not determine a publisher.

Based on the small sample of 179 papers published in Southeast African journals, 12% of the papers which are supposed to be indexed in Qiapl, since this was part of my sampling strategy, could not be found by a simple author search in Gs. Interestingly, this result supports the finding of Mingers (2015), who estimates the subject-independent coverage of Gs to be about 90%. However, for papers published in these journals after 2011, Gs will be of little help.

At some point, ten of the 26 selected journals have been indexed—very selectively—in some bibliographic databases provided by *ProQuest* and Ebsco. In all but two cases this was terminated; only one journal is still indexed, and the other has been indexed up to the last issue before it ceased. In roughly half of the cases, indexing most likely stopped because the journal paused. This discontinuity can, as I mentioned earlier, often be traced back to political events (Schmidt 2016b). In other cases, indexing stopped although the journals appeared on time. None of the selected journals are listed in Wos or *Scopus*, with the exception of 21 papers from two journals, which were included because they were cited in source journals.

In terms of access, only three of 26 journals were immediately available to me, two of these being open access, and one, the *Eastern Africa Social*

Science Research Review, through *Project Muse*, which many European research libraries subscribe to. A very different case is AJOL, which provides four closed-access e-journals from my selection. The platform uses a rather atypical business model: a library acquires a pre-paid account, with a price based on where (in the World Bank country groups) the library is located, and on the number of papers the library would like to be able to access once within an unlimited period of time. Consequently, the library will have trouble accounting for these costs in the annual budgeting, or it will not provide its users with a stable set of resources because it may run out of pre-paid item views within a single day, or only after several years. These may be some of the reasons why I could not find a European library that subscribes to this pre-paid account.

However, the largest part of the journal selection, nineteen journals, are print-only. All of these could be obtained through an inter-library loan process, during which I explicitly asked for one original issue per journal to get an impression about the print quality. Except for six cases in which I received copies, this could be accomplished.

Many of those journals active in 2008-2009 have since ceased, but I complement this investigation with born-digital Southeast African journals. During the selection process described in Section 4.5.1, before the list was reduced to journals active in 2008-2009, I noticed that very few new journals have been founded between 2005 and 2012. The list, filtered for basic SSH, is comprised of 95 journals, with roughly half of them older than 25 years. However, between 2014 and 2016, no less than 22 journals started up. On 31 October 2019, while checking on the development of these journals, I found some traces online by searching for 14 of them, but only 11 can be described as active. Just a single one of those is print-only, and all the others are freely accessible, while five qualify as open access with clearly stated open licences. The distribution over author affiliation countries and subjects is wide. Almost all of them seem to be run by research organisations. However, it is worrying that more than a third of the journals that started five years ago, being registered by *Ulrichsweb* as e-only, have disappeared without a trace. A possible explanation relates to the fact that most of the vibrant journals published by research institutions are funded under donor projects. As Musiige and Maasen (2015, p. 120) report on the situation at Makerere University, as soon as the project funding ends, those journals cannot sustain themselves any longer. However, the 11 active journals make a perfect case for analysing levels of discoverability with a set of active open-access journals published in Southeast Africa.

In this section, I undertake some queries with search tools offered by European research libraries (on 2-3 June 2020). I compare a dedicated tool for African studies with a generic academic discovery system. The university library in Frankfurt am Main at Goethe University collects resources from and about sub-Saharan Africa to cover the special research demand for those resources throughout Germany. Those activities take place within the system of 'specialised information services' (*Fachinformationsdienste*), which is examined in detail in Section 5.6. For this study, I again made use of the sample journals I selected in Section 4.5.1, and checked if sample articles from them are discoverable and available via query in the search portal for research information about sub-Saharan Africa, *ilissAfrica*,[156] operated from Frankfurt. In addition to the catalogues of the university library, it provides access to the catalogues of the African studies centres in Hamburg (GIGA), Leiden (ACS), and Uppsala (NAI), via a federated search, and also to BASE. For comparison, I also check GS, and the only generic university discovery system I have full access to: Lund University Library with LUBsearch, an implementation of EBSCO Discovery Service ('Accessible at Lund University' unchecked). Lund University does not have an African Studies division.

For the first set of queries documented in Table 11, I pick one random paper per journal from my 2008-2009 sample of Southeast African journals (see Section 4.5.1)—if there was any Southeast African-authored paper. For the second set of queries documented in Table 12, I pick one random paper per journal, with affiliation information in Southeast Africa, from the year 2017 or whatever paper was published closest to that date, from the sample of Southeast African journals starting after 2014, but still active, that I introduced above. I search for the main title phrases, but

156 ilissAfrica,http://www.ilissafrica.de, visited on 29 June 2020.

without quotes, since this frequently produced errors with *ilissAfrica*. For the second set, *Worldcat* is included as search tool.

The results of this small study prove that Gs's coverage is impressive, including not only many repositories, subject databases, and journal publishers, but also single online journals. In only one case was the Gs search unsuccessful. The large majority of the newer journal group uses the software *Open Journal Systems*, which improves the likelihood of being crawled by Gs. The study confirms that with the ceasing of *Africabib*, the discoverability of African journals worsened. The *Bielefeld Academic Search Engine* (Base), which is open to be harvested by other systems, in some cases, made papers discoverable via *ilissAfrica*. In general, the federated search engine specialised on sub-Saharan Africa is of limited use in the context at hand. Not surprisingly, a library discovery system such as LUBsearch is not of much help when looking for Africa-published papers, while the inclusion of *Crossref* data in *Worldcat* provided one result, after all.

Within the limitations of this thesis it is not possible to undertake a broad discoverability study in order to arrive at a valid overview of how accessible and discoverable Southeast African SSH journals are, depending on where the search is undertaken, and how this accessibility and discoverability changed over time. The study at hand was intended to give a first impression only. However, in preparation for a broader study, understanding and interpreting collection development agendas and acquisition strategies at the libraries, which provide the search environment, is a precondition. As Chapter 5 will show, those agendas and strategies are deeply intertwined with the concepts discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

4.5.3 Affiliation-Based Approach: University of Mauritius

It is not possible to generalise from authors who published in one of the selected 'local' journals in the sample, to Southeast African authors as such. In order to broaden the perspective, I suggest an alternative approach, starting from authors who published within a three-year-period, and were affiliated with a specific Southeast African university, the University of Mauritius. I choose this starting point because an according dataset for 2012-

Journal	Gs	ilissAfrica	Lubsearch	Access
Africa Theological J.	only Africabib	x	x	print
African Christian Studies	only Africabib	x	x	print
Aicmar Bulletin	only Africabib	x	x	print
Chemchemi	only Africabib	x	x	print
East African J. of Peace & Human Rights	via Huripec	via Asc	x	print
Eastern Africa J. of Hum. & Sciences	excl. via citation	x	x	print
Eastern Africa Soc. Sci. Research Review	via P. Muse; Ajol; Ebsco	via Asc; Base v. Ajol	via P. Muse; Ebsco	online
Egerton J. of Hum., Soc. Sciences & Edu.	only Africabib	x	x	print
Ethiopian J. of Education	via Ethiop. J. Online	x	x	print/free
Ethiopian J. of the Soc. Sciences & Hum.	via Ajol; academia.edu	via Asc; Base v. Ajol	x	print/online
Fountain (Nairobi, Kenya)	only Africabib	via Base via Univ. of Nairobi Dig. Rep.	x	print
Hekima Review	via journal website	x	x	print
J. of Education	only Africabib	x	x	print
J. of Humanities	only Africabib	x	x	print
J. of Mauritian Studies	only Africabib	x	x	print
Kiswahili	via Ajol	x	x	print/online
Maarifa (Eldoret, Kenya)	only Africabib	x	x	print
Malawi J. of Edu. & Dev.	only Africabib	x	x	print
Malawi J. of Soc. Science	only Africabib	x	x	print
Mulika	via journal website	x	x	print/free
Papers in Edu. & Dev.	only Africabib	via Asc	x	print
Religion in Malawi	only Africabib	x	x	print
Zimbabwe J. of Edu.	via div. repositories	via Asc; Base	x	print
Zimbabwean Prehistory	only Africabib	x	x	print

Table 11. Discoverability and accessibility of sampled Southeast African Ssh journals (see Tables 4 and 5), tested based on a random Southeast African-authored paper, 2008-2009. Unless otherwise stated, each paper is discoverable with Gs at least via *Africabib*. 'Access' refers to full-text access: print only, closed access online, free access without stated licence, or with open-access licence (on the generic journal website).

Journal	Gs	ilissAfrica	LUBsearch	Worldcat	Access
African Journal of Edu. & Social Sciences	via journal website	x	x	x	free
African Journal of Rural Development	via journal website; div. repositories	via BASE v. AES	x	x	open
African Research J. of Edu. & Soc. Sciences	via journal website	x	x	x	open
Annals of Behavioural Science	via researchgate.net	x	x	v. Crossref	open
Ethiopian J. of Soc. Sciences & Language Stud.	via journal website	x	x	x	open
Ethiopian Renaissance J. of Soc. Sci. & t. Hum.	via journal website; Ethiop. J. Online	x	x	x	free
Int. J. of Soc. Science & Information Tech.	x	x	x	x	free
Southern African Journal for Policy & Dev.	via journal website	via BASE v. j. website	x	x	free
Tanzania Journal of Sociology	via journal website	x	x	x	free

Table 12. Discoverability and accessibility of a sample of free or open-access SSH journals from Southeast Africa, start year 2014 or later.

2014 (van Schalkwyk, Li Kam Wah et al. 2015) is available to me. In the following, I will exercise a similar data collection procedure as with the main sample, but vary its starting point. The results will then be compared to understand the impact of the variation. First of all, the specific Mauritian context needs to be introduced.

Research Context of the University of Mauritius

It has to be kept in mind throughout this section that researchers located on a small island state with a naturally small economy—and therefore necessarily small publishing business—is not an ideal population to be compared to researchers located in African mainland states.

Three of the four Mauritian SSH journals that had been active within the last 15 years have ceased, the latest in 2016, including the two that contributed to my main sample. That the focus years differ by four is also critical since the publishing landscape changed a lot in recent decades, not least on the African continent. The only Mauritian journal of which I know that it is still in place, the *International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research* started only in 2014, is indexed by *Scopus*, and according to the information there, not a single author from Mauritius published a paper with it until September 2019.

Mauritius also has a distinct ethnic diversity: since 60% of the Mauritian population belong to the Indo-Mauritian group, the Asian mainland might be perceived of as culturally closer to the island than the African mainland. I therefore expect that Mauritian authors choose Asian venues similarly often as African ones. Also, the European influence is stronger than on the Southeast African mainland (cf. Miles 1999).

Specific publishing policies or incentives for university staff are not in place, while publications naturally play a role in promotion (Li Kam Wah 2017). As Li Kam Wah notes, 'a satisfactory number of academic staff holding doctoral qualifications does not translate into research productivity', due to increasing teaching loads and a lack of research funding and interest in research by the private and public sectors. Only single researchers are highly productive.

Public government reporting about the internal issues of the small island state is exemplary, and detailed information about its main university is available. The Tertiary Education Commission of Mauritius audited the university three times within the last 12 years, with the latest report in 2018. While facilities are undergoing refurbishment, the panel was not entirely convinced that the activities are sufficient. However, access to Internet and computers is covered. Notably, the 'library requires urgent attention in terms of a strategic acquisitions approach for new publication titles and online resources aligned to the qualifications offered and research agenda, as texts are outdated or incomplete and access to online journals is limited' (TEC 2018).

Data Collection

In the hope that the bibliographic tools and databases would improve over time, about three years were allowed to pass after the data collection for the main sample, before collecting comprehensive publication lists of a sample based on researchers affiliated with the University of Mauritius, between 4 and 29 Oct. 2019. It appears that GS had further limited its acceptance of automated requests, while data quality had not improved, so its usability for bibliometric research is increasingly questionable. Therefore, the main bibliographic database used in this data collection phase is *Worldcat*, which now appears to be quite comprehensive for formally published literature, in this context. As with the main sample, only journal papers, books, book sections, reports, and working papers are included, provided that bibliographic data seems passable for making the publication discoverable somewhere. *Worldcat* results are supplemented by GS. Since the University of Mauritius has neither staff profiles nor a publication repository online, the search was limited to those two databases.

When van Schalkwyk and Luescher (2017) compiled the dataset that served as my starting point, they asked the University of Mauritius' administration to add all peer-reviewed and publicly available research output to a pre-compiled list of WOS data. From the CRIS that the university maintains (not publicly accessible; TEC 2018), about the same amount of items were added to the list. To the resulting list of publications, I apply my disciplinary filter for SSH basic research. The dataset already included a filter that makes it possible to distinguish between authors affiliated with the university and co-authors who are not. I limit the author sample to the former group, and while searching for their full publication lists, I reduce it further to authors with more than two and less than 41 publications, just as I did in the main sample of this study. The new sample then consists of 22 researchers, with a strong representation of business, tourism, and education. This does not correspond very well with the main sample, which is more varied and less devoted to applied studies.

While another WOS query confirms what I found in the CRIS-based list, I also check if results can be complemented by making use of *Scopus*. The query is limited to the same three year-time span, 2012-2014, and disciplinary spectrum (see Appendix D). The results reveal 75 publications. Isolating the authors who are affiliated with the University of Mauritius, and excluding the Departments of Mathematics, Finance and Accounting, as well as Electronics and Communication Engineering, the cleaned list includes 60 authors. 23 overlap with the CRIS-based list, but the others are unique to the *Scopus* list. 15 are unique to the CRIS-based list, nine of these with more than two publications, populating almost half of this part of the sample; a *Scopus* search alone would have missed out on them.

To complement the CRIS-based publication lists, *Scopus* is queried for all publications of the 37 authors discovered there (via *Scopus* author ID). The result of 106 publications is filtered to only include authors with more than two publications in the result, or more than one single-authored publication, in order to exclude thesis-related papers of students who did not continue as researchers. Of the remaining authors, two are excluded because their publications exceed the limit of 40 in the following *Worldcat*-GS search, and another one turned out to not be in the SSH. This results in 13 more authors for the Mauritius sample.

None of the three Mauritian authors from my main sample, in which only one was affiliated with the University of Mauritius, appear in the final list of 35 Mauritian scholars who authored the sample of 484 publications that will be analysed in the following.

Analysis: Publication Venues & Visibility

The sample of 484 publications contains 62 duplicates, due to co-authorships, and covers the years 1994 to 2019 (median 2013), and therefore is considerably 'younger' than the main sample. The average number of publications per author is 14—one more than in the main sample, while the median is nine (ten in the main sample). Books (35, and 41 book sections), and reports (9) together make up 18% of the total, which is about half as much than in the main sample. This proportion is too small for separate analyses according to type. For only two publications, the publishing location could not be identified.

The suspicion that Asia would be a major place for publications by Mauritian authors proved valid. Almost the same amount of works has been published there as on the African continent[157] (11% and 18%, respectively). Since quite a number of works were published in East European countries (4%), I decided to separate these from West European-published works. The latter make up the majority of 42%, with three-quarters published in the UK. Compared to that, the 24% of publications located in North America seems a rather low proportion. With nine per cent of the total, 'local' publications in Mauritius are still relatively common, especially for book publications (20 of 39). The majority of those were edited at the University of Mauritius, and 14 of the 19 Mauritius-published papers are found in one of the last issues of the *University of Mauritius Research Journal*. Together with this journal, five others, with seven papers in the sample, are not indexed in *Ulrichsweb*.

About 60% of the sample works were published by one of 16 publishers (see Table 13)—all remaining publishers host less than six each. Both *Sage* (since 1981) and *Springer* (since 2002) maintain branches in India: ten and four papers from the sample have been published there, respectively.

On the individual researcher level, as expected from the other findings, results differ quite considerably from the main sample:

157 This includes ten papers published by *Eurojournals*. This publisher recently changed its business model from open to toll access, making already published papers inaccessible, which is a highly questionable course of action; see Brezgov 2019.

Publisher	Freq.
Routledge	57
Emerald	42
Sage	41
University of Mauritius	26
Elsevier	25
Springer	18
Common Ground Publishing	12
EuroJournals	10
Inderscience Publishers	10
Sciendo	10
John Wiley & Sons	9
Ife Centre for Psychological Studies	7
IUP Publications	6
L'Harmattan	6
Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA)	6
Taylor & Francis	6
N	**291**

Table 13. Publishers with frequency >5 in the sample of publications by authors affiliated with the University of Mauritius.

- most notably, exactly the same proportion of Mauritian authors prefers to publish in the 'Global South' as authors in the main sample focus their publishing activities on their affiliation country: 11%;
- almost half (46%) of the authors in the sample publish about half of their work in the 'Global South', and the other half in the 'Global North', with a tendency to prefer the 'North' (for comparison: 68% of the main sample publish about half of their work in Southeast African countries);
- 43% publish mostly in the 'Global North'; and
- 23% of them clearly prefer the UK and the USA—those latter two figures are much higher than in the main sample, where only 21% prefer to publish in the 'Global North', in total.

Just like the main sample, the Mauritian sample is examined for changes in publishing venues over time. Since the median publishing year is 2013, the sample is split into an 'older' group (up until 2012; 238 publications), and a more recent group (244 publications). The UK and the USA continuously are by far the most popular publication countries (48% in the 'older' group, 63% in the more recent), but Mauritius and India used to be frequent venues as well (27 publications dropped to 16, and 20 to eight publications, respectively). Nigeria and Zimbabwe, where nine and four works had been published, respectively, in the earlier period, both left the list of venues entirely. 70% of the Asian-published works appeared in the 'older' group. The analysis of this sample therefore confirms what has already been found for the main sample: publishing in the 'Global South' is losing momentum.

Finally, I turn to a visibility rating of sub-samples of the authors' publications in mainstream bibliometric databases: 13 of the authors in this sample were identified via *Scopus*, so the coverage of their comprehensive publication lists by this database can easily be determined: 69 of their publications are *Scopus*-indexed, and 97 additional items are discovered by a manual combined *Worldcat*-GS search. For those 13 Mauritian authors, the *Scopus* coverage is 42%. While *Scopus* seems to be useful for discovering scholars affiliated with a specific Southeast African institution, it still cannot replace the manual *Worldcat*-GS search for their publications when comprehensiveness or the representation of the full variety of publishing venues is an objective.

For WOS, coverage is expectedly lower. The excluded authors with too few or too many publications—three authors that would change the sample quite a lot—are again removed for this test, as well as duplicates because of co-authorships, while reports that are out of WOS' scope remained (2 items). For the years 2012-2014, of 121 publications in total, 21% are indexed in WOS.

All in all, the differences between the results from the main sample, on the one hand, and from the Mauritius sample, on the other, can be interpreted as being due to a time shift of the starting point, five years ahead. Furthermore, historical and cultural ties as well as institutional scopes become visible when focusing on a specific location. However, similarities between the samples are still strong enough to validate the 'local' journals starting point. Nonetheless, for research interests focusing on more recent developments that do not also focus on 'local' journals, it can be doubted that the latter would be a recommendable starting point, unless 'local' journals are valued, supported and cultivated on a large scale again.

4.6 Conclusion

As the main methodological findings of this chapter, a scientometric study with decolonial sensitivity needs at least, firstly, basic knowledge of the context in which the scholarly communication took place. Secondly, it cannot limit itself to a certain data source when insights are supposed to reach beyond describing that data source. Sources need to be examined for their inclusion criteria and limitations. Since combining different sources requires a lot of manual steps, samples are necessarily small, depending on the capacities of the project.

From the data collection process, it turned out that *Ulrichsweb's* coverage is insufficient: compared to QIAPL, which does not claim completeness within its limited scope, more than a third of the journals matching my criteria are missing in *Ulrichsweb*. Of those included, many are described incorrectly: a fifth of them are not labelled 'Academic/Scholarly', although the journals clearly are, while conversely, of 45 journals that hold this label, at least two are news or opinion magazines. It is important to mention that in Africa and Latin America, scholarly essays are occasionally published in rather popular magazines (Keim 2008, p. 112). Those contributions could be captured by curriculum vitae-based data collection.

When a journal index with a focus similar to this study needs to be set up, it can still be advisable to, lacking alternatives, start off with *Ulrichsweb*, but to critically review the data with care. The results then have to be compared to a source that holds bibliographic data; in the case of literature from Africa up to 2010, this would be QIAPL. If the respective source is also indexed in GS, it seems promising to start looking for bibliographic metadata there, because of the high number of sources that GS relies on. In this way, unexpected sources can be discovered. However, since GS limits automated requests, a combined data collection strategy, starting with *Worldcat*, and complementing with GS, proves useful. Further, the limitation to a certain time span has to be adjusted to contextual factors that could have impacted publishing in a certain region.

As long as QIAPL indexed the print journals of the study at hand, their indexing situation can be called fair. For a publishing date after 2010, print journals or online journals that are not recognised by the GS crawler are almost impossible to discover on article level. Whether the newer development towards the use of *Open Journal Systems*, or similar platforms, which facilitate metadata handling and exchange, improves the situation, remains to be seen. However, many research results published in Southeast Africa during these years of transformation will be invisible. Ultimately, and increasingly so, discoverability seems to depend on GS as a search tool, which is problematic in manifold ways:

1. the inclusion process is even more intransparent than WOS'—publishers can do their best to fulfil the publicly available technical requirements, but there is no way to apply for inclusion, and publishers and authors need to check constantly if their data are still included;
2. no named staff can be held accountable for GS—there simply is no way to contact anyone, except generic *Google* support; and
3. GS is run by a company whose core business is based on advertisement, and the collection of user data—the primary motivation to offer the free-to-use product, most likely, is not to satisfy the information needs of researchers.

For these reasons—an in-depth analysis will surely find more of them—relying on GS is unsustainable, and puts the research system at risk. Libraries and organisations in their service still insist on standardised bibliographic metadata formats for ingestion in their indexes, a method clearly originating in the age of analogue information processing. *Google's* entirely different Web crawl approach outplays the classical method at least in terms of coverage.

The most important findings of the decolonial scientometric studies of this chapter are threefold. Firstly, 'local' Southeast African journals are often 'international' in terms of authorship. Secondly, when Southeast African SSH authors publish in the 'Global South', this often leads to recognition in the 'Global North'. Thirdly, the often-stated claim that 'Global South' scholars prefer to cite 'central' research tends to lose its persuasiveness if 'local' publications are included in the study (at least this is true when investigating the affiliations of those who cite Mauritian SSH authors). Further research with more varied samples is required to confirm those claims.

When Southeast African authors increasingly turn to publishing venues in the 'Global North', the discoverability and visibility of their work naturally improves. This effect might be welcomed both by the authors and their readers, but it comes at a price: whatever local publishing infrastructure existed earlier, vanishes, and with it local cultures of reviewing, selecting and editing. If Southeast African scholars still participate in this work which is of uttermost importance for the flow of scholarly communication, they will have to do this under conditions entirely defined in the 'Global North'.

It seems like it is too late already to push for a different strategy in Southeast Africa—resources to build an infrastructure from scratch are currently out of reach. Resources are not the only thing that matters though. Even if many Southeast African SSH journals disappeared around the time of the financial crisis 2007-2008 or a few years later, much of what they published is not outdated yet. 'Global North' libraries and information providers could still prove that they respect this work and that they are willing to stop marginalising it. This could, among other steps necessary within higher education policy, revive African initiatives for African publishing infrastructures. The bad coverage of Africa-published work by main bibliographic databases, and the inaccessibility at libraries, still manifest a hegemonic bias that leads to a corresponding bias of research. The following chapter is dedicated to exploring what currently prevents the shift towards cultural humility at European libraries.

5 Decolonising Academic Library Collections in Europe‡

The previous chapter provided the groundwork for estimating how difficult it is to discover SSH literature published in Southeast Africa while being based in Europe, and while making use of library discovery systems and other services which facilitate literature research. This chapter asks why it is so difficult, and which role academic library ethics and operations play. Two aspects which guide selection and acquisition for the collection are emphasised: professional values, specifically neutrality, and the set-up of vendors' products. With specific focus on Europe, some recent developments are investigated, amongst other steps, by asking collection managers about their selection processes.

In this thesis, a 'collection' is defined as the entirety of resources that can be discovered by using the search tools of a certain library, and that this library can also provide immediate or at least quick access to (also see Gorman 2000; Lee 2000; Savenije and Grygierczyk 2001; Levine-Clark 2014).[158] In some cases, this might even encompass document delivery. Today, typically, few collection resources are physically owned by a research library, but rather the usage of these resources is licenced. For a library user, it might make a difference if the resource is provided digitally, on paper, or on another medium. It might also make a difference if there are different versions of the resource with different qualities, but ownership is a rather

‡ Previous versions of the arguments laid out in this chapter have been presented at two conferences; see Schmidt 2018a,b.

158 This disclaimer does not extend to the questionnaire of the survey (see Appendix E) since I had to keep it simple, and an agreed definition is not relevant to the survey.

invisible feature to a user, even though it is of high relevance to the internal processes of the library work.[159]

Library budgets are flat or decreasing, so acquisition involves many difficult decisions. It seems like today, many libraries choose to primarily leave the task of resource selection to vendors, and/or to reduce its complexity by benchmarks based on quantities of usage, demand, or citations. I argue that those methods are self-fulfilling prophecies: if a user is unaware that a resource exists, it is unlikely that it will be requested. This chapter discusses to what extent this counteracts the *raison d'être* of libraries. Bourg (2013) puts it in a nutshell:

> Selecting based on use strikes me as an essential passive collection development philosophy. It is ceding our role in promoting diversity, and it is saying that we are OK with the scholarly and cultural heritage we preserve being decided by popularity contest. […] We can't just sit back and buy books based on popularity or presumed popularity and pretend that those decisions don't affect the kinds of books that get published, the kinds of topics that get studied, and the kinds of authors that get book contracts. […] If publishers know that only books destined for heavy use are likely to be purchased by more than a handful of libraries that is absolutely going to affect what they are willing to publish. I'm arguing then, that we need to aggressively collect diverse literatures, on niche topics and by authors from under-represented groups, not just so that our individual collections reflect our stated commitment to diversity; but to ensure that diverse voices get published and are heard and have an enduring place in the scholarly record.

This mission-like statement will be supported in the following, and my analysis will focus on showing which forces—that can at least partly be influenced by library work—are pushing it back: business relations, professional ethics, and the whole idea about what function a library has to fulfil. In this chapter, I describe the realm of options that European lib-

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159 Hunt 2017 suggests keeping the outdated custodian collection concept, and subsuming the collection management vocabulary under the new umbrella of a 'content strategy', which would also include licenced digital materials. I suppose, certainly for professional language, that meanings change with more ease than labels, which is why it is more likely that 'collection' will be redefined, and this is already under way.

raries have today to support centres of research communication being less identified in terms of places, and more in terms of research results and ideas (see Chapter 3). As an indispensable precondition for the following, the concept of cultural humility is discussed in Section 3.5.

My approach for questioning collection policies, acquisition workflows, and the sidelining of area studies collections owes much to the reasoning developed in the *critlib* environment that was introduced in Section 2.2.6. Even though numerous 'progressive library organisations' exist in the world, and not least in European countries, their occupation with collection-related topics is hardly noticeable beyond borders, and a clear emphasis is placed on public rather than academic libraries (Kagan 2015; 2018, but see Quinn and Bates 2017 for an exception from the UK).

First of all, I will introduce some basic ideas about academic library collections (Section 5.1). This is followed by an introduction to the predominantly North American studies and debates about collection bias, including its definition (Section 5.2). Since this chapter is focused on European libraries, I systematically checked whether LIS scholars and professionals there are debating their collections, and specifically if a discussion about collection bias in Europe can be recognised. Due to my limited knowledge of other European languages than German and English, I could not track down professional discussions about academic library collection management that might take place in other languages. However, I think it is telling that in these two most-spoken languages in the EU, only a few contributions have been provided by the professional and academic LIS communities. For instance, at the German librarians' congress in 2018, which with more than 3,000 participants, is one of the largest librarian gatherings in the world, the only collection-related topics discussed were the new acquisition model of the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin (ZLB), discussed in Section 5.6, and the support of licencing decisions with quantitative analyses of usage.[160] Collection development in the sense of strategies to

160 See 107. Bibliothekartag. Offen & vernetzt. Hauptprogramm. Berlin 12-15 June 2018, http://react-profile.org/ebook/DBT2018/Hauptprogramm, visited on 29 June 2020.

identify resources that are not yet discoverable with the library's discovery system, but potentially of interest to users, is not an issue.

The most relevant academic journals—*Collection Management*, *Collection Building*, *Serials Review*, *Library Collections, Acquisitions, & Technical Services*, *Against the Grain*, *Reference Librarian* and *The Serials Librarian*—are mainly used by North American library scholars as publication outlet, and also mainly edited in North America.

Being aware of its limitations, I perform a controlled retrieval process on *Scopus*-indexed papers by European authors from 1997 to the present. The strong language bias of the database is problematic, as is the fact that the discussion I am looking for might take place in professional forums, rather than academic journals. Therefore, I trade those limitations for the availability of affiliation data, so I can identify contributions from Europe. A full systematic literature review must gather bibliographic data from different sources, but cannot be undertaken here for reasons of feasibility.

Consequently, for better readability, the 34 contributions about collection issues by European authors retrieved through this strategy are included in this chapter without always flagging them as European contributions. However, I documented my detailed method and findings in Appendix F. None of the resulting contributions tackles collection bias. In the initial 1,980 hits of the keyword query in *Scopus*, affiliation diversity is rather low, with 1,141 authors from North America, and only 335 from Europe,[161] of which 117 are from the UK. I assume the following reasons for the dominance of those countries of origin: smaller (and probably also less active) LIS communities in other countries, and strong language and publisher biases of the database. From my final sample of 34 papers from Europe and from the general literature review for this chapter, I can determine that the European contributions refer to the North American discussion uni-directionally, without going along with its critical impetus. To what kind of ethical underpinning does this gap in the European LIS knowledge production and reception about collections in international forums point? Options are discussed in Section 5.3.

161 I applied the UN geoscheme once more here; see Fn. 106.

The very different North American and European contributions to the topic emphasise remaining severe differences in those 'bouquets of library cultures', if I may refer to them as such, that have their historical roots in different, yet related, developments of librarianship and librarian scholarship. The North American model of the tenured research librarian leads to a greater research output than in countries where librarians might be commissioned for research only occasionally, and where LIS research departments are few and small, or where they focus on practical professional education. Recently, the quality of tenured North American LIS research has been criticised sharply, explained with a lack of research education of tenured librarians, and the expectation to make use of a certain kind of social sciences method (Farkas 2014; Fister 2014; Bivens-Tatum 2014). Even outside North America, the comparatively small LIS communities that are participating in scholarly communication are dominated by the large production of positivist scholarship there—not least because the USA is leading in terms of library technology innovations and the information business sector. However, the also occurring North American LIS debates on collections that move beyond positivist research are seldom revisited in a European context.

At the core of this chapter is a reflection on the librarian's professional ethos, which includes the dazzling notion of neutrality (Section 5.3). On the one hand, it could be taken as neutral to avoid any, for instance, 'Global North' bias, while on the other hand, affirmative action taken to work against biases could, in a certain understanding, violate the ideal of neutrality. In order to understand what different meanings 'neutrality' can take, I do not only refer to the controversial literature, but also to the Code of Ethics issued by the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA). The point of departure for thinking about the concept of neutrality is the realisation that bias as such is unavoidable. However, the notion that bias *can* be avoided is widespread. At the end of this section, I suggest a multi-faceted definition of neutrality that reflects its controversial semantic baggage.

Limited library budgets, deployment of highly educated staff for other, mostly administrative and project-driven tasks, and the boxed offers by oligopolistic publishers and aggregators constrain selection processes in libraries. With a clearer concept of neutrality, current collection evaluation and acquisition models—demand-driven acquisition, approval plans, and Big Deals—are examined in Section 5.4 as concerns their significance for library collections with cultural humility. Vendor-preselection products, as I argued in Section 2.2.6, decrease the libraries' agency in arranging records of knowledge, and support the maintenance of colonial power structures, since they seem to undermine the discoverability of small, 'local' or independent publishers' programmes. My argument is about taking into account the under-representation of certain research communities while selecting literature which is topically relevant to the library user community. Working towards the inclusion of small publishers' programmes is crucial for an acquisitions librarian, since Huenefeld's argument from 1985 is still valid: small publishers often react more quickly to changing social needs than large publishers, and they take risks to introduce new writers and ideas. It was they who first published black and feminist studies, personal computer manuals, information on AIDS and other topics that were long ignored by large publishers.

While it is impossible to trace all instances of professional discussion on collection management in the European academic library context, a case study in Section 5.6 sheds light on some important aspects. Germany has recently replaced funding for its country-wide special collections *Sondersammelgebiete* (SSG) with a new programme. SSG used to make sure that at least one copy of each resource published somewhere in the world, and being of *potential* relevance to a researcher based in Germany, was available at a German research library. Outlining the main features of the replaced and the replacing programmes that are of relevance here, as well as the debates that took place around the shift, provides a telling example of what I see as a general tendency in European library management.

The survey of European collection managers, at the end of this chapter in Section 5.7, then provides another layer to the discussion of the literature. Rather than asking directly for the professional ethos, I am interested in observing how librarians report on their collection work, and formulate ideas about mainstream professional alignments. The survey focuses on acquisition and collection evaluation workflows and policies. This research aims to add some insights into how biases are performed and justified. This section is rather short, in comparison with the remaining sections that discuss the literature and try to develop an understanding of the problem. Within the methodological framework of this thesis, the latter is more important than giving the impression of a highly objective, reliable and valid confirmation of the expected (also see Section 1.2).

5.1 Collection Management & 'Global Resources'

In order to understand why Africa-published journals and books are so hard to discover and access in a European academic library environment, some basic concepts and methods of collection management are required, specifically of subject and 'global resources' librarianship, and of acquisition collaboration between libraries. Most of the literature referred to in this section originates in and reflects library work in North America, but is often recognised as standard literature in Europe as well.

Three prevalent roles of library collections have been defined by Buckland (1989):

> 1. The archival role [...]: even popular and common material is liable to be lost unless it is both collected and retained in collections where it would be available. [...]
> 2. The dispensing role [... provides] convenient physical access to the materials likely to be needed by the population to be served [...].
> 3. The arrangement of materials on shelves also permits the collection to play a bibliographic role in the sense of being a tool for the identification of materials that fit some description, such as authorship, imprint, or subject content.

In 1995, Buckland added a fourth role: a symbolic one, that, with 'rare and prestigious materials adds status to a library and its parent institution'. Buckland (1989) predicted little change for the archival and bibliographic roles, and those only in methods, but for the dispensing role, he forecasted that access will predominately take place remotely, and local storage will only be temporary. While remote access actually became the standard, temporary storage is no general trend today, even though some libraries replace shelves with additional study areas and group meeting rooms, and therefore are forced to purchase less books, weed more, or store remotely. Most libraries still keep storing most of what they purchased, and many new, larger buildings with more open-access shelf space have been built in recent years all around the world.[162] Buckland (1989) also predicted that collection development, and specifically selection activities by librarians, will lose importance, and this became true because those activities have largely been outsourced to commercial aggregators. In consequence, and to the same extent, the archival and the bibliographic roles have also been outsourced to those companies; it cannot even be taken for granted that a library is permitted to archive the digital resources it has licenced. As Savenije and Grygierczyk (2001) note, libraries now 'prevent themselves from becoming an obstacle in that new environment as a redundant logistic or functional intermediary stage in the process', and they achieve that by becoming 'invisible'.

Opposed to that 'ideal', Buschman (2014) states that one of the functions of a library collection is to curate an exposition of material of anticipated relevance to the user community, without evoking the impression of providing *the* 'core collection': more material is not always better.[163] Especially since the user community is not reliant on the library discovery system—it easily can and does make use of more inclusive search tools like GS—I argue that library selection could be seen as a service that reduces

162 See e. g. Eigenbrodt 2010; Wilders 2017; Kowalczyk 2017. More off-site compact storage and book-free media centres have been built as well. 'Floating collections' that allow resources to move freely between library branches following user requests, without having any dedicated spot on a shelf, is rather uncommon for academic libraries; see Coopey, Eshbach et al. 2016.

163 Many librarians seem to believe it is: in a *ProQuest* study of 2016, in order to 'provide the widest selection of content', 57% of the librarians choose subscription models, 56% DDA short-term loan, 42% DDA, and 40% an approval plan; also see Bucknell 2008; Levine-Clark 2014. Only 15% purchase title-by-title for this reason. Title-by-title selection is rather a way to 'build an owned collection' (47%), for which other models do not work well. This study surveyed 460 librarians—most likely *ProQuest* customers, though the method section does not say—from North America (73%), Europe (11%), and other regions.

complexity, making it suitable as a starting point for in-depth research or to obtain an overview and orientation. For this, it is of uttermost importance not to limit the collection to major publishers from privileged world regions. Their products are easy to retrieve already. At a European academic library, the expertise to expose a diverse selection of what has—so far—been hidden at the margins to the user, should be available.

Collection management is an overarching concept that encompasses the following tasks (cf. e. g. Edelman 1979; Gorman and Howes 1989; Corrall 2012; San Jose Montano 2014; Johnson 2018):

1. collection development: the strategic setup of a collection, considering user communities and collection goals,
2. the actual selection of items from the universe of literature,
3. acquisition: choosing vendors and business models,
4. shelfing and (online) presentation of the collection, and
5. collection assessment and weeding.

All of those tasks are relevant for a collection with cultural humility. Collection assessment seems to be the task that has been least involved in the discussion about bias. I will therefore start from there, discussing some common methods of collection assessment, before delving deeper into strategic aspects, selection and acquisition.

5.1.1 Collection Assessment & Policies

Assessing a collection with cultural humility, for different aspects of diversity, is rare and rarely discussed.[164] Especially in the USA, an often-used assessment service is the *Worldshare Collection Evaluation* (formerly *WorldCat Collection Analysis*),[165] which subsumes several methods in one: comparing one's own collection against other (similar) collections and against 'authoritative lists'. Authoritative lists can be standard bibliographies (see

164 For instance, in a survey of ARL libraries about collection assessment, questions of geographic diversity or bias have not been surveyed; see Harker and Klein 2016.

165 OCLC, Worldshare Collection Evaluation, https://www.oclc.org/en/collection-evaluation/features.html, visited on 29 June 2020.

e. g. Delaney-Lehman 1996). To my knowledge, there are no current bibliographies to the effect of, for instance, a 'World Bibliography of Sociology', so it would be labour-intensive to compile one only for the purpose of a single collection evaluation. If created to be re-used by others, such lists would do the opposite of helping to create collections with cultural humility, but would instead foster homogeneous collections.

The *Worldshare Collection Evaluation* service delivers rather unsatisfactory results (see Monroe-Gulick, Currie et al. 2019, and the literature cited there). Common problems are overreporting of uniqueness and underreporting of overlap, further, that serial content is basically not measured, and that the count is organised by and limited to records with a Dewey Decimal or Library of Congress Classification assignment. That makes it difficult to assess interdisciplinary resources[166] and cross-cutting criteria such as origin of the authors and publishers. The opportunity to make use of existing links from *Worldcat* to VIAF is left idle, possibly because the data is incomplete and erroneous (see Section 4.5.1).

Other quantitative methods of collection assessment are circulation, online user access and inter-library loan statistics, as well as usage pattern analyses, which probably are the most popular methods, likely because the data is comparatively easy to record and to analyse. However, they do not help to assess for geographic diversity, for instance. Less frequently used for collection assessment is citation analysis, but examples from European libraries can be found in Lithuania (Grigas, Juzeniene et al. 2017), Croatia (Romić and Mitrović 2016) and Finland (Iivonen, Nygrén et al. 2009). There, library holdings have been compared with the cited resources of local PhD theses. I doubt that the results help in evaluating collections, because they lack the variable of potentially relevant resources out there in the world that the students might have missed out on.

Another method, although rather subjective and thus best performed in a group, is shelf-scanning, which is based on the assumption

> that the newest and perhaps the best books are circulating, and thus the librarian observes the books available on the bookshelves. […] After gain-

166 Wilson and Edelman 1996 discussed how to manage interdisciplinary collections.

> ing a general impression of the collection the librarian draws conclusions about the target users of the collection [... and weeds dispensable and] out-of-date books (Hyödynmaa, Ahlholm-Kannisto et al. 2010).

The role of circulation will be a returning theme in the following sections.

One approach sensitive to marginalised subjects was practised at Penn State University for over a decade until 2007 (Ciszek and Young 2010): 'diversity codes' were assigned to acquisitions. According to the evaluation, staff was not trained properly in how to use the codes, and guidelines were insufficient, so the approach failed. Conceptually similar is the suggestion to introduce 'a benchmark for libraries committed to diversity in collection development of electronic resources' by setting up a list of databases that 'focus primarily on ethnic and racial groups, women and gender studies, or gay and lesbian studies' and comparing this list with the library's holdings (Maxey-Harris 2010).

Recently, Loyola Marymount University Library took up the Penn State University approach, and developed a new code book to assess the 'diversity' of its e-resource collection (Kennedy 2017; 2018). The report (Kennedy, Conner-Gaten et al. 2018) indicates that only a selection of 170 databases was included in the project, since some databases appeared to be too broad or too specific for a meaningful comparison of 'diversity indicators'. The excluded databases comprise the largest and best-known databases, such as JSTOR. The code book included six categories: disability, multiculturalism, LGBTQ+, people of color, religion, and women's studies. In each of those categories, three to nine keyword strings were defined and then used to search all the databases. In my opinion, this number of keywords appears too small to represent those categories. For example, the 'LGTBQ+' category includes only 'queer', 'lesbian', 'LGTB*', and 'transgender'.

The mode of comparison is not clearly spelled out in the report. I would compare the hits in the overall collection to the hits in single databases, by calculating the average hits per comparable unit of items in the overall collection. However, it was found that 26 of the 170 databases returned an above-average number of hits in all six categories, while 68 databases were below average in all categories. Comparing how much each category contributes to the total number of hits led to the insight that the categories of disability, women's studies, and LGTBQ+ contribute remarkably little to the overall hits: only 0.8 to 2.3% (Kennedy, Conner-Gaten et al. 2018).

As with any creation of controlled vocabularies (or set list of keywords), even if applied as affirmative action, this method bears the risk of stipulating social categories which are in fact vivid. It therefore introduces a bias, a concept discussed in Section 5.2. To reduce its effect, the coding practice, the code book, and, accordingly, codes (or keywords, in this context) that have been allocated already, must be continuously analysed and revised, or mapped, by a knowledgeable and demographically diverse committee.

To approach a final example, as part of the 'Decolonise the Curriculum' initiative in the UK which will be introduced in more detail in Section 5.5, Wilson (Wilson 2019) presents a 'Global South/North' publishing venue collection assessment which took place at the London School of Economics. Course, main and print periodical collections were assessed, with a naturally subjective definition of 'Global South/North', assumedly similar to mine. The results ranged between 93% and 98% of 'Global North' published items in the different sections. Actions following from this include reaching out to teaching faculty, plans to assess the collections on a more granular level, seeking out new suppliers actively, and adapting the collection development policy with a clear commitment to acquire more literature published in the 'Global South' (also see Stevenson 2019).

As a strategic tool underpinning selection, many libraries issue collection development policies which are, according to Vickery (2004), understood as 'a form of contract with the library's users [... which] enables individual selection decisions to be justified on an objective basis'.[167] Not least, those policies provide a foundation from which to build cooperation between libraries, since they often emphasise a collection's strengths and areas of low coverage. As with all institutional policies, their utilitarian character provides opportunities to make problematic decisions without putting the

167 In Europe, for instance, Kosić and Heberling Dragičević 2017 and Morillas 2015 argue in favour of those policies.

issue up for continuous debate.[168] Some collection policies are, worldwide, at least inspired by the Conspectus scheme (IFLA 2001) which indicates, based on the Library of Congress classification, a collection field's completeness on levels from zero to five (for updated versions, see Chang 2009; Majstorović and Ivić 2011; Dahmane and Yahiaoui 2014).

> In practice, experienced selectors rarely refer to the policy statement, since they believe they already know what is required. [...] Selection is not a precisely programmable task, and a formal scheme setting out a universal classification of published knowledge is neither realisable nor required. [... B]ooks are unique and subjects are increasingly multidisciplinary (Vickery 2004).

The Conspectus was initiated by the *Research Libraries Group* (RLG) in the USA, itself starting out as a resource-sharing consortium in the early 1970s, and is now consolidated into a large membership organisation of cultural memory institutions. After it had evolved in the USA, identifying about 5,000 areas of knowledge, the Conspectus was suggested as a worldwide collection mapping project in 1990 at an IFLA meeting. Collection depth level was supposed to be 'determined by comparing a library's holdings to bibliographies, by conducting shelflist counts, and, at times, by relying on a bibliographer's instincts and knowledge of the collections. Comments could be added to clarify the assigned ranking' (Jakubs 2015). The goal was that specific libraries would take primary collecting responsibility for certain fields, 'thus creating an inter-reliant cooperative collection development network and enabling institutions to reallocate to other areas funds they were dedicating to support those fields that would now be securely covered by commitments from other research libraries' (ibid.).

Even though technological developments allowed for easier data sharing and discovery, the Internet was not yet in place, and the communication as well as the data curation process absorbed too much time and energy, until 'the effort had pretty much petered out by the early 1990s, and RLG took the database offline a few years later' (Hazen 2005). Trust was lacking between libraries and autonomy was not traded for cooperation, so

168 Based on Ahmed 2012, this argument will return again in Section 5.3.

even though some libraries stopped collecting in some areas in order 'to invest the funds in more specialized materials' (Jakubs 2015), the impact was negligible and savings were minor (Hazen 2005). Also, the Conspectus is based on stable financing, which cannot be taken for granted. A common fund for absorbing sudden budget cuts could have been an option, but is susceptible to being gamed by the supporting organisation.

The German programme for a shared complete research collection (*Sondersammelgebiete*, see Section 5.6) is similar in approach, but with a much longer life cycle, and had the chance of profiting from the opportunities that the Internet offers—with mixed success.

The Finnish 'Collection Map' project 2003-2007, continued as an consortium 2008-2009, is the Finnish adaptation of the Conspectus, consisting of 20 academic libraries (Hyödynmaa, Ahlholm-Kannisto et al. 2010). Only a few libraries had been able to define current and desired collection levels for each field at the time of reporting, and I could not locate an update. Multiple methods were used to accomplish that, such as shelf-scanning, age and language distribution, as well as circulation statistics.

5.1.2 Vendor Impact

The 'serials crisis', with its skyrocketing prices for journal subscriptions, hit the libraries hard. As an example, Chapman (2000) found that between 1980 and 1998, UK libraries increasingly purchased older and second-hand books, because the pressured monograph funds only allowed a late purchase after sitting on a shopping list for a long time.

To somewhat save the 'global resources' collection approach in the United States, which will be discussed further in the following section, six individual region-specific projects were established that focused on a specific type of material, preserving it, and providing long-term and worldwide access, in cooperation with the owning community (Hazen 2005), and with the vision of cooperative collection building.[169] The focus is not on mak-

169 Center for Research Libraries, Cooperative Collection Building, http://www.crl.edu/collections/cooperative-collection-building, visited on 29 June 2020.

ing the latest research results from outside of the 'Global North' accessible inside of it, but rather on providing primary sources, including those from Europe. The current projects run under the title of a Global Resources Network, administered by the consortium Center for Research Libraries (CRL), which also collects the resources that the programmes acquire;[170] funding is based on grants and international institutional support.[171]

In accordance with the underlying idea of the Conspectus and the Global Resources Network, Buckland (1995) and Demas (1998) suggest arranging criteria for a collection strategy around the two competing aspects of *expected demand* and *perceived value*. They optimistically assumed that emerging technologies together with new copyright regulations would solve any access problems for material in high demand and recommend focusing on 'the art of value based selection' (ibid.). However, in retrospect, their optimism proved misplaced and the situation developed in a very different direction, as will become clear from the following.

Taking some steps back, since Trueswell (1969) came to the often-cited conclusion that 80% of a library collection's use is generated by 20% of the items in that collection, libraries do not primarily focus on what makes their collection special and interesting to present and future researchers and students, but rather on what amount of the collection has been circulating in the last few years and on finding 'formulas that will allow the library to function with a minimal number of essential titles' (Katz 1980, also see Eldredge 1998, and the collection manager survey in Section 5.7). How can a 'functioning' library be recognised? When the majority of titles generates nearly its entire use? Contrary to that, I argue that a collection valuable to the user must not necessarily be highly circulating: browsing the shelves, noticing displays of selected resources half-consciously while rushing to the front desk, or scanning the results list of an exploratory search in the discovery system can be inspiring and open new horizons

170 Center for Research Libraries, Global Resources Programs, https://www.crl.edu/collaborations/global-resources-programs, visited on 29 June 2020.

171 See, for instance, Center for Research Libraries, Expanding the Global Resources Network, 29 Nov. 2017, http://www.crl.edu/blogs/expanding-global-resources-network, visited on 29 June 2020.

(cf. Hinze, McKay et al. 2012; Mikos, Horne et al. 2015; Wilders 2017; McKay, Chang et al. 2017; Tingle and Teeter 2018; Race 2012; Buchanan and McKay 2017).

The development during the 1960s in the USA follows a decisively different philosophy: selection processes in multi-branch libraries were increasingly centralised, and demand was chosen as the primary selection criterion which allowed employing staff with less expertise and lower salaries (Dilevko 2008, also see Danky 1994). Around this time, approval plans were introduced: 'an acquisitions method under which a library receives regular shipments of new titles selected by a dealer, based on a profile of library collection interests, with the right to return what it decides not to buy' (Nardini 2003). Usually included in approval plans are special deals for publications by certain publishers, which lead to relative price increase for those by alternative publishers, on top of which 'high service charges were frequently added to the price' (Dilevko 2008). This not only discourages the (continuing) acquisition of publications by those publishers, but also the discovery of new sources. To restrict acquisitions to what is available through a certain vendor, is a severe risk to intellectual freedom, since library users expect library selection to be based on the librarians' expertise and their professional access to the universe of literature, and not on preselection based on economic criteria (also see Moody 2005).

On top of this, from the late 1990s, a wave of mergers among approval-plan and serials vendors consolidated control of the library vendor marketplace in the hands of 'fewer than 10 major companies' (Tonkery 2001). Those companies operate internationally, with the large majority having their headquarters in the USA or Western Europe. 'Combined, the top five most prolific publishers account for more than 50% of all papers published in 2013' (based on WOS data, Larivière, Haustein et al. 2015). Interestingly, while in social sciences, the percentage is even 70%, in the humanities, only 20% of all papers have been published by *Elsevier*, *WileyBlackwell*, *Springer*, or *Taylor & Francis*. Depending on the broad field, the fifth-listed publisher varies. For the SSH, it is *Sage*. Even in the humanities, the increase of the top five's share is high and steady, starting from almost zero at the end of the 1990s.

Recently, more and more libraries and consortia have started to oppose the ever-increasing prices and unflattering open-access options by cancelling contracts with one of those publishers, first of all with *Elsevier*.[172] The libraries' users appeared to accept the decisions, not voicing many complaints. Part of the reason for this might be that almost all of the content included in the cancelled packages is available easily, but illegally, through shadow libraries (Himmelstein, Romero et al. 2018; Bohannon 2016; also see Section 2.2.6).

Increasingly flat or decreasing library budgets (ProQuest 2016) almost inevitably lead to a concentration on core materials, preceding more homogeneous collections: 'large research libraries are duplicating each other's collections at a high rate' (Levine-Clark, Jobe et al. 2012; also see Quinn 2000; Gammon and Zeoli 2004), which might be unavoidable to some extent. However, since research and study programmes, as well as user communities, do differ between HEI, library collections should vary analogously. Also, it 'would be an unfortunate irony that as academic libraries become more and more homogenized, their patrons become more and more diverse' (Cast-Brede 2013). A widespread application of bibliometric methods for collection building (see Gureev and Mazov 2015) risks a similar equalising effect, and the same is true for typical consortial agreements about e-resource packages. When funds are short, the first to be cut usually is foreign language or overseas material—material that is rarely held by other libraries close by (for the members of the *Association of Research Libraries* in North America, see Reed-Scott 1999; no recent study is available; also see Casserly 2008).

Cast-Brede (2013) investigated the congruence of monograph holdings in the field of education studies across seven roughly similar academic libraries in the United States which had approval plans with the same vendor in place. Although no significant congruence was found across all seven libraries, the pair-wise comparison revealed a high likelihood of vendor influence on homogenising collections. It seemed like not the exact same

172 For a list, see SPARC, Big Deal Cancellation Tracking, https://sparcopen.org/our-work/big-deal-cancellation-tracking, visited on 29 June 2020.

titles were delivered to all the seven libraries, because they chose different content levels: general-academic, advanced-academic, professional, or popular resources. Effectively, if a library decided on a certain level for a certain subject then the delivery was strictly limited to whatever resource was labelled to be on that level. The vendor therefore had a huge impact on defining, for instance, what an advanced academic book is—and therefore on what an advanced academic collection is.

5.1.3 'Global Resources'

In 2011, ARL surveyed 72 librarians working at 67 of 126 member libraries about collecting global resources, meaning

> materials that are published outside the United States and Canada in any language on any topic [...] at a time of political and economic change, on the one hand, and of significant change in scholarly communication and collection management strategies, on the other (Cheun, Frank-Wilson et al. 2011).

This possibly refers to the financial crisis of 2007-2008, to tense vendor relations, to the perceived threat by Islamism, as well as to the rise of China as a superpower and to what I would call 'quantified collection philosophies', a recurring theme in this thesis. It is even possible that the narrative of 'Africa rising' is implied here (which has been uncloaked to be based on poor statistical data; see Jerven and Johnston 2017). One respondent of the ARL survey notes that 'the university is placing greater emphasis on global awareness' and another's 'educated guess is that area/global studies is a growing part of our collection expenditures. [... A]n emphasis on the unique and special as what differentiates a research library'.[173] While another librarian observes the low demand of those materials, their significance still increased 'over the past decade. In the post-9/11 landscape, more emphasis has been given to international studies'.

Almost all of the survey 'respondents reported that their library holds significant research collections in at least one global collecting area', and

173 More context and further thoughts on this utterance are found in Section 2.2.6.

28 have one of those in African studies[174], while 41 are actively collecting, but have not reached significant collections yet. This is specifically true for monograph and e-journal collections. For instance, print journals are collected by 29 libraries, and 22 of these hold significant collections. This data does correspond well to my experience that interlibrary loan requests of African print journals at a Swedish library were often executed by ARL libraries (see Chapter 4). It has to be mentioned here that the United States Department of Education devotes special funds to anti-discrimination activities which libraries can apply for building 'global resources' collections. It is referred to as the 'Title VI Program', appealing to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. As survey participants report, the programme plays a significant role in making those collections possible, although funds have been significantly cut in the years preceding the survey.

The Library of Congress Overseas Offices are another structure specific to the USA which facilitates global acquisitions, and is relied on by survey participants. However, according to the former director of the Nairobi Office, Pamela Howard-Reguindin,[175] the interest in the cooperative acquisitions programme AfriCAP was rather low in Europe, where it was presented at conferences. According to the AfriCAP website,[176] in 2012, the library of the University of Frankfurt in Germany was the only subscribing institution outside North America.[177] AfriCAP started to develop in 1992. Libraries that subscribe to the service choose from a list of serial content published on the continent. The office collects the current issues, and, when the material could be acquired, it is shipped to subscribers as a bundle. One ARL survey participant comments on the Library of Congress Cooperative Acquisition Programs: 'In most cases, these services are not "deal-breakers"

174 For a critique of the concept of area studies, see Section 2.2.5.

175 In a personal email from 6 June 2016.

176 Library of Congress, Nairobi, Kenya. Library of Congress Overseas Offices, updated 11 June 2012, http://www.loc.gov/acq/ovop/nairobi/nairobi-coop.html, visited on 29 June 2020. The latest list of resources is from 2016.

177 This library curates the specialised information service for Africa Studies with a Germany-wide island position. For more information on the programme, see Sections 4.5.2 and 5.6.

and most of our foreign vendors don't currently supply MARC records or shelf-ready services. We are very eager to take advantage of more services. Quality of selection and offerings are the overriding criteria'.

Besides 'ordinary' acquisition strategies, forty respondents of the ARL survey travel to purchase global resources, which also is the main strategy for four libraries, while five libraries engage travelling faculty or students in acquisitions.[178] Shopping at international book fairs and partnerships with libraries abroad are also common (33 and 24 respondents, respectively). A wide range of bi- or multilateral collaborations on local or regional levels are mentioned in the free-text comments.

As the most effective tools for making the acquired resources available for discovery, the local library catalogue (88%) and WorldCat (75%) are mentioned in the survey. Librarians rely most heavily on specialised reference services to identify materials for acquisition (88%; Cheun, Frank-Wilson et al. 2011). One of the most pressing drawbacks is a lack of available staff with both language and subject expertise. About two-thirds of the libraries handle 'global resources' selection and acquisition in the same units as other parts of the collection, defined by subject. However, organising selectors by geography is not unfamiliar to the respondents.

The role of subject and liaison librarians shifted from being concentrated on selection and reference support, to a broader portfolio of research support in general (Auckland 2012; also see Feetham 2012). However, collections are still at the core of the profession (also see Akeroyd 2001). Pinfield (2001) emphasises the need for advocacy of new library materials as an important part of the e-resources selection process. None of the 14 criteria suggested for this selection process includes analysis of need or likely extent of use. Kirkwood (2016), working at Manchester University Library, announces the 'post-subject librarian age'. As one of the first libraries in the UK to do so, the library restructured its staff from subject-based to functional teams. Even though he admits that (meta)data quality is insufficient for a fully data-driven resource selection process, he emphasises the lack of

178 According to Damen 2019, acquiring 1,200 books in Nigeria for the African Studies Centre in Leiden, in 2018, cost €13 per book, including all expenses.

data fluency among librarians, and calls for a changed self-conception of librarianship.

5.1.4 Library Collaboration & Cooperation

Library collaboration and cooperation seem to be key for building collections strongly oriented towards local needs, since those needs can change quickly. 'Global resources' acquisition in particular takes time, and requires a lot of staff resources. From the 1970s in the USA, and later also in Europe, library consortia started to coordinate acquisition, specifically for serials (Weston and Vullo 2014). However, in most cases, this means that the members of the consortium would all acquire the same resource at a discounted price for access at their home institution; not that they share the resource in any regard, but rather just the price and the negotiation process. Caution has been raised against this type of consortium, since it would make resources not handled by them less likely to be acquired, because 'pressed for staff, individual libraries may fail to purchase the high-quality, low-cost titles from small publishers. They may be easy to afford, but they are labor intensive to add to the collection' (Landesman and van Reenan 2000; also see Hazen 2005).

In some countries, initiatives to reduce cost and to increase user accessibility through cooperative archiving and digitisation were started in recent years. 'Collection development for the future must look beyond traditional locally-based collections to the development of large-scale global collections accessible to researchers and lifelong learners around the world irrespective of their location' (Dilevko 2008).

In Europe, Finland might be the best example of advanced library cooperation. The country used to have a centralised collection policy from the 1970s until the mid-1990s. Resource sharing between the ten national resource centres was cost-effective because of a free-postage privilege. With the loss of this privilege—and with the introduction of New Public Management methods and a strengthened global copyright regime—fell the nation-wide coordination (Muhonen, Saarti et al. 2014). The disappointment about this prompted the KUOPIO Conferences.

Since 1999, repository libraries from numerous countries, predominantly from Europe and North America, have met on a regular basis at the KUOPIO Conference (named after the first venue in Kuopio, Finland). The initial idea, which does not receive much attention in the literature, was to build a network of print repository libraries 'who can link together to create the URL', the Universal Repository Library.[179]

Collaboration approaches differ considerably internationally, as becomes apparent from the report by Shorley, Yang, et al. (2015) from the IFLA Satellite Conference by the IFLA sections of Library Buildings and Equipment and of Acquisitions and Collection Development in 2014.[180] All initiatives might agree on the goal of de-duplicating print serial holdings nationwide, since they take up a lot of shelf space. One the one hand, while the UK Research Reserve (UKRR) provides access to one copy of each issue at the British Library, two more preservation copies are kept by UKRR members (also see Hunt 2017). On the other hand, the Austrian Shared Archiving Initiative, just like the GEPA Cooperative repository by the Consortium of Academic Services of Catalonia, keeps only one copy throughout the country. Again GEPA, and also the *CollEx* project of the Île-de-France region (also see Girold 2018), stores, preserves and provides access to other types of print materials as well, such as monographs and theses. The Collaborative Storage of Library Print Collections New Zealand (CONZUL) even outsourced the task to a commercial supplier. Ownership and maintenance cost questions are controversial: stored copies could be collectively owned, costs could be shared, or ownership could remain with the library of origin, and also the related cost. Other aspects that complicate increasing cooperation, on the way to a global Universal Repository Library, are differences in preservation standards and in data formats that make federated search difficult, and national copyright regulations that prevent digitalisation and

179 Print Repositories Worldwide: Existing Facilities and Ongoing Projects, 7 April 2016, http://www.varastokirjasto.fi/prw, visited on 29 June 2020. Also see Saarti, Laitinen et al. 2017.

180 For the shared print repository approach in the USA, see Gureev and Mazov 2015. Madge 2018 surveyed directors of Romanian academic libraries about their levels of cross-institutional collaboration, which turned out to be rather low.

digital user access. However, for resources that are currently not in demand, storage in such a shared and distributed facility, and, prospectively, easy digital global access to all its resources, is a promising option.

The collaboration could also start at a much earlier point: 'Perhaps collaborative purchasing is a prerequisite or alternative to collaborative storage' (Janine Schmidt in Shorley, Yang et al. 2015). Gilbert (1999) agrees:

> I believe we need to think in terms of cooperative buying plans to ensure that we complement each other's collections with unique materials of either regional concern [...] or existing strengths, rather than continue to duplicate mainstream core collections.

This idea is not new (for its history, see Clement 2012; also Lee 2000), and Reilly (2003) mentions three obstacles with this type of cooperation: 1) faculty opposition—immediate access and exert of influence, 2) staff opposition—cooperation is complicated, and 3) a competitive environment on institutional level: if not a single library holds the full breadth of resources, how can the largest collection be identified? According to Jakubs (2015), this also is the reason why the Conspectus project failed: 'Institutional competitiveness and desire for autonomy are difficult to overcome'.

Currently, even though inter-library loan works well in some places,[181] the utopia of a Universal Repository Library, where 'universal' stands for 'whatever resource any library in the world included in its collection at some point is equally accessible to every library user globally', is far from being a reality. The *Ivy Plus Libraries Collections Group* probably is, within its boundaries, closest to that ideal at the moment: 13 academic libraries in the Northeast of the USA have been cooperating closely in an inter-library loan programme,[182] and now are taking it to the next level by appointing a common Director of Collection Initiatives, and by moving

181 See e. g. Litsey 2017. In a pilot project, the Central German library for Life Sciences, ZB MED, together with the publisher *Karger* and the library service provider *hbz*, makes ebooks available via unlimited inter-library loan to all German libraries; see ZB MED 2018.

182 It is called *BorrowDirect*. Yale university libraries reported that 'resource sharing transactions had increased by 144 percent during the same 15-year period in which local borrowing decreased. According to Yale's analysis, a quarter of all circulation transactions at Yale are facilitated through resource sharing networks' (Malpas and Proffitt 2017).

> research materials […] 'above the institution' to embed them in a networked infrastructure that fosters collaboration, cooperation and consolidation in support of building and providing access to distinctive academic research collections.[183]

5.1.5 Summary

Many problematic aspects of academic library collection management have been raised in this introductory section: the ongoing vendor consolidation leads to an inestimable high influence of a few companies over the entire research information landscape. Those companies are increasingly defining what the core literature of a certain field is, since their powerful retrieval instruments have a huge impact on what literature researchers base their work on, and consequently also on the user demand for literature. This development makes libraries invest immense capacities in consortia-driven negotiations over prices of large packages of resources, which has come to account for by far the largest share of library budgets. As a result, little capacity is left for acquiring resources from small publishers, especially not if the acquisition process is laborious, as is often the case with global resources. Unnoticed, small publishers are pushed out of the market, and already marginalised authors are silenced. Furthermore, collections become more and more similar, and the librarians' skills required for global acquisitions fall behind. I argue that reducing a library's driving objectives on immediate demand and present circulation loses sight of the potential contribution of a library to subtend commercial interests that often conflict with knowledge dissemination and therefore also knowledge production. In the following sections, those developments will be followed closely and explained more thoroughly.

Mapping collections subject-wise in order to identify and fill gaps on the national or even international level has failed several times, most impressively with the Conspectus project. Later in this chapter, the detailed

183 Ivy Plus Collections Vision Statement, created on 3 July 2016, updated on 8 Oct. 2019, https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7lg8dnXGKCkUnBNTk9JalZ1Rok, visited on 29 June 2020.

investigation of Germany's version of the approach will hopefully carve out even more problematic and also advantageous aspects. For now, a takeaway can be that mapping entire collections is neither feasible nor required, but rather it is advisable to observe the landscape for research information to derive structural gaps that need to be attended to. Cross-institutional and international cooperation is required to gather the necessary resources for such an effort—against the backdrop of the small leeway that libraries have left to navigate beyond the capacities bound by the publisher oligarchy.

Collection policies can help to foster cooperation and collaboration between libraries, but their importance for day-to-day work is rather minor, and they carry the risk of justifying decisions without adequate reasoning: current collaborative projects focus on freeing space and preservation which, of course, is worthwhile, but only partially covers libraries' responsibilities. Trust between institutions was found to be lacking, and without the common understanding—also amongst faculty—that access and cultural humility should trump prestige, the current problematic trend that has been described so far, will continue to evolve.

5.2 Collection Bias

Selection processes conducted by librarians can be interpreted either as a curation service for the reduction of complexity, or as shutting off large parts of the information universe[184] to library users. The negative interpretation is often related to some kind of alleged 'bias'.

In this section, the focus will be on specifying more clearly what a library collection bias entails and how it has been studied. I thereby limit most of the discussion to academic libraries, since the functions and working conditions of public and academic libraries are quite different, and, as

184 The 'information universe' refers to all information about a certain subject that exists in some form, somewhere. More limited, the 'universe of literature' refers to the full corpus of (grey) literature which appears in all countries and in all languages. Since there is no database that could include all those titles, the concept refers to a fantasy. In more limited cases, the concept can also refer to the full corpus of a literature review. See e. g. Gentles, Charles et al. 2016.

will become clear in the following, these differences play a huge role in the discussion. Libraries usually have the mission to provide the community they serve with the resources they need within certain limits. Public libraries most often serve a very diverse population in terms of age, social, cultural and educational background, *et cetera*, with information and cultural resources of potential interest. At the same time, public libraries often further the educational ideal of *Bildung* by providing different perspectives on each subject.

In contrast, the community that a research library serves is much less diverse, and since most research libraries are closely related to a research and/or a higher eduction institution , the scope of the collections is predetermined by research and study programmes. Another important difference is the funding structure: even though both types of libraries might be funded by public spending, especially in the case of the university library, budget is often not allocated by the library itself, but by decision processes of the university that come with many strings attached. A third difference is very important in the following analysis: academic literature is provided within the framework of business models specific to it, and also is much pricier. However, in the literature I refer to, a clear separating line between library types is often not drawn, so it is unclear if authors generalise their argumentation for all library types. Similarities between themes discussed definitely exist, and my analysis and conclusions might be applicable to public libraries as well, but my limitation to academic libraries nevertheless applies, also for reasons of feasibility.

As I already mentioned, collection bias is a rather new and rarely discussed topic. Quinn (2012) approached it as a psychological issue, explaining how different types of biases play out during selection processes for library collections. Psychological explanations foregrounding the choice of individual librarians fall short of explaining how collection bias manifests itself in what I will call 'vendor-preselection products' (see Section 5.4), where selection is often based on statistics. I therefore argue for the replacement of those psychological explanations by identifying library routines which *logically* (and almost inevitably) lead to collections that maintain and foster biases.

Those routines are based on the idea of a neutral, universal being, and thinking that does not need to be positioned, because its experiences are perceived of as default and universal (also see Section 3.5). This universalism, while being a crucial feature of coloniality, can explain at least to some extent where biases come from. Bias can be seen as a systematic—a social—prejudice which takes a subconscious form, deeply embedded into social expectations—social structures—and communication. At least in the 'Global North', the most often manifested clusters of biases, not infrequently escalating into blunt hate and baiting, are racism (bias against those who are identified as non-'Caucasian' whites), sexism (bias against everyone who does not identify or is not identified as cis male), and classism (bias for economic privilege).[185] Further, biases related to minority belief systems and political convictions should also be paid attention to in an academic library context. In 'Global North' countries, this would pertain to any world view that is neither Christian nor atheist; and neither conservative nor (neo)liberal. Authors, publishers, and their products, as well as institutions that deviate from this 'standard', are at high risk of being pushed to the margins. Since biases are omnipresent, deeply inscribed in social structures, they are also produced and reproduced in research.

This definition of bias as structural—social—prejudice (of course dependent on mental structures) is rarely shared explicitly in the literature; clear definitions are not provided there. However, the type of collection bias that will be discussed here—disregarding technical error that might lead to bias—cannot exist without a social environment that already reproduces related biases in other ways. Publishers justify the lacking 'diversity' of their authors with market pressure, as Inefuku and Roh (2016) report, overriding this argument with statistics that confirm that the market is just as diverse as the publishers' portfolios and staff *should* be. Bias-driven arguments like this oftentimes hold as an excuse:

185 In LIS, the bias-critical discussion seems to be focused on feminist critique; see e. g. Olson 2002; Drabinski 2013; Sadler and Bourg 2015; Bourg 2015; including intersectional approaches like Accardi 2017 and Fox 2016; but racism, see e. g. Furner 2007; Dunbar 2008, and classism, see e. g. Pawley 1998, are also present. Naturally, the critique often extends, just as in the case of this thesis, to criticising privilege and bias in general.

> It is entirely possible that, like the rest of the publishing ecosystem, the traditional scholarly communication system is a closed feedback loop that justifies the decisions of publishers (who might say, This won't sell) and librarians (who might say, Nobody will read this). […] Systemic bias thus reinforces the existing paradigm and disadvantages scholars (Inefuku and Roh 2016).

Even though this loop appears to be logical in itself—it describes a version of the Matthew effect (see Section 3.3)—there must be something that lets it go without explanation that *this*, obviously, won't sell. Firstly, there might be statistics that prove it, but what do they measure? That few people came to the decision to buy a certain book. How did they come to the decision? In individual cases, there might be all kinds of technical and personal explanations for that: they did not come across it at the store, they did not want to spend money on it, *et cetera*. In the end, it all boils down to: there is *something* marginal about this book that makes it unlikely to reach many people. Yet how is this marginality determined, and by whom? Marginality cannot be produced by single decisions; marginal features can only be determined through continuous reproduction in communication (also see Chapter 3). One problem is that, once stabilised, single contributions connecting to this reproductive communication will hardly break the loop, unless they stabilise by reproduction themselves. There is another problem that comes with reproduction: complexity is lost. If something appears natural to do, explaining why it is done proves very difficult. To the individual, these mechanisms seem like very personal habits, which are neither questioned, nor traced back to their social origin.

Collection bias is structurally similar to selection bias, which refers to statistical methods and therefore to technical instead of social systems. It occurs when the sampling population is limited in an inadequate way, or the sample is somehow distorted—related to the conclusions drawn from the study. Equally, collection bias can emerge either from an overly constricted conception of the universe of literature, or from an inapt selection strategy, or from a combination of both. The older literature about collection bias is comprised of library holding studies in the USA, looking for biases towards either liberal or conservative world views (Hupp

1991; 1994; Harmeyer 1995; Houbeck Jr. 1992; for more background, see Highby 2004). Houbeck Jr., for instance, set up lists of opinion journals with liberal and conservative perspectives, 30 items each, cross-matching in scope and relevance, even though he found more liberal journals being published, and circulated. In each of the studies, collection biases—in either direction—are found, but explanations are weak, because library policies and routines are not analysed at the same time. The approach was sharply criticised by Pankake, Wittenborg et al. (1995): from collection bias studies, it should be learned in how far the universe of literature that is prospectively topically relevant to the community is represented in a balanced way. The starting point would thus be an analysis of this universe, which is the approach I tried to follow in Chapter 4. In summary, the list-based comparison type of collection bias studies always carry a methodological problem: a selection bias, actually. Works of literature are singular, incommensurable and each represents a *different* world view. Therefore, putting them in ideological categories and comparing numbers of holdings is inadequate. The issue is similar to collection assessment with the help of 'diversity codes', which has been discussed above.

A more promising approach is a comprehensive collection evaluation—introduced above—using certain criteria which do not target content directly: the author's or publisher's country of origin, and the publisher's market position. It can be assumed that resources by certain publishers or authors, located at certain addresses—metadata largely available from library systems—are more likely than others to represent certain positions.

In (1997), Dilevko and Grewal examined the holdings of all Canadian academic libraries to determine the representation of journals and magazines published by 'small publishers' (meaning that only one title each is published by those publishers). Amongst others, they made use of the *Alternative Press Index* to identify the journals. They then contrasted the results with the representation of large corporate publishers in the collections. Their motivation was to question the lacking consideration of small publishers in libraries' acquisitions that calls for differentiating critically between 'corporate for-profit publishing entities supporting a dominant social paradigm and smaller, independent publishers, usually non-profits challenging the assumptions of the status-quo'.[186] One of the main findings was that a larger university, defined by a higher student population, would be far more likely to hold small publishers' journals: universities with more than 50,000 students subscribed to 80% of the set of corporate publishers' journals, and to around 35% of the small publishers' set. While the former measure is maintained even when the community is smaller, the latter then slips to around 23%. Also, journals that focused on First Nation peoples, or on issues concerning people who are differently abled, as well as many women's issues magazines, were rarely subscribed to. Further, the more controversial and radically positioned the journal was, the less likely a subscription. Dilevko and Grewal also investigated the—low—small-publisher coverage of e-journal aggregators.

Marinko and Gerhard (1998) also made use of the *Alternative Press Index*, and examined the holdings of the 220 journals indexed therein by the members of ARL in the USA and Canada. The Canadian libraries were dropped from the sample, because their extremely low holding rates would have distorted the data. Other cases of holdings under 10% were closely examined for explanations. Only twelve of the 104 libraries had holding rates above 50%. 'Titles in the areas of leftist/Marxist politics, gay and lesbian titles, and alternative titles in labor, education, and ecology are all under-represented' (ibid.).

A third study making use of the *Alternative Press Index* (LaFond, van Ullen et al. 2000) found that a fifth of its titles were available as full-text e-resources through at least one of the following four common products, and around 12% through more than one of those products: *Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe*, EBSCO *Academic Search FullText Elite*, *Expanded Academic* ASAP, and *ProQuest Direct Research Library*.

Even if e. g. databases are in themselves not for profit, they can still be influenced by certain commercial interest. McDonald showed this in 1997 for AGRICOLA and MEDLINE, which were populated almost entirely with re-

186 For a pioneering study from the USA about books and the correlation between being published by a small publisher, not being reviewed, and not being acquired by libraries, see Serebnick 1992.

search results supporting the methods of large-scale agro and pharma companies. Since McDonald's study is dated, I made simple tests with both databases. AGRICOLA currently contains more than 5.2 million records.[187] I searched for 'polyculture': agriculture imitating the diversity of natural ecosystems and therefore reducing susceptibility to plant disease and weeds without use of pesticides. 37 results were returned. For comparison, I searched for the same in GS,[188] which I found to be the most inclusive academic search engine in Chapter 4, with a result of app. 32,700—quite an impressive difference. MEDLINE is the primary component of *PubMed*, and, as its distinctive feature, is indexed with the United States National Library of Medicine Medical Subject Headings. It contains more than 25 million records.[189] I decided to search all records indexed with 'Ethnobotany', and 1,227 results were returned. For comparison, GS was queried with the same term, and app. 74,700 results were returned—not as large a difference, but still substantial. After these tests, McDonald's observation still holds true, at least for AGRICOLA.

According to McDonald (ibid.), especially with the dependency of libraries on IT, 'there is arguably not a single task accomplished in our modern library systems which is not directly or indirectly dominated by external corporate decision making'. Furthermore, McDonald compares the shelf-flooding strategy of the food industry to the publishing industry: a massive variety of colourful packages, all originating in the same factory, is presented on the supermarket shelves, which creates the illusion of choice for the consumer, but in fact reduces choice because actual competitors are pushed to the margins. 'This is the false algorithm of the Information Age which states: more information + faster access = more choice!' (ibid.). Small

187 About AGRICOLA, https://agricola.nal.usda.gov/help/aboutagricola.html, United States Department of Agriculture National Agricultural Library, visited on 14 Nov. 2018.

188 Gusenbauer 2019 estimated GS to contain roughly 389 million documents including articles, citations and patents. Considering that a multi-disciplinary automatically curated database is compared to a hand-curated subject database here, a higher result for GS is of course expected.

189 MEDLINE: Description of the Database, https://www.nlm.nih.gov/bsd/medline.html, United States National Library of Medicine, visited on 14 Nov. 2018.

publishers simply perish under the streamlined library operations (also see Buschman 1994). Instead, as Anderson (1999) points out, items should be collected 'based on insight into human and social conditions, [… and be of] relevance to the experience and contributions of diverse populations, [… also representing] a minority point of view'.

For small publishers, as well as for their authors, this results in a double harm loop induced by collection bias: representation harm and allocation harm are escalating each other. This pair of concepts was coined by Crawford (see Fussell 2017) in the context of critical data studies. In the case of collection bias, representation harm is done to small publishers and their authors because availability at libraries has the effect of confirming that the resource is relevant to the library's community, and non-availability reinforces the peripheral status of it. This literature is excluded when it comes to representing relevant literature. At the same time, and because of that, those publishers and authors are allocated less reputation and attention, and, consequently, fewer resources to continue their work.

In conclusion, since collection bias refers to a biased society, every library collection necessarily is biased (also see Schweinsburg 1995). However, understanding, admitting and debating this can be a first step towards weakening the unjust consequences of collection bias. It is generally recommendable to start a debate by using terms that do not have an entirely negative connotation, like 'bias'. The related term 'neutrality' can serve this purpose.

5.3 The Librarian's Neutrality

Neutrality has been discussed as one of the ideals of librarianship since the emergence of the profession, while, ironically, the profession itself is historically based on enlightenment ideology 'under the aegis of elite business interests' (Rosenzweig 1991; also see e. g. Johnson 2016). In the USA, libraries even performed an important role in the Americanisation project of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The goal of this project was a 'whitening process', to assimilate immigrant groups of different ethnicities into the mainstream population who identified as white ('Angloconformity').

Gohr (2017) states that the 'framing of the library within the terms of "democracy" and "neutrality" conceals the covert structural forms of racial exclusion that protect white racial interests'.

That librarians often walk a fine line between selection and censorship, was discussed already by Asheim in 1953: the 'question of censorship versus selection arises when the librarian, exercising his [sic!] own judgement, decides against a book which has every legal right to representation on his [sic!] shelves'. Of course, selection is necessary, because budget and space both limit acquisition. Asheim questions the touch of objectivity that is often accorded to policy or standard criteria, since they are unavoidably subjective and vague, and can often be employed by censors and selectors alike. The difference between them is that 'the selector's approach is positive while that of the censor is negative. [...] The selector says, if there is anything good in this book let us try to keep it; the censor says, if there is anything bad in this book, let us reject it'.

There seems to be something in between those positions that can be called 'selective forgetting' (Mason 2002, with reference to Lerner 1998, p. 54). While not actively deselecting, this rather is a form of not being aware of what there is to select from; a form of ignorance that should not be taken as personal offence, but rather as a structural problem. When selection is mostly limited to approving explicit user demand, and there are neither funds nor staff capacities for actual selection, to 'leverage the purchasing power' (Inefuku and Roh 2016) of the library is not realised.

In 1962, Foskett gave an influential speech (also see McMenemy 2007) which put forward that a 'professional outlook' needs to be neutral, and the only individual 'color' to the work is an underlying 'sense of purpose': of serving the reader.

> During reference service, the librarian ought virtually to vanish as an individual person, except in so far as his personality sheds light on the working of the library. He must be the reader's alter ego, immersed in his politics, his religion, his morals.

Being removed from the reader's interest like this allows the librarian to offer additional viewpoints on the subject of interest to the reader. Even though Foskett focuses on the discussion of library services, the position translates well to collection management. This type of neutrality works against one-sidedness and individual bias, albeit not against social bias, since it does not question a putative lack of cultural humility entailed in the resources that are easily available. To distinguish between those two, I suggest conceptualising Foskett's version as *active* neutrality, which also seems to be the most common neutrality principle found in policies and ethic codes today (Gębołyś and Tomaszczyk 2012)—a format that can, in itself, be questioned for its utilitarian approach (see Woolwine 2007; for institutional policies in general, see Ahmed 2012): statements which concede the user community certain rights without much argumentation, explanation, background, or reference to a debate, can easily be abused to cut off discussions. Institutionalised statements could be replaced with a more humble and flexible rhetoric of organisation-dependent outcomes of actual debate. Such more open formats would be directly linked to their own history of becoming, reflecting present power relations at any stage.

However, some statements of European professional ethics codes strike as quite progressive; for instance, those from Italy:[190]

> Librarians, conscious of the global context in which they operate, commit themselves to promote the integration of information systems and the removal of the organizational, cultural, technological, economic and geographical obstacles which hinder the circulation of information, of documents and of knowledge.

The French edition is not less promotive of proactive global acquisition, since it is 'guaranteeing the pluralism and intellectual encyclopaedism of the collections'.[191] 'Encyclopaedism' unavoidably refers to universalistic

190 Associazione italiana biblioteche, Librarians' Code of Ethics: Fundamental Principles, approved on 12 May 2014, https://www.aib.it/chi-siamo/statuto-e-regolamenti/code-ethics, visited on 29 June 2020.

191 Association des Bibliothécaires Français, The Librarian's Code of Ethics, approved on 23 March 2003, in Gębołyś and Tomaszczyk 2012, pp. 82–84; also at https://www.ifla.org/files/assets/faife/codesofethics/france.pdf. The French original (still up-to-date) is found at *Code de déontologie du bibliothécaire*, http://www.abf.asso.fr/6/46/78/ABF/code-de-deontologie-du-bibliothecaire, both visited on 29 June 2020.

enlightenment ideals which, with the establishment of *Wikipedia* (which was, admittedly, a newly founded project at the publishing time of the French code of ethics), are now updated, yet reinforced with multilingualism and open participation, replacing an elite of authors (cf. Haider and Sundin 2009). In the library collection context, encyclopaedism most likely means striving for completeness, or at least for a fair representation of the world's knowledge.

Much of the discussion in the USA about the librarian's neutrality cites the First Amendment to the Constitution, which, specifically since the *Lamont v. Postmaster General* case in 1965, obliges all kinds of public libraries to provide all citizens with access to all ideas, since this is seen as precondition that the citizen can access his or her own right to free speech, which is guaranteed by the First Amendment and substantially greater in the USA than in any other country of the world (Schauer 1991–1992).

Samek (2001) analysed the conflict that took place in 1968-74 between the American Library Association (ALA) mainstream, and the ALA Social Responsibilities Round Table, which argued that active neutrality was insufficient to support civil rights. The movement was pushed back; justified, on the one hand, with the risk of losing the eligibility for tax exemption granted to politically neutral organisations and, on the other hand, with the argument that the concept of social responsibility violated the ALA Library Bill of Rights, because it was imputed to be dogmatic and censorial. The loudest proponent of the latter position was Berninghausen (Joyce 2008). The ALA Library Bill of Rights can also be contrarily interpreted as supporting collections with cultural humility (cf. ALA 1996).

The Code of Ethics issued by the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA),[192] even though 'full compliance with this code is not expected', is of immediate relevance also in the European context. Similar to the First Amendment is the following phrase: 'Librari-

192 IFLA Code of Ethics for Librarians and other Information Workers (full version), accepted in Aug. 2012, last updated 27 Dec. 2016, https://www.ifla.org/publications/node/11092, visited on 29 June 2020. IFLA is the international umbrella organisation for professional associations, institutions, and individuals working with libraries and information, and has approximately 1,400 members in 150 countries.

ans and other information workers reject the denial and restriction of access to information and ideas most particularly through censorship whether by states, governments, or religious or civil society institutions'. This could also include forms of 'selective forgetting'. Further, and this paragraph will need to be kept in mind throughout this chapter,

> Librarians and other information workers are strictly committed to neutrality and an unbiased stance regarding collection, access and service. Neutrality results in the most balanced collection and the most balanced access to information achievable. Librarians and other information workers define and publish their policies for selection, organisation, preservation, provision, and dissemination of information.

This declaration assumes that an 'unbiased stance' is actually possible, but does not define what a 'most balanced collection [...] achievable' constitutes. There is neither a list of suggested criteria that should be paid attention to, nor any hints as to what omnipresent constraints would leave the balance imperfect.

Andersen's general critique of LIS' preference for 'technical and managerial language use' (2005), for once argued from a European standpoint, in my view, also still applies today to the uncritical stance towards neutrality and bias in the IFLA code and to much of the professional academic debate presented in this chapter. This language use, Andersen writes,

> is closely related to the general positivist orientation of the field. Such language does not invite critical consciousness and analysis as it stands at a distance towards the objects it is talking about. Indeed, technical and managerial language often stands in opposition to basic human needs, and is more concerned with how to do things rather than describe and critically discuss how these things (i. e. knowledge organization systems) work or do not. In that sense, librarians cannot function as information critics because they are not in possession of the appropriate vocabulary.

Another good example of this technical language is the 'generic library model' proposed by Brophy (2000), which is well known and still referred to.[193] This model places the 'user universe', the group of potential users, at one end, and the 'information universe' at the other, remotest end of the model. The libraries' core task then is to mediate between the two, while overlooking the fact that both ends are, without the library, already entangled because they exist in society. This entanglement, as I am trying to show throughout this chapter, is of crucial relevance because it both results from and causes the reproduction of bias.

Brophy's model is inspired by Atkinson (1996)—a text that not only displays a tremendous use of technical language, but also an almost brutal simplification of the complexity of scholarly communication, proposing an extreme rationalisation of contemporary systems of publication and dissemination. At the eve of the digital age, Atkinson suggested creating 'a single, distributed digital library (the "control zone"), [...] to be created and managed by the academic library community at the earliest opportunity'. The 'control zone' would replace the publisher's function as a gatekeeper (including reviewers employed by the publisher), with the difference that publishers and their inclusion criteria currently are diverse, and libraries, as second-order gatekeepers, are as well. Subject-specific editorial boards in collaboration with academic librarians, who are infused with updated values and operations from 'indoctrination' at library school, would control the core of scholarly publication monolithically. Atkinson even imagines that 'other information [in the so-called "open zone"] will be understood on the basis or from the standpoint of that core information.'

Ten years later, this vision echoes in Atkinson's prospect of collection development (2006), in which he calls on librarians to define the ultimate core materials, so the responsibility for collecting advanced materials can be divided. Atkinson leaves no doubt that this 'privileging' is justified, since he sees it as one of three reasons to build collections—the others being preservation and institutional prestige. Obviously, neutrality, however in-

193 For a more recent, but less fitting example, see the literature about blockchain which 'conceptualizes trust mostly in the lower technology-based layers', as Hawlitschek, Notheisen et al. 2018 report in their broad review, claiming Sas and Khairuddin 2017 to be the only exception from the rule.

terpreted, is not a core value of librarianship to everyone. Atkinson's ideal perpetuates the reproduction of disciplinary canons and spatial peripheries.

These examples demonstrate how putative neutral technical models discussed in LIS are deeply embedded in values. Atkinson's suggestion is a clear—while probably unconscious—advocacy of the stabilisation of an 'information elite' that watches over the information that circulates most widely. He never questions who will be allowed access to the elitist circle, and who will be locked out. The explicit, and specifically the implicit, advocacy for this form of silencing and elite stabilising point once more towards the problematic significance of coloniality.

The technical language in LIS is closely related to its dominating positivist approach, specifically in North American LIS research and professional literature. As Dick (1995) shows, and Wiegand (1999; also see Radford 1992) confirms, with the institutionalisation of library education in the USA, starting in the 1920s, LIS took on a positivist approach to research which originated in its relation to social sciences. However, even as the methodological underpinnings of social sciences developed, parts of LIS remain strongly attached to positivism (also see Day 2010; Hjørland 2005; Rodrigues, Taga et al. 2016; for some exceptions beyond the literature already referred to, see Trosow 2001; Leckie, Given et al. 2010), and definitely so to collection management literature.

The literature that discussed Foskett's plea for the vanishing of the librarian's individuality (Foskett 1962), introduced earlier in this section as a conservative standpoint, is now overcome by post-modern critical librarianship, which departs from the core idea of bringing 'knowledge to the masses' (Branum 2014, also see Blanke 1989). This trajectory needs to be seen as inherently political: 'the idea of neutrality de-politicizes the very political nature of librarianship'. Librarians, educated in positivism, technology and management, are usually unaware of their power; and even if they are aware, they might fear making use of it, so they claim to be neutral (also see Wiegand 1999; Budd 2003; Williams 2017). The 'political terrain of the academic library typically reflects the ideologies of the dominant culture' (Bales and Engle 2012). Instead of maintaining the status quo, a librarian's task should rather be to counter this dominant culture and to introduce what it excludes (also see Harris 1986; Raber 2003): 'we should stop congratulating ourselves on how important we are to democracy and start behaving as though democracy really matters' (Harris 1999).

As Horton states in a conversation about education with Freire (1990),

> Myles [Horton]: [...] there can be no such thing as neutrality. It's a code word for the existing system. [...] Neutrality is just following the crowd.
>
> [...]
>
> Paolo [Freire]: Then instead of saying I am with the dominant, I say that I'm neutral.

This rhetorical strategy avoids the rather negative connotation of 'dominance', but still subscribes to it. Sadler and Bourg (2015) recommend sidestepping this opaqueness by understanding that '[l]ibraries should not try to be neutral. [...] We can play a critical role in supporting the causes of inclusion, plurality, participation and transparency.'

Instead of discarding the concept of neutrality entirely, Branum (2014) insinuates that exactly this striving for balance that Sadler and Bourg argue for—with my full support—can also be labelled as neutrality. Lilburn also suggests to instead 're-examine the implications' of the concept (Lilburn 2003). Since neutrality is such a strong point of orientation for many professions, including librarianship, I agree that it deserves to be reconsidered, stripped of its internal contradictions, and filled with new meaning. I suggest carefully distinguishing between the three different takes on the concept that surfaced from the discussion in this section:

1. Passive neutrality: the users' information needs and/or general popularity are the guiding lights of all library activities.
2. Active neutrality: after careful examination of the information universe, libraries provide balanced access to knowledge and ideas (cf. Romero and Held 2011).
3. Culturally humble neutrality: the observation that knowledge and ideas are uttered and circulated in an imbalanced way leads to library work against social injustice, promoting marginalised resources.

The *comparandum* among those three options is the social reference (see Section 2.1) towards which the library would gauge its neutrality:

1. Passive neutrality refers to the user. Referring to the user only can be easily justified in a society that rates individualism as a high ideal. With the extensive availability of computers, which can be used with current search technologies and massive resource indexes, the single user is enabled to retrieve the exact resource that can satisfy an information need. The mediating technology is assumed to work in a balanced enough way. The library's task is to provide access to the resource that the user retrieved.
2. Active neutrality, depending on the type of library, refers to the social systems of research, art, and/or mass media. The library observes at least the 'central' (see Chapter 3) publications of the type it is supposed to cover, be it scholarly literature, fiction, music, movies, games, non-fiction, or newspapers, and works towards a balanced representation of the communication that is taking place on those channels. Users who request reference services for a specific information need will be pointed towards as diverse resources as the collection allows.
3. Culturally humble neutrality refers holistically to society. The library observes that power relations in society privilege certain voices, so they produce a biased (see Section 5.2) 'central' communication accompanied by respective information resources. In consequence, the library works towards balancing the observed bias, hence furthering social justice.

In as far as proactive acquisition is replaced by user requests and access to large packages of content (see e. g. Tbaishat 2010)—black boxes—libraries currently tend to move from a general paradigm of active neutrality towads one of passive neutrality. This trajectory will be further examined in the following section. Assuming that libraries should support underprivileged voices, culturally humble neutrality is needed.

Librarians will ask: where is the limit? Librarians would have to advocate against laws and policies that technically appear to be censorship, even though the library might be funded by the bodies issuing those laws and policies. Would librarians also, for instance, advocate for collecting literature that denies the Holocaust? In order to be informed about this segment of human thought, it must be possible to retrieve even this literature. However, the culturally humble activities that I am suggesting would not concentrate on marginal resources *per se*, but would rather look for marginalisation in society at large. If Holocaust deniers are marginalised because of their ideology, the ideology needs to be scrutinised for its content of hate and its potential to support the narcissistic systematic marginalisation of other voices. For this purpose, access to that literature is needed, but promoting it would counteract the initial goal of cultural humility, which is to push back narcissistic marginalisation.

It is vital to emphasise that culturally humble neutrality does not imply that the library advocates for a certain position in any public debate. Users should at no time be pushed to sympathise with any particular position, and especially when users, just like the general public, are potentially divided over a certain question, the library must not support any side more than the other—as long as this would not marginalise any position directly or indirectly, or violate the concern for social justice. This principle excludes dehumanising and degrading positions. Culturally humble neutrality means to select resources for the collection confronting dominant positions and positionalities in society with whatever they tend to marginalise. Without value judgements, marginalisation cannot be recognised (cf. Cossette 2009). Heavy-handedly, the problem is described as a 'moral dilemma at the heart of librarianship in a liberal democratic society' (Wenzler 2019; also see Macdonald and Birdi 2020). Berninghausen (1972) defined it as such nearly a half-century ago: 'social responsibility' competing with 'intellectual freedom'. Since the latter is always limited in a marginalised position, pushing the communication that emanates from places where peripheral status has been accumulated towards the centre supports both objectives.

To conclude this section, I provide an example that actually puts culturally humble neutrality into practice at a library (without using the term), namely as a criterion in a digitisation prioritisation checklist (Ziegler 2019).

At Louisiana State University Libraries, material is, selected for digitisation in order to 'counteract traditional erasure' (ibid.), amongst other criteria. This is a challenge, because existing descriptions of the material, naturally, hardly indicate that the documents talk about silenced communities. It becomes apparent now that the problem is bigger than I could outline here: like collection management, knowledge organisation also reproduces biases held in society. Fortunately, this complex issue has been analysed and discussed a lot already, while the uptake in librarianship is slow (see e. g. Olson 2002; Roberto and Berman 2008; Drabinski 2013; Szostak 2014).

5.4 Vendor-Preselection Products

This section will not go into the intricacies of different acquisition models that are based on vendor preselection,[194] but rather focus on their significance for cultural humility of academic library collections in Europe and the discoverability of small publishers' programmes. To put it differently: the question is whether certain increasingly dominant models are predisposed to undermine culturally humble neutrality, or even active neutrality.

The models have much in common, and differ mostly because they are modelled for specific content types: approval plans for print books and other analogue media, DDA for ebooks, Big Deals for serials[195] and full-text databases. Vendors can be publishers or aggregators. As an umbrella term, I suggest the label 'vendor-preselection products'. The ideal of a curated library collection, which has been introduced earlier (see Section 5.1), is certainly inhibited by vendor-preselection products in as far as they are not winnowed and adapted at each and every library. Libraries usually do not make the effort to considerately go through the lists of thousands of titles,

194 For an introduction to approval plans, see Abel 1995 and Fenner 2004; to DDA, see Walters 2012, Roncevic 2013; and, for a comprehensive overview of the North American literature, Costello 2016. For an introduction to Big Deals, see Sjoberg 2017 and Shu, Mongeon et al. 2018.

195 The most recent forms of Big Deals are so-called Read&Publish Deals, which include not only reading access to the package of serials, but also article processing when institution members decide to publish open access with the Big-Deal vendor.

and this would not make sense to them, since their aim is to save time and funds that previously went into selection and acquisition. As Quinn (2001) puts it, with the advent of aggregator packages, the librarian's 'role has shifted from one of micro-selection to macro-selection' (also see Monroe 1997; Frazier 2001). The vendor's selection criteria are largely a black box. Outsourcing must not necessarily drain quality, but insofar as there is no feasible way of checking on the quality of the outsourced work, the setting of aims and quality standards is outsourced together with the work.

> For example, was the selection based on economic considerations, scholarly criteria, popularity, availability, or some combination of these variables? How were the criteria arrived at? How does one title relate to the rest of the titles in a package? These are some questions that can and should be answered, and the answers should appear in the literature describing the package, so that it can be reviewed prior to purchase (Quinn 2001).

By 1996, 93% of all ARL members reported using approval plans (Flood 1997), which are now generally decreasing in favour for Big Deals and DDA, while monograph budgets are transferred to serial expenditures (ProQuest 2016).[196] Evans and Saponaro (2005) note that '[g]iven today's staffing situation in most libraries, there is a real danger that the plan will shift from approval to blanket order, simply because the staff has to attend to more pressing duties'. Especially after the financial crisis of 2007-2008, the staff situation did not improve, but rather the contrary. That blank orders lead to homogeneous collections has already been discussed in Section 5.1. Furthermore, the risk of overriding earlier commitments to small publishers, who are then pressured to merge with the big players, is palpable, including in the case of other vendor-preselection products. For the authors of the EBSCO Serials Price Projections 2017, it is certain that the 'acquisition of large publisher packages is often funded by cutting non-packaged titles and titles from smaller publishers'.[197] Russian universities,

196 For details about the study, see Fn. 163.

197 https://www.ebscohost.com/promoMaterials/EBSCO_2017_Serials_Price_Projection_Report.pdf. As the 2018 report states, publisher consolidation is ongoing: EBSCO Serials Price Projections 2018, https://www.ebscohost.com/promoMaterials/EBSCO_2018_Serials_Price_Projections.pdf, both visited on 29 June 2020.

for instance, spent 57% of their 2015 acquisition budgets on Elsevier databases (Razumova and Kuznetsov 2018). Furthermore, by comparing two United States libraries' collections with the same approval plan vendor, it was found that half of their acquired resources were from the same ten publishers (Wiley, German et al. 2010). Contrarily, as a librarian points out in the ProQuest 2016 study carried out by ProQuest, approval plans can also be 'an excellent way for a library to acquire the books it "obviously" needs to support its curriculum, freeing the limited staff time available to be focused on special needs, filling gaps, and collection maintenance'.

The term 'Big Deal' has been introduced in a critical review by Frazier in 2001. While the term was widely adopted, the 'advice was nearly universally ignored' (Frazier 2005). Faculty of fields depending on high-cost journals supported the deals euphorically, since the virtual 'access to everything' seemed within reach, while Big Deals actually only cover a certain portion of scholarly publications. Especially SSH faculty do not benefit as much, and their information needs are at risk of being traded.

Library budgets have been expanded specifically for Big Deals, at times directly by national governments—something that rarely happens to library projects. When economy is in crisis, Big Deals cannot be cancelled immediately for contractual reasons, and libraries have to cut elsewhere, or convince their supporting organisation to allocate more funds to Big Deals. At tuition-based universities, this will most likely lead to student fees paying for particular researcher's interests, not for students' education. Because of this risk of unbalancing interests, Frazier argued that Big Deals are not sustainable. They 'are based on the presumption that libraries can continually increase expenditures for journals and that publishers must have perpetual revenue growth' (ibid.; also see Botero, Carrico et al. 2008).

After the huge vendor *Swets* declared bankruptcy in 2014, it became apparent that a deal can also be too big. When the financial crisis of 2007-2008 was still impacting libraries' budgets, and librarians tried to scale down expenditures for Big Deals, EBSCO*'s* Budgeting and Trends Survey (cited in Bosch and Henderson 2015) reported that 74% of the responding publishers were likely to offer smaller subsets of content in the coming year. In 2015, a still valid 'new norm' was created whereby the average annual serials price increase range dropped to the mid-single digits.[198] While the increase of the increase has stopped, the remaining annual increase is still unaffordable for many libraries, so some publishers have started to think about unbundling.[199] A German report about the statewide consortial licencing and other ways to cover the user needs in times of flat or decreasing budgets emphasises the lack of flexibility in current collection building (Kellersohn, Meyer et al. 2011). Dikboom (2016) reports experiences of the Maastricht University Library with evaluating Big Deals. Faculty is provided with a report that includes core titles of the package, their list prices, and usage statistics, in order to open the 'black box' and facilitate decisions about renewals. However, since the list is incomplete, reduced to a 'core', a certain 'black box' remains.

Demand-driven acquisition (DDA) is synonymous with patron-driven acquisition (PDA), and while in the European context it is mostly referred to as PDA, the more current and now prevailing term is DDA (Esposito 2014). Moreover, because I also object to calling a user a 'patron', since this term is borrowed from business language, I will refer to DDA in the following. DDA denotes an acquisition model that is well established, especially in North America[200] (Horava and Levine-Clark 2016), in which a preselected pool of media—often post-selected by the library—is offered to users via an online discovery tool; i. e. it is media that is not yet owned by the library. Depending on the specific DDA model, purchase is triggered when the user interacts with the media in a certain way.[201] It therefore privileges certain

198 EBSCO Serials Price Projections 2015, https://www.ebscohost.com/promoMaterials/Serials_Price_Projections_for_2015.pdf, visited on 29 June 2020.

199 25% of the respondents in EBSCO Serials Price Projections 2016, https://www.ebscohost.com/promoMaterials/EBSCOSerialsPriceProjectionReport2016.pdf, visited on 29 June 2020.

200 There were reports about DDA pilots in Europe (Downey, Zhang et al. 2014; Tynan and McCarney 2014; Kont 2016), but none of them engaged with critical questions about the oligarchic market structure, or something like the cultural humility of the collection.

201 Being a newer development, evidence-based acquisition (EBA) is a hybrid between package purchase and DDA: for a fee that the library pays upfront, firstly, access to a large set of media is provided for a certain period of time. Secondly, after this period has ended, usage data is drawn on to select a limited number of items for long-term or perpetual access. The consequences of this model relevant here are similar to those of DDA.

users—those who use the library as anticipated in the business model (see Buschman 2014; Smith 2011). DDA is paradigmatic for the individualisation of decision making, one of the features of neoliberal capitalism, as discussed in Section 2.2.6 (specifically about DDA see Nicholson 2015).

Walters (2012) adds that 'weak areas of the collection are unlikely to be strengthened over time because PDA funds will be diverted toward introductory topics in subjects with high enrolments and a relatively large number of course assignments'. While mainstream topics will surely be served well by DDA, 'more topically remote and little-used areas' are neglected (Tyler, Xu et al. 2010). When it becomes apparent that DDA misses out on a considerable number of users, the model's adaption will be subject to demanding negotiations with the vendor, and cannot be influenced directly by the library.

Hodges (2010) also states that DDA could polarise collection levels: since 'introductory' or 'research' levels are often the only options to choose from when the book portfolio for an academic library is set up, much in between is dismissed. This adherence to vendor content levels has been confirmed for approval plans by Cast-Brede's study (2013, see Section 5.1). Further, the titles' metadata (quality), to not even speak of the 'relevance' rankings of the library system, are of decisive importance for user demand. 'What seems a technical cataloging issue can easily become a method to influence patrons toward prioritizing items favored by publishers and/or vendors' (Sens and Fonseca 2013).

Walters' (2012) perspective focuses on students, and specifically sees DDA as a risk: on the one hand, immediate desires might be satisfied by following the principle of least effort and skimming through the first ebook that meets the course assignment's requirements,[202] while on the other hand, the long-term educational needs, in relation to the programme studied, are relinquished. Only professionals who know all relevant parameters will be able to guide the students in order to meet those needs:

202 The principle of the least effort in the library context has been described by Mann 1993, now revived in Mann 2015, p. 244, but goes back to at least Zipf's principle of least effort; and Poole 1985.

> the academic librarian's role is to ensure that students learn to understand those works that have the greatest educational value. The value of a particular information resource is situation-specific and can vary with the characteristics of the institution, the curriculum, and the students (ibid.).

The LIS literature 'defines relevance solely in terms of the information-seeker's immediate objectives' (ibid.).[203] At Sam Houston State University, Shen, Cassidy, et al. (2011) demonstrate that undergraduate students are twice as likely as librarians to select non-academic titles in a DDA programme, while faculty and graduate students are on par with librarians.

DDA is based on the idea of passive neutrality, even though I could not find much support for this professional ethos in the literature. Experiences of academic libraries and publishers with DDA are mixed. On the one hand, it was found to trigger more interdisciplinary items, and titles that were left out of the scope of traditional acquisitions, e. g. because they are 'outside of librarian selectors' chosen publishers, very new, or in a format not traditionally acquired' (Dahl 2013). On the other hand, small publishers find it hard to get 'noticed by the aggregators' (Pinter and Magoulias 2015), because the administrative effort to include their programmes, which might not fully be of interest to the aggregator and its customers, is high. 'Specialized monographs in academic fields with few readers' are further marginalised (Fischer, Wright et al. 2012). There also is an economic imponderability, because, as Pinter and Magoulias 2015 assert,

> instead of selling enough copies in the first few months to cover their fixed costs, smaller publishers are having to wait until the demand is demonstrated and the book is purchased. In slow-moving fields such as the humanities this can mean a delay of several years (also see Esposito 2014).

Also, besides the fear that sales will go down decisively, many DDA models include a short-term loan option as a first stage before a purchase, so a purchase in the traditional model could now be substituted by a loan,

203 As examples of this claim, Walters refers to the following, now rather dated literature: Borlund 2003; Mizzaro 1997; Saracevic 2006; 2007; Taylor, Cool et al. 2007. However, more recent literature does not evoke the impression of a paradigm change. In 2016, Walters still tries to get his point across, supported by Singleton 2010.

and thereby generate less income for the publisher. However, Pinter and Magoulias, talking from the perspective of well-established UK and US university presses, are rather optimistic that the model would provide a short cut to the end user, while Esposito, influential consultant for the publishing industry, sees the opportunity to raise prices significantly, since 'American university presses simply don't charge enough for their books' (Esposito 2014), and to restrict pre-purchase preview. He even imagines that the library's discovery tools could include a private user's shopping functionality. Unfortunately, neither from African publishers, nor from truly small publishers, could accounts on the models discussed here be found.

Another problem with DDA is that if it is not monitored very intensely, it can easily happen that funds allocated for a year or for a month run out half-way through the period and requests made by then will be heavily disadvantaged (Hodges, Preston et al. 2010). It could also lead to an advantage of books published early in the year. There are business models that handle this problem through a fixed annual fee that includes unlimited use of the vendor's collection and archiving rights for a set number of titles which can be selected by a librarian at the end of the year.

The emergence of Big Deals is a logical consequence of increasingly managing libraries just like businesses that first of all have to decrease cost and increase the number of satisfied user requests—which might decrease the number of satisfied users, leaving potential users with off-mainstream interests behind.[204] When comparing the volumes of resources that can be licenced with Big Deals with those of many single subscriptions at the same total cost, the former turn out to have much better value (Lemley and Li 2015), and be much easier to manage, even though initial negotiations require substantial resources, and are, at best, accompanied by costly legal support. Depending on the structure and accounting system of the library, it can be a challenge to share the cost of Big Deals among the branches. Therefore, journal selection not only becomes a centralised system, but it also fosters the centralisation of the library itself. Liaison or subject lib-

204 Since most libraries use a proxy server for user access to e-resources, their actual individual users cannot be counted.

rarians can only add individual subscriptions when the budget allows—otherwise, any privilege to select is transferred to the central e-resource management and the vendors. This 'erosion of the autonomy of professionals within the public sector' (Ferlie, Ashburner et al. 1996, p. 6) is an example of what has been discussed as 'job bullshitting' in Section 2.2.6.

Big-Deal vendors apply the strategy of price discrimination, which offers the same product at different prices to different customers: libraries with different budgets and user communities (also see Bergstrom, Courant et al. 2014; Varian 1996). That way, vendors can sell products at the maximum prices that institutions are able to pay, maximising their profit. Using their oligarchic market power, they can extort prices for essential resources that are beggaring for libraries with weak bargaining power. DDA even has the potential to disrupt portions of inter-library loan services, since it can be cheaper to purchase the item via DDA than to use the cooperative service (Ward 2002). Instead of libraries shifting funds among them, the publisher will increase its income. However, there is one case in which a library consortium combined its inter-library loan service with DDA. In the State University of New York (SUNY) system, whenever an inter-library loan request—which is always free of charge—cannot be fulfilled, the 'requesting institution would purchase the material from a collective fund' (Booth and O'Brien 2011). Naturally, the collections of each participating library are diversified compared to the others, and the homogenising effect of DDA is cushioned while cost can be saved, depending on the price the vendor sets for licencing within a cooperative system.

Another success story about an 'inter-library loan-to-purchase program' reports how circulation could be increased, compared to traditionally purchased titles (Ward 2002). It can be discussed to what extent circulation, and also collection congruence with peer libraries, are suitable indicators for collection quality, but they are often handled as such (see e. g. Way 2009; Gilbertson, McKee et al. 2014). As I argued several times in this thesis, single and simply structured quantitative indicators alone provide very flat observation tools. For instance, circulation and peer congruence do not tell anything about how well the entire user community is served.

In order to understand the impact on specific user groups or individuals, series of longitudinal studies would be required.

I will now relate this short exposition of current acquisition models to the three different versions of the librarian's professional ethos towards neutrality, discussed in Section 5.3:

1. Passive neutrality: DDA translates this take on neutrality straightforwardly. If the vendor's preselection is not exhaustively post-selected, the librarian's individual biases never get the chance to play out, and, following from that, social bias remains untouched as well.
2. Active neutrality: a well-prepared approval plan, probably combined with Big Deals, a post-selected DDA pool, and occasional title-by-title purchase, will allow skimming the resources that accompany 'central' communication.
3. Culturally humble neutrality: this ethos would require the analysis of power relations in society. Resources representing underprivileged research are then lifted out of the universe of literature, obscured in its dimensions by surfacing 'central' communication. Because of the high effort required, within the current funding and staffing situation, it can only be realised in cooperation with other libraries, and with social sciences consultancy. Vendor-preselection products are neither particularly helpful, nor definitely harmful in achieving culturally humble neutrality. However, as has been argued in this section, they carry a number of serious risks that need to be considered and attended to.

5.5 Library Decolonisation Activities

Current library decolonisation activities in the 'Global North' are limited to the USA and the UK. The MIT Libraries Collections Directorate with its 'diversity taskforce' approaches cultural humility for collections directly (Baildon, Hamlin et al. 2017; Baildon 2018), without ever stating that bias could be avoided entirely. Working over a period of eight months, starting in 2016, the MIT Libraries' goal was to 'identify opportunities for archives, technical services, preservation, scholarly communication, and collections strategy staff to manifest the values of diversity, inclusion, and social justice in their daily work'. This goal stands in a broader context of a professional ethos that seeks to counteract 'systems of oppression and privilege [… as well as] over-commodification of information'. The report explicitly refers to ALA's Core Values of Librarianship and the Society of American Archivists' Core Values Statement and Code of Ethics, which both include a clear concession for affirmative action in order to achieve collections with maximum 'diversity'. Without this affirmative action, the taskforce report argues, existing power structures 'that have their origins in histories of racialized imperialism, war, and economic exploitation' (Baildon, Hamlin et al. 2017) will be maintained: 'without active intervention we end up with collections that lack diversity' (ibid.; also see Manoff 1993).

As a prerequisite to any further steps, 'a cultural shift' (Baildon, Hamlin et al. 2017)—a re-envisioning of the day-to-day business—is initiated by including everyone working in the institution in the (de- and re-)learning process. In the case of collection development, this means identifying 'non-traditional publication channels' through which materials from regions under-represented in scholarly publishing could be acquired. That includes exchange programmes. Since these methods are time-consuming, it makes sense to distribute single selection processes as widely as possible among staff, which also helps to create a culture of mutual respect. Even vendors are included in the overhaul, since approval plans need to be reviewed and findings discussed with the vendors 'to facilitate inclusive collection-building across their library customer base' (Baildon 2018). After acquisition, the resources are promoted with 'physical and digital exhibits'. Currently, the library's website does not yet report that these exhibits are happening.[205] Cruz (2019) summarises similar activities that took place at several libraries in the USA, yet in a smaller scale.

In the UK, recent activities can be observed as part of a nationwide movement. The librarian group 'Decolonise the Curriculum', which was foun-

205 MIT Libraries, https://libraries.mit.edu, visited on 4 Oct. 2018 and 19 May 2019.

ded in 2018 at Cambridge University,[206] organises staff workshops.[207] The initiative followed the ongoing debate about the decolonisation of higher education, and specifically, an open letter about 'Decolonising the English Faculty' of Cambridge university, which was signed by more than 100 students of that faculty.[208] The letter states that the absence of non-white authors in the curriculum can no longer be tolerated. Library activities are almost always lead or at least inspired by student groups or unions, specifically from BAME[209] groups. Many of the activities are based on the 'BAME attainment gap' (e. g. McGuinn 2020): the fact that BAME students are much less likely to achieve a first or second degree.

The librarians' workshops included different practical examples of how library work can engage with decolonisation processes: critical reclassification (which took place at the English library), support for curriculum adaptation, consultation for (special) collection development, policies, and cooperation with non-mainstream publishers. To increase the network, a open mailing list was established in February 2019.[210] The contributions to this list, and the documentation of an open call event at Goldsmith

206 The group maintains an information platform: Decolonising through critical librarianship. A platform for Cambridge librarians approaching decolonisation, https://decolonisingthroughcriticallibrarianship.wordpress.com, visited on 29 June 2020.

207 The facilitators were Eve Lacey and Clara Panozzo, together with David Rushmer, Mehves Dignum, and Meg Westbury. The former two replied to my email inquiry with a detailed description of their activities on 6 May 2019, that I rely on in the following, if not otherwise stated. Also see Cambridge University Library Staff Learning & Development, Decolonising Library Collections and Practices, held on 28 Nov. 2018 and 8 March 2019, https://www.training.cam.ac.uk/culsld/event/2784542, visited on 29 June 2020.

208 Lola Olufemi, Decolonising the English Faculty: An Open Letter, 25 March 2017 https://flygirlsofcambridge.com/2017/06/14/decolonising-the-english-faculty-an-open-letter, visited on 29 June 2020. Maybe the first campaign along those lines in Europe was started by the students' union at University College London in 2014, see UCL, Why is my curriculum white?, *YouTube*, published on 11 Nov. 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dscx4h2l-Pk, visited on 29 June 2020.

209 Term used in the UK to refer to people who identify as black, Asian, or of minority ethnicity. Also see the collection of resources BAME *Workers at the Library*, https://padlet.com/kmp23/dhd1bj1x9ldz, visited on 29 June 2020.

210 JISCM@IL, LIS-DECOLONISE Home Page, https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A0=lis-decolonise, visited on 29 June 2020.

University on 29 November 2019,[211] show that related activities are taking place at many different UK research libraries. Furthermore, 'regular reading and discussion groups where librarians can get together to advise each other on best practice' (Råghall 2019) are planned. In terms of collection development, the 'Decolonise the Curriculum' group aims at including 'sourcing material from a variety of international and independent publishers and suppliers to avoid an EU/US monopoly, and to counterbalance the inherent bias of legal deposit and the publishing industry' (ibid.).

As a part of the effort to decolonise the university, course reading lists have been analysed,[212] comparing the authors' features, such as location, ethnicity and gender, with those of the university's students or the country's population (see e. g. Schucan Bird and Pitman 2019, and the literature referred to there). Since it is not the libraries who write curricula, they can only push and support university teachers and management. Referring to a poll of librarians who participated in a 'Decolonising workshop'.[213] The concerns raised there support what has been found in this thesis: the 'diversity' approach is insufficient to address the problem, which is embedded in a wider socio-political structure, since, as discussed in Section 2.2.6 (also see Crilly 2019), the approach usually suggest forms of tokenism, grafting, and exoticisation, and does not encourage self-reflection of privileged positions. The functionalist-technical model of the library, the 'neutrality myth', consortial agreements and vendor-preselection products do not provide any room for tackling problematic structures in the organisation, and in society.

The limitation of library action examples to US and UK origin has a self-evident background: race is a theme widely discussed in both countries, closely tied to the histories of transatlantic slavery and the colonialism of

211 Decolonising the Curriculum – the Library's role, https://decolonisethelibrary.wordpress.com, visited on 29 June 2020. Activities at 14 UK research libraries were presented that day.

212 For a detailed workflow, see Wilson 2019.

213 Decolonising the Curriculum – the Library's Role, Group Discussion (Q1) about Barriers within Institution, 29 Nov. 2019, https://decolonisethelibrary.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/gdquestion-one.pdf, visited on 29 June 2020.

the British Empire. Following from this legacy, in both countries, since more people of colour live there in comparison with other 'Global North' countries, they are also relatively more often involved in higher education. This statement cannot be based on demographic data, since many European countries register ethnicity neither in their census (Morning 2008), nor in any other institutional context. This adds to the general lack of visibility for people of colour, and impedes research on racism. Anti-racism is usually taken for granted as a central value of a liberal society, yet this actually obscures racist policy and culture (Lentin 2008). The colonial legacy expands to many predominately West-European countries. Modernity, as other side of coloniality, is idealised in the entire 'Global North'. Consequently, decolonial action is required everywhere. Looking back at Section 2.2.5, higher education, together with the research system, is globalised. It grew from common roots, and even if local foci might differ, the entire global system represents the horizon of relevance, the knowable. Even if there is no critical mass of students of colour or of students who belong to indigenous groups requesting a decolonised curriculum at an institution somewhere in the 'Global North', each and every academic institution must decolonise every bit of its being and doing. Only then, inclusivity, cognitive justice and a floating of the centres of scholarly communication beyond the 'Global North/South' border may become possible. A structural change—social justice—cannot be expected solely by including more 'Global South'-published literature into European academic library collections, (also see Hudson 2017), but it could be a first step.

The following section focuses on one of those other 'Global North' countries, Germany, describing the conditions for initiatives against collection bias, and the impact that recent institutional change is likely to have on the cultural humility of the collections.

5.6 Germany's Striving for Complete Collections

The brief analysis of the discoverability of a sample of Southeast African SSH journals in Section 4.5.2 showed that the German academic library which was and is primarily responsible for collecting resources from and about sub-Saharan Africa does not contribute much to the discoverability of the sample journal articles. This section aims to discuss if the current institutional framework of German academic libraries would allow for a better coverage.

The situation of academic library collections is fundamentally different in Germany than in other European countries which are home to statewide monolithic national libraries, but its specificity is, at the same time, what makes it an interesting example in the given context. The now cancelled long-term project of the *Sondersammelgebiete* (SSG), which will be discussed in the following, has a good reputation with librarians worldwide, and is functionally equivalent with the Conspectus (see Section 5.1), but was much more successful.[214]

To make a long story short: until the founding of the German Empire in 1871, several smaller states existed on the territory which is Germany today, the most powerful being Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony. Each of these had their own state libraries, whose successors are important libraries still. In 1912, as a book traders' initiative, a new legal deposit library for all German-language publications (*Deutsche Bücherei*) was founded in the town of the annual book fair, Leipzig, Saxony, which became part of the German Democratic Republic in 1949. There had been a similar initiative after the revolution of 1848 in Frankfurt am Main, which was just as short-lived as the revolution.

After World War II, during which large proportions of library collections were lost, the idea of a legal deposit library in Frankfurt, also a book fair city, was brought back to life and became the national library of the Federal Republic of Germany (*Deutsche Bibliothek*). However, even though the new state could resort to the rich collections of the Bavarian state library, those did not meet current research demands. In order to tackle those historic collection gaps, the main German research funder (*Deutsche Forschungsge-*

214 Kempf 2014 even calls it the only successful initiative for cooperative acquisition and collection development. The French *Centre d'acquisition et de diffusion de l'information scientifique et technique* (CADIST) has been built after the example of the SSG, and transitioned to the *Collections of Excellence* programme (CollEx) in 2014, again after the German example; see Girold 2018.

meinschaft), beginning in 1949, engaged individual German research libraries in the comprehensive collection of internationally relevant resources in a specific field or several fields of research, or, respectively, with emphasis on a certain geographical area. The collections were called *Sondersammelgebiete* (SSG), with the goal of a full set of complete special collections, including grey literature (Kümmel and Strohschneider 2014).

After the unification of both German states in 1990, the deposit libraries in Leipzig and Frankfurt merged into one (distributed) institution, but only in 2006, by legislation, did it actually become the German National Library. Besides, the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* continued the SSG, distributed at several research libraries.

Since 2014, those SSG have been replaced with 'specialised information services', *Fachinformationsdienste* (FID).[215] The main differences are restructured fields of research in order to avoid overlap, a transition to flexible funder's requirements in order to cater to different needs in different fields, and a shift of focus from complete collections to so-called adequate services. The approach of a complete collection was declared impossible, and creating extra value in contrast to the vendors' portfolios was set as the new goal (Kümmel 2013; also see Mittler 2014).

Although comprehensive collections are still desired, funding applications cannot be justified with prospective collection gaps any more (Kümmel and Strohschneider 2014). Collection building has to be oriented towards the 'articulated research interest' of a certain research community. At the same time, 'such a collection is—of course—not designated to the current interest of a maximum-sized user group.' Librarians should have the skills to maintain a collection that can offer new grounds to discover some-

215 A direct translation would rather be 'subject information services'. The programme is described in Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Guidelines. Specialised Information Services. DFG form 12.10 – 01/18, https://www.dfg.de/formulare/12_10/12_10_en.pdf; and in the extended German version, Richtlinien. Fachinformationsdienste für die Wissenschaft. DFG-Vordruck 12.102 – 01/18 https://www.dfg.de/formulare/12_102/12_102_de.pdf, both visited on 29 June 2020. For an example of how a single library transitioned from curating several SSG over decades to a mix of declined and approved applications for a FID, which takes expected synergy effects *ad absurdum*, see Dörr 2014.

thing 'unknown and unexpected'.[216] We have to deal with an inextricable contradiction here. The emphasis should rather, as I argue throughout, be on the latter aspect. To put it differently: 'to move beyond our tunnel vision and blind spots, we need to expand our perspectives beyond current professional discourse and shift them from the user in the life of the library to the library in the life of the user'. Wiegand requested this in 2003 (with reference to Zweizig 1973, p. 15), but the request to librarians expressed here has not been given the attention it deserves, in my view, until today. Just as mentioned earlier in relation to technical library models, the request entails observing the environment in which the users' research as well as the library are placed, very closely, and supporting the user in cracking habitual patterns, in order to allow for new ways of thinking and doing research. While providing the user with crucial research information is a key function of the library, accommodating the user exactly according to their articulated needs would make the library virtually disappear for the user, because its offerings do not irritate, and therefore cannot inspire. If a library can be seen as a (research) infrastructure, I think, first of all, it becomes visible when it irritates in an enriching way (also see Section 2.2.1), and not predominantly when it breaks (but see Borgman 2003, employing a concept by Star and Ruhleder 1996).

Interestingly, Kümmel (2013) supports the turn-away from the ideal of completeness with the evaluation survey report where he read that natural scientists were satisfied with access to mainstream journals. In reality, the report states that 82% of the respondents see the completeness approach—although hard to come by—as a major quality feature of the old system (Astor, Klose et al. 2011). The report suggests that each SSG should decide in

216 These paraphrases are derived from my translation of the following sentences: 'Es muss also eine prinzipielle Nachfrage in Form eines artikulierten Forschungsinteresses bestehen. Selbstverständlich geht es bei einer solchen Sammlung jedoch nicht allein um das aktuelle Interesse einer möglichst großen Personengruppe. Bestände dieser Art müssen von Bibliotheken gewissermaßen auch ohne vorliegende Bestellanfragen in eigener Verantwortung gepflegt werden können. Nur sie sind dazu in der Lage. Der damit verbundene Nutzen kann somit ein ungewisser und durchaus auch ein zukünftiger sein. Die Sammlung muss das Potential bieten, auch zuvor nicht Bekanntes und Erwartetes durch ihre Nutzung zu entdecken', in Kümmel and Strohschneider 2014.

cooperation with faculty whether, and to what extent, just-in-case acquisition should take place, and not to abolish this paradigm completely.[217] The new FID are, on top of this, now obliged to differentiate between basic literature needs (*Grundbedarf*) and advanced literature needs (*Spitzenbedarf*), which denotes excellence and elitism—contrary to the funder's own translation of 'special demand', which is just as open for definition. However, FID are supposed to cater *exclusively* to advanced research, which justifies the funding being cut in half (Nägele 2018). Neither definitions nor critera are given, which might be a well-intended concession to flexibility by the funder. However, in reality, for every evaluation and application, the funder and library, together with its faculty support, will most likely contest this distinction, and will foster the (re)establishment of hierarchies of research fields within subjects (internal working paper of the FID for music studies, 22 March 2013, cited in Griebel 2014). Furthermore, as Münzmay (2018) states, advanced literature is not only needed for advanced studies, but is already asked for, e. g., in the context of bachelor theses, so there simply is no meaningful way to differentiate between those two levels, if the basic demand is imagined to be situated beyond introductory literature, classics, and textbooks. In the evaluation of the FID programme (Heinzelmann, Biela et al. 2019), it was criticised that students and mid-level faculty are frequently not recognised as target groups.

The SSG were long-term hosted by specific institutions and had to be—how could a collection ever be comprehensive, faculty liaison ever be intense, if a library had to start over in the next funding period (also see DFG 2019)? As the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* used to be aware of in 1966,[218] any interruption or termination of the collecting activities would quickly devalue the previous investments. Staff competencies are built over much longer periods than three years, not to even mention the implementation and development of technical systems that are needed to provide a

217 For a discussion of advantages and disadvantages of the just-in-case and just-in-time models, see Moahi 2002.

218 Bericht der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft über ihre Tätigkeit vom 1. Januar bis zum 31. Dezember 1965, Bad Godesberg, 1966, p. 103; cited in Griebel 2014.

meaningful service and also required by the funder's provision[219] (Binder 2018). Successful services do not receive any funding for maintenance after the three-year period, because only innovation deserves funding, in the eye of the funder (cf. Hagenau 2014; Heinzelmann, Biela et al. 2019). Short-lived quick and dirty developments or purchases of third-party services are fostered; the future preservation of the collections is not secured. All that is needed is a head librarian who is convinced (or pressed for budget) that low circulation titles need to be weeded, and collections that probably deserve a world heritage label would be lost instantly.

From the point of view of a library that never curated a SSG and would have to start from scratch, an application to build a FID is very unattractive, especially because the library has to contribute to the 'project' with its own funds which can easily put a strain on other subjects—a potential conflict in university politics (Depping 2014). One former SSG, psychology, hosted by the university and state library of Saarland, decided not to apply to become a FID (Hagenau 2014)—and there is still no FID for psychology even today, in 2020. The most important reason for the library not to apply is the break with the paradigms of continuity and anticipation of future demand, but also the constant challenge to innovate and to satisfy only local demands in times of flat budgets and excessive publishing. Not even researchers could have a full overview of the subject, so how can a library ever succeed with this task within a three-year period? In consequence, Hagenau is rejecting the basic idea of central special collection for a broad subject like psychology.

The 'transition to flexible funder's requirements' means a change of paradigm from cooperation to competition between libraries. In principle, the adequate and timely decision to let the funded institutions define specific collection policies for each field, and a shift of focus from ownership to access management, opened up space for competition that was immediately set up—with the result that seven of twelve applications from the first

219 One of the central tasks of FID are 'Aufbau und die Pflege komfortabler Nachweis- und Recherchesysteme, die technisch auf dem neuesten Stand gehalten werden', see DFG Richtlinien, Fn. 215.

round were declined, all of which were applying for SSH fields that used to profit most from the SSG system. Former hosts of special collections are now players in a game that can be lost, and staff, institution, and collection development all depend on the outcome, every third year. Under these conditions, a cooperative overall infrastructure is unlikely to develop (DFG 2019). And what if institutions decide not to gamble the ability to plan? It can be expected that the vendors will quickly find a solution.

Not all cooperative aspects between libraries are totally wiped out: several institutions can also apply for a FID together. A new cooperation is the competence centre for licencing,[220] which coordinates and facilitates negotiations for e-resource subscriptions, as well as their management (also see Harbeck 2018). However, in an evaluation (Heinzelmann, Biela et al. 2019) of the programme, it was noted that some subscriptions would only apply to limited user groups, such as faculty, and not to students.

As of January 2019, *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* reports a number of 40 FID, of which three have been discontinued in recent months.[221] The number of services changes quickly, and especially as a researcher in a small field, it is difficult to find out where to turn to. Even though the SSG structure has been criticised for a long time by the library community, it is largely kept, ironically because there is no prescribed structure: libraries decide on their own how to delimit their user community. Because of this, service levels will naturally be very different between fields, or non-existent. Currently, this leads to a structure very similar to the SSG, although hole-riddled, with subjects being partly renamed and merged, which is especially problematic in regard to the regional aspects of the structure (Griebel 2014; also see the critique of area studies in Section 2.2.5)—not only because area studies as such need to be questioned, but also because of the fact that some regions are covered, while others are not. Maintaining the regional aspect is explained by the funder with special cultural and linguistic knowledge

220 Kompetenzzentrum für Lizenzierung, https://www.fid-lizenzen.de, visited on 29 June 2020. The tasks of the centre are already defined in DFG Richtlinien, Fn. 215.

221 FID-Projekte in der Förderung (Stand Januar 2020), https://www.dfg.de/download/pdf/foerderung/programme/lis/uebersicht_laufende_fid_projekte.pdf, visited on 29 June 2020.

needed for selection and acquisition in some regions.[222] Alternatively, this could have been solved by a common competence centre for global acquisitions, where librarians with the required skills and knowledge are pooled and able to cooperate. Such a centre could also provide education to German librarians about publishers and resources in remote world regions.[223] This knowledge needs to be established at every library, and be accessible to users everywhere. Global acquisitions should not be sidelined, furthering selective forgetting, because they are 'already taken care of'. The maintenance of enclaves for 'global resources' cannot be justified any longer. While archives of meaningful source corpora with clear provenance are useful for research, global research literature is awaiting its integration into subject-based structures.

One of the most crucial non-budgetary problems involved in actually running FID is the lack of a common retrieval instrument—a challenging situation, especially for inter- and trans-disciplinary research. Vendors discourage libraries from building library-owned and managed systems with their data, since they would lose out on valuable usage data. Especially large databases cannot be included in a shared discovery system because even if licences are available, fees are not affordable (Münzmay 2018).

Database products are not only relevant to FID, but to the German librarian community in general. This brings the focus back to vendor-preselection products. Only since 2011 have German librarians been discussing and testing DDA models, and literature is sparse (Geisler 2014; also see Schumm 2013). Furthermore, the German librarians' congresses 2012-2018 shows that DDA models as well as approval plans are not much of a topic, with a few exceptions. The University Library Erlangen-Nürnberg, for instance, continuously reported its experiences with the DDA model (Plappert 2015; 2017), and refers to it as 'American model', in cases in which it is the dominating acquisition model of the library (Plappert 2015).

222 See DFG Richtlinien, Fn. 215. Interestingly, regions 'too small or relevant only temporarily' are excluded (my translation).

223 It would be theoretically possible to apply for such a centre within the framework of the FID programme, under '2.2.2 Further Cross Section Domains', DFG Richtlinien, Fn. 215. However, it would create potential conflict with regional FID.

The broadness and sustainability of the vendor's portfolios is doubted, and scepticism is grounded in issues with metadata and administration, which cause additional staff time-spending—all this has been discussed in Section 5.4. Further, he also sees a market concentration on a couple of aggregators, which cut off the direct contact between libraries and publishers, who are losing the proximity to their customers. The State and University Library Bremen even tailor-made a DDA system in-house, for new print books (Finke and Ahlborn 2014). However, in all reported cases, DDA only accounted for a small proportion of book acquisitions (see e. g. Otzen 2016). This does not necessarily mean that the 'American model' is not adopted at all. There are no statistics available.

The approval plan model in German libraries found even less resonance in the literature. After the late introduction of the 'new path' from the USA (Lichti 2009), and the, in many ways exceptional, 85% automated acquisition model at the State and University Library Dresden (Golsch 2015), the next thing heard was a loud outcry about the now realised intent of the Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin (ZLB), a public regional library also covering academic literature of public interest, to outsource 70% of its acquisitions to one of the largest German book retailers, and thereby reduce the number of reference librarian employees significantly.[224] Of course, the diminishing depth of the collection, together with a collection focus on popularity, rather than on cultural humility, are often-raised arguments in the debate.

In summary, the transition from SSG to FID shifts a principal mode of library work, cooperation, to competition. The ideal of most profound depth is lifted to the articulated needs of some. Long-term perspective, sustainability and the maintenance of staff experience are traded for 'flexibility' and 'innovation'. In Germany, vendor-preselection products are mostly present in the form of Big Deals, but approval plans and DDA are gain-

224 A collection of references to newspaper articles and other resources can be found on the website of the union group of that library: ver.di-Betriebsgruppe der Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin, Outsourcing, https://zlbbg.wordpress.com/category/outsourcing, visited on 29 June 2020. For a recent presentation of the acquisition model, see Seitenbecher and Finke 2018.

ing ground. Under these conditions, any approach to decolonise academic library collections is star-crossed.

5.7 Collection Development Survey & Policy Analysis

To get a clearer picture of the state of selection and acquisition routines in (some) European academic libraries, I conducted a very brief survey of collection managers working in libraries of universities that are best renowned for their SSH research and teaching. My original interest was to examine libraries with a large budget, but in the absence of data, I assumed that renowned universities are, by tendency, well-funded universities, and well-funded universities tend to value their libraries. I support that claim with return-of-library-investment studies (Kaufman 2008; Tenopir 2011; Kingma and McClure 2015), even though I am not convinced that a library's value is measurable in monetary terms. However, it is safe to say, that, by tendency, successful universities' library budgets are less constrained than those of lower-ranked universities, and therefore, in theory, have more leeway for proactive acquisitions.[225] This strategy resulted in a sample that only includes North- and West(-Central) European libraries. The survey is directed towards this—speaking in Galtung's terms—'Centre of the Centrestates' (see Section 3.2), because the argument needs to be sharpened accordingly if those 'high-end' libraries, which theoretically are in the best position to afford an investment in the cultural humility of the collection, currently should *not* do so. A subsequent question that cannot be tackled here, would be whether or not 'peripheral' libraries are actually more likely to build collections with cultural humility.

To determine the reputation of universities, I make use of the *Times Higher Education 2018 World University Rankings* for social sciences and for

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225 A correlation between a large budget and a large collection might be possible to find as well. Cast-Brede 2013, refuting previous research, could not confirm empirically that smaller libraries are focusing more on core materials and therefore cannot serve the ideal of cultural humility: 'Theoretically, it may be that smaller libraries recognize their limitations and are more selective in developing collections than larger libraries'.

arts & humanities.[226] Unlike other options,[227] the variety of indicators is large, focusing on both research and teaching. The weight of reputational surveys in the methodology is around 35%. For a preselection, each rank higher than 50 is included, preferably in both the social sciences and the art & humanities rankings, seeking to include a large variety of countries. The 25 preselected universities are situated in ten different countries—and it would have been hard to add more to the list, since some of the smaller countries only have one major university for SSH.

Following a saturation strategy, the top-ranked university in each of the countries was contacted first, reaching out to staff responsible for SSH acquisitions and subscriptions, respectively. Out of 18 contact approaches in total, ten collection or library managers from seven countries responded, until the point of saturation, relative to the required effort, was reached. In addition to the invitation to participate in the survey, I asked if the library has codified collection policies—in cases I could not find any on their websites. Of the ten libraries participating in the survey (libraries I-X), six have policies, four of them publicly accessible. Of the other eight libraries I invited, five have public policies (libraries XI-XV).

I analysed all the policies, concentrating on specific journal or database subscription policies if available. Seven of the policies I could read in the country's first language, one was translated by *Google Translate*, and the remaining three are secondary English versions. In some cases, I received clarifying information about the policies directly from the respondent. Of course, the policies mention many aspects beyond the list in Table 14, and just because something is not mentioned in the policy, does not mean that it is an irrelevant aspect to the library work. This analysis takes those policies for what they are: self-descriptions of collection management, and

226 Found at https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2018/subject-ranking/social-sciences, and https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2018/subject-ranking/arts-and-humanities, both visited on 20 Feb. 2018.

227 I am aware of three other university performance rankings (to differentiate them from online relevance rankings): CWTS *Leiden Ranking*, ARWU *World University Rankings* (also known as Shanghai Ranking), QS *University Rankings*.

therefore artefacts of how the library communicates. The aspects mentioned in the table are derived from the focal points of my study, and the wording is close to the analysed information.

The policies are very diverse, and they do not follow a common template. First of all, their format, style and length differ considerably, ranging from some short paragraphs on the library's website to skilfully edited documents of more than a hundred pages. However, as can be expected, there are similarities between policies from the same country or region. In the sample, there are three British, three Scandinavian, and two Swiss policies that correspond to each other, while the two Dutch policies do not. Without disclosing too much detail in order to keep the anonymity of the survey intact: the British policies use a very bureaucratic, contract-like language. The Swiss policies both commit to active research for new resources—a rare commitment in the overall analysis, and describe the collections in detail to the general public, including collection depths. In all but one other case, those detailed policies are only referred to in the analysed policy document. The Swiss policies also have in common that they do not describe any standard procedures of faculty influence on the collection, beyond acquisition suggestions. Those procedures are advanced at the three British libraries.

Taken together, the group of five from the UK and Switzerland are the only libraries which support the anticipation of future demand and are focused on the long-term continuity of their collections, while three of them still concentrate on the immediate user demand primarily. The three Scandinavian libraries do not share any hint about detailed collection policies, and they also operate strictly demand-driven—a logical correlation. However, the alertness against bias—political, religious, or other controversial tendencies of the resources—, found in five policies, is scattered amongst all eight libraries.

The coordination of acquisitions with libraries of other institutions close by is rather common (seven libraries), but could be expected to be even more relevant. Often, it is limited to e-resource consortia. The idea to tackle the problem of introducing more cultural humility into a collection via cooperation and collaboration was introduced in Section 5.1. However,

Aspects/Library	IV	XV	XII	XIII	V	VII	I	XIV	IX	X	XI	Total
Public policy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	9
Primarily demand- and/or user-driven		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	9
Long-term and continuity focused	✓ [a]	✓	✓	✓	✓	!						5
Detailed guidelines indicating collection depths	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		7
Coordination with libraries of other institutions	✓	✓	✓			✓ [b]	✓			✓	✓	7
Faculty liaison			✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	6
Avoiding bias	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓ [c]					5
Check for scientific quality	✓						✓	✓				3
Actively searching for new resources	✓	✓				!		✓				3
DDA						✓		✓				2
E-resource must provide COUNTER[d] statistics						✓						1

Table 14. Some aspects of collection policies of 11 European academic libraries. The sorting follows the visibility of similarities and differences. The exclamation mark translates to 'explicitly not'.

a This library is also the main branch of the region's public library.

b The library integrates interlibrary loan with users' acquisition suggestions, so the user fills out a form and the library decides how to go about the request. It can be expected that a standardised cross-check with other libraries' collections takes place ahead of each acquisition.

c The phrasing in the policy is a bit unclear, and points towards avoiding conflict with users rather than working towards a collection with cultural humility.

d COUNTER provides guidelines for publishers and vendors on how to implement usage statistics in their digital products, so a consistent cross-comparison between the vendors' products becomes possible for the library.

as long the approaches are strictly demand-driven, social bias will privilege certain items over others. There cannot be demand for resources that a user cannot retrieve by available means.

Only three libraries check potential acquisitions for scientific quality—assumedly at least three of the others rely on a faculty liaison for this purpose. Cooperating with research staff in acquisition committees or the like seems to be established in only less than half of the libraries. Two libraries commit to the appliance of long-term user-driven vendor contracts like DDA in their policies. Problems related to this business model have been discussed at length in Section 5.4. Furthermore, one of those libraries constrains e-resource acquisitions to products that comply with the COUNTER standard, which is technically challenging and not likely to be high on the priority list of technical features for publishers from the 'Global South'.

For the online survey (a transcript of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix E), 'collection' is not defined in the introduction, because the responding experts can be assumed to have their own strong definitions undergirding their daily work. Since the main aim of the survey is not to examine collection management as such, the questions and responses work to extract the information needed to get an idea about the role of 'peripheral' resources in 'high-end' European academic libraries, even without an agreed-upon definition of 'collection'.

Responses to the survey came in between 26 February and 20 March 2018. All questions were mandatory, except the follow-up free-text questions. In three cases, I took the chance of asking further questions via email, mostly for clarification of the responses. I treat this information as if it would have occurred from the survey, unless otherwise stated.

In the first scenario of the questionnaire, six respondents indicated that their libraries would theoretically subscribe to single journals, small packages or databases, even though there was no explicit user request for them. Of those, in the free text, two libraries emphasised that this would be an exception. In another case, this could happen if the librarians themselves had a demand, assuming that they are not counted as users then, but an identified collection gap would also be a reason for proactive acquisition. Therefore, in only four cases, does truly proactive collection building seem possible. In Table 15, those libraries' label is emphasised. Of those, one (Library III) specifies that a 'subject specialist' would request those resources, and another (Library IX), that single journals can be subscribed to proactively, but their use is then monitored during the first years of subscription. This seems to point to the conclusion that the library does not monitor use in general—something I assumed to be the norm. However, in Library IX, larger purchases would be discussed with faculty first.

Interestingly, two of the libraries (V and IX) that replied positively to the scenario were also included in the policy analysis. Their policies did not indicate commitment to proactive acquisition. However, Library V is in the half of libraries oriented towards the long-term continuity of collection development, so at least in this case, it is no contradiction. Since Library IX operates demand-oriented, the responding librarian might violate the policy by purchasing proactively. Conversely, one of the three libraries (IV) which codified the commitment to search for new sources actively, responded to the responding survey question as well—negatively. These discrepancies question the relevance of collection policies for acquisitions.

Not only positive, but also negative responses to the first scenario were commented in the free-text field, three times noting that collection development is exclusively based on user needs. In one case, the comment indicates that the phrasing of my question, including the word 'request', was not clear enough: 'Sometimes we as librarians find journals that seem interesting but we make a purchase only if the faculty agree to it. The journals are for our users not for us as librarians' (Library I). This sounds like the initiative can, by all means, come from the library. However, the wording sounds defensive, as if the concept of proactive collection building seems absurd to the respondent.

In the scenario of question two, a student suggests the library could subscribe to a certain e-journal which is not part of any journal package, but, compared to other resources the library subscribes to, inexpensive. I asked the respondents to describe the decision workflow.[228] In some cases, librarians mention that they would of course check if the journal is in the

228 Herrera-Morillas 2014 describes acquisition processes at Spanish university libraries.

Library	Preceding quality assessment	Policy assessment	Technical assessment	Subject librarian	Faculty consultancy	From monograph budget	Relevance ranking
I	x	*x*	x	x	x		
II				*x*			
III			x	*x*		x	
IV		*x*	x				
V		x			x		x
VI[1]	x				*x*		
VII		*x*					
VIII[2]					*x*		x
IX		*x*			x	x	
X[3]	x	*x*			x		

Table 15. European libraries' single journal subscription workflow matrix. Peculiarities are marked: 1—Students must gain support from faculty. 2—Department co-financing. 3—Faculty involvement only if pricier than €100. The libraries' label is emphasised if proactive collection building does occur. The most decisive workflow steps are also set in italics.

collection already, and also, if cost and budget are criteria for denying the request. These steps taken for granted, I tried to compare the workflow descriptions with the help of the matrix in Table 15, which illustrates the processes, at large, chronologically, from left to right, with emphasis on the most decisive step, if I could identify one.

In three cases, the academic quality of the journal is checked before the decision was left to subject librarians and/or faculty. Assessing the requested journals with the help of policies would also involve the orientation towards the university profile. However, even though in some cases the librarian did not explicitly mention a *collection* policy, in all cases in which policy played a role—in six libraries—a collection policy exists. However, those librarians (IV and IX) replying in contradiction to their libraries' policies in scenario one, interestingly, now emphasise the role that the policies play in the workflow.

Technical and legal aspects such as availability through subscription services, campus-wide authentication, or Digital Rights Management played a role in three cases. Interestingly, Library VII, whose policy also requires COUNTER compliance, is not one of those three, even though the policy is supposed to play an important role in the workflow, according to the responding librarian. Again, policies seem to have a rather weak influence on the actual library work. However, one librarian added that if 'the content is very important, so we make also technical exceptions' (Library IV). Another respondent regretted that small publishers often fail to comply with the requirements (Library III).

Subject librarians are mentioned in three workflow descriptions, and play the decisive role in two of them. Remarkably, these two are working in libraries in which proactive collection building can occur, so a correlation between this practice and a good standing of subject librarianship can be assumed in these cases. Faculty is almost as important in the workflows as policy, playing a leading role in two workflows, and being mentioned six times. In half of those cases, in negotiations with faculty, the librarians involved act as agents for the policy.

Inexpensive subscriptions are treated with more ease than pricier ones in three cases, being purchased with monograph budgets in two libraries. Two libraries maintain relevance-ranking systems that help to deselect those journals which cannot currently be afforded. In one of those systems, in Library VIII, the agreed share of co-financing by the corresponding department prioritises journals: the higher the department's contribution, the higher the title goes up in the ranking. Without it, journals 'will also be listed, but it is unlikely that they will be chosen'.

I conclude that even though faculty has a huge influence on journal subscriptions, the dominating factor reportedly is the collection policy, even though the occasional discrepancies between the librarians' responses and policy provisions leave room for doubt. Surprisingly, subject librarians are of high relevance in only two cases, but the correlation of the importance of their role with the possibility of proactive collection building is perspicuous. However, on average, and taking the preceding quality control of potential acquisitions and subscriptions into consideration, the librarian's expertise still weighs heaviest in the workflows.

With the third question, I carefully approach the main concern of the thesis: a perceived lack of cultural humility, leading to making the academic achievements from underprivileged world regions more visible. I asked if the 'geographical origin of the resources and/or geographical coverage of research subjects' of the local journal collection and database coverage, and if 'any other criteria with regards to a balanced content matter', are ever evaluated. Half of the respondents answered no, four answered yes, and one was unsure. Looking at the free text, the four approvals have to be put in perspective: only a single library (VI) evaluates journals and databases in regard to their place of origin and coverage, as a minor criterion. All four emphasised cost in relation to usage statistics/subject relevance as the most important criterion. 'However we might take into consideration if the journal/database is for a smaller research subject with few users, or in a language with few users. It might be important even though the usage is low' (Library VII). Libraries VI and VII could therefore be described, daringly, as aware of collection bias—adversely, these libraries do not support proactive collection building.

For e-journals from sub-Saharan Africa there are two main vendors, AJOL and *Sabinet*, which I already mentioned in Chapter 4, and which also offer some of the journals from my sample of Southeast African SSH journals. In question four of the survey, I therefore asked the participants if they ever considered or would consider subscribing to them. For AJOL, the answer is eight times 'no', and in the remaining two cases, an evaluation came out negative. For Sabinet, the 'no' is one voice louder.

From those who had considered a subscription, there was, on the one hand, the explanation that both resources would be available remotely at the regional/national central library for African studies. I checked the search tools and database list of the centre and could not find any link to AJOL nor *Sabinet*. Also, the response continues, some of the open-access content would be available through the library's discovery system. It is true that some journals are indexed in DOAJ or subject databases that are likely to be included in library discovery indexes, but as I reported at length in Chapter 4, this indexing is almost non-existent for my sample journals. On the other hand, it was elaborated that AJOL would not include 'enough interesting journals' (Library X). I would like to point at the fact that, in June 2018, AJOL held almost 58,000 closed-access papers published by 275 journals (the remainder of the, in total, 521 journals are open access). None of the respondents mentioned price, subscription model or technical issues as reasons not to consider subscriptions, even though these aspects were of high relevance when asking about general workflows.

One respondent's comment on why AJOL or *Sabinet* would not be considered struck me especially: 'Not being familiar with the resources, neither being in charge of the Anthropological department, I expect the sources are not part of our collections because they are not relevant to education/research' (Library VI). There are several noteworthy aspects in this assertion: on the one hand, it is assumed that journals from Africa must be, naturally, only of relevance for anthropology, or, to sharpen the point, that, in Africa, there is no academic knowledge production that would be of interest for anyone but anthropologists—this was denoted as area studies incarceration in Section 2.2.5. Just as a reminder: both databases are subject-independent and include large numbers of papers in the fields of, amongst others, health, agriculture, and life sciences—even more than in the different fields of SSH. Further, the assertion claims, on the other hand, that all relevant resources are in the library collection already and therefore, anything not included in the collection must be irrelevant. Considering that Library VI is the only library in the survey which uses geographical origin and/or coverage as a criterion for collection evaluation, this assertion is striking and certainly problematic.

In conclusion, it is obvious from the small survey that tight budgets and a user-in-the-library perspective are the focal points for European collection managers, even though acquisition and subscription workflows and policies differ considerably. There was only one library in which content could trump user statistics. Bias awareness was hardly found. Yet bias itself did surface, particularly in the last, and very tangible, question.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the library collection is understood as a curation service to the user community that reaches beyond standard search tools which already cover 'core' literature, such as GS. For subjects known to be important to the user community, a collection with cultural humility includes publications by small publishers, even if this requires deviating from standard workflows.

Collection assessment methods discussed in the literature usually assess how well core literature is covered, while everything beyond is put in an undifferentiated grey zone. Alternatively, 'diversity codes' have been assigned to each collection item to highlight currently marginalised topics. Research related to those topics usually aims at making social concerns more visible, which most 'central' research is bracketing by textual moves that serve to reach generalisability and universality. While 'diversity coding', depending on the action that follows from the results, might help raise awareness for specific social concerns, it is also limited to those concerns, and therefore blind to anything not yet within scope.

Cultural humility requires topical openness, which might be reached through an assessment approach based on the presence of publishers, author affiliations, and the geographical distribution of both, within the collection. Moreover, librarians need to scan for new publishers and research institutions, limited by the research interests and study programmes of the library's community, and in constant exchange with its researchers and students. In cooperation, cutting-edge contributions can be discovered. Problems involved in stably defining those topics, which usually appear when setting up a collection policy, can be avoided by pointing to the descriptions of the research interests and study programmes at the institution, and thereby keeping the definitions fluid. On a regular basis, the library can report on the strengths and weaknesses of the collection, reviewing recent acquisition successes and shortcomings which are closely related to the previously existing collection.

Currently, intellectual selection by a librarian is becoming increasingly rare and is only a supplemental method to demand-based acquisition and vendor-preselection products. Notably, 'demand', in this context, is predefined by search tools and depends on the library's hierarchisation of user groups. Given the present vendor consolidation, library technology and collections tend to homogenise. Omnipresent social biases are reproduced uncritically. The librarian's professional ethos of neutrality, be it the passive or active versions of it, supports those selection processes.

First of all, librarians involved in selection processes require an awareness of social injustice in society. Providing researchers with access to the universe of literature and, at the same time, addressing social biases, involves tedious and costly acquisition processes, and presupposes specific knowledge that is built most sustainably by inter-library cooperation. It points to a circular argument when this endeavour is not pursued because of lacking demand by the community served. Researchers cannot voice demand for something that is invisible to them. Tools supposedly offered by the library for the user to discover resources that are not already referred to in the literature, must naturally include 'peripheral' resources. Potential irritation has to be invited.

The generally positive connotation of neutrality in the context of librarianship can only be upheld if it is provided with cultural humility.

6 Implications & Further Research

This final chapter is less of a summary,[229] and more of a collection of ideas and suggestions about how to proceed with the findings of this thesis. It is mostly addressed to academic librarians, but also to information professionals, European SSH scholars and research managers. To European academic librarians who are considering devoting resources to decolonise their activities, especially their collections, I offer a concise list of suggestions in Appendix G.[230]

Subscriptions and acquisitions by European academic libraries rarely contain journals and books produced in Southeast Africa, nor are they often indexed by 'international' bibliographic databases. Without a tailor-made search strategy, this literature can rarely be discovered. Research information discovery systems implicitly privilege publications based on where they are published, rather than by novelty of the results or by relevance for the largest communities, to name just a few alternative options. This is to a considerable extent rooted in coloniality, a self-observation mechanism of society which leads to a tendency to attribute contributions by African

229 See the conclusions of the individual chapters for summaries, and the chapters themselves for supporting empirical evidence and literature.

230 There are some similarities with the list of recommendations in Bales and Engle 2012, e. g. promoting small presses and databases, but that list is both broader and narrower in scope. Broader, because it calls for shaking the epistemological foundations of librarianship to its roots. I do not believe this is likely to happen in the context of everyday library work, and this is also the reason why those recommendations are, at the same time, narrower: they take their point of departure from the North American position of academic and even tenured librarianship, but in most other countries of the world, many librarians have no academic education, and intellectual engagement is no part of their job descriptions.

authors as having a lower probability of being true and of being 'good' research. Coloniality is supported by the quantified and demand-driven collection philosophies that are now dominating academic libraries, which are being adopted from commercial information providers in tune with a general tendency of society towards quantified communication, individualised decision making and increased abstract labour.

Academic libraries seem to be losing hold of their specific service to the research system, which used to be based on professional resource selection, with the pressure of economic concerns only being a subordinate consideration. The commercial success of information providers depends on the reliability of their filtering capabilities in the service of the research system, so they also work in strong reference to the system. Public academic libraries are at risk of losing their outstanding position in the immediate environment of the research system by taking the role of an indifferent accountant to the standard information products that have come to be part of the basic facilities for universities.

This thesis argued that the increased commercial control of research support services deprives librarianship of concrete labour, which is now outsourced to vendors who have to be monitored and motivated to provide products with cultural humility. This constellation is a typical example of 'job bullshitting' (Graeber 2018) and the further abstraction of labour: instead of working along the institution's objectives, another organisation, which has its own objectives, is installed as a proxy. This creates pointless loops of additional effort, most likely leading to an undesired outcome. Since the responsibility for the concrete selection task now lies with the vendor, researchers who use the services also lose the intra-organisational contact with those who can be held responsible. An interesting question for further research would be if users accept shortcomings in the services with more ease if they arise from an internal organisation or from a commercial supplier. Are researchers aware, and does it make a difference to them if the organisation that supports their research with information and technology is devoted to the public good—to furthering knowledge production—or to profit? What is sure is that a less direct line of communication requires more total effort and is more likely to fail.

Commercial preselection of research information, and therefore of dissemination of academic publications, is primarily directed by the question of whether it will sell or not, and if so, at what price. What sells is largely defined by social bias, which is thereby reproduced, and with it social injustice. In the research system, this injustice is based on an oversimplified notion of 'the core' as materialising in certain places which are usually situated in the 'Global North'. When librarians passively accept this as a ground from which to select 'neutrally', relying on what is readily offered by major vendors and requested by the users, social bias is again reproduced uncritically.

Circulation and congruence of a library's collection with peer libraries are questionable indicators for measuring how well the entire user community is served. Instead, libraries need to provide access to the universe of literature according to the thematic interests of the community. The academic library is there to support this community not only with access to, but also with the retrieval of, resources which are difficult to retrieve. However, by acquiring rather marginal literature actively, and supporting its indexing, social injustice can only partly be tackled. Solely when marginality as such is questioned, as well as the grounds on which it has been ascribed to certain resources, can libraries decolonise themselves through a culturally humble form of neutrality, based on an awareness of social problems.

Is it only librarians, in collaboration with their user communities, who are responsible for decolonising collections, or should action first be taken by publishing houses, aggregators, and vendors? Many of these operate in the private sector, and their purpose is to generate profit. The additional staff required to include hard-to-come-by resources would first of all generate expenses. It is therefore unlikely that those businesses will strike out on this new path, unless they are pressured economically.

I do not mean to suggest that libraries should aim at pressuring the information industry, but rather that libraries should work towards decolonisation by their own means. Whether or not the industry uses this as an impetus to change its own strategies, is a different question. Libraries of public universities should not await an answer to this question before proceeding, because, as public institutions, their purpose is to foster knowledge production and dissemination for the common good, hence for cognitive and social justice. They are therefore the first who must advocate for restructuring scholarly communication. Under the conditions of capitalism, the industry will always find ways to maximise profit, which contradicts social justice in any case. There cannot be a socially just capitalism, because capitalism is based on competition, accumulation and concentration of means and resources, and exploitation of labour. However, the information industry's strategies can have a greater or lesser destructive impact on pluriversality. With their negotiatory power, libraries can direct this impact somewhat, and they are responsible for making use of it, even if they, too, act under the conditions of capitalism.

Focusing on European 'flagship' libraries in the collection management study of this thesis is surely too narrow of a scope to suggest which types of academic libraries hold the greatest opportunities and responsibilities to decolonise. Further research is also required to determine if smaller, rather impecunious libraries which cannot afford Big Deals anyway, might bring forward more creativity and openness to contribute to library decolonisation. Moreover, much could be learned from accompanying the recent decolonisation activities at academic libraries in the UK with a broad longitudinal study.

The history of library-based advocacy illustrates that its outcomes might not be identical to what has been envisioned by the advocators at the outset.[231] Analysing and studying those histories is crucial to understanding how the librarians' voices embed in society. The usage and transformation of newly developed notions and arguments need to be traced carefully. The utilitarian nature of policies, mission statements, and professional codices creates the risk that they are used to cut off productive discussions. To avoid that, those documents should be revised on a regular basis, documenting the debate, rather than its outcome. As living documents, they are linked to their history of becoming, referencing detailed arguments.

This thesis suggests redirecting the primary focus of collection management at European academic libraries from universally predefined 'core liter-

231 A good example is open-access advocacy; see e. g. Haider 2008; 2015.

ature' and abstract 'user demand'. In cooperation with faculty and students, libraries are predisposed to work towards a content- and community-based, and hence a communicative, definition of central publications. Collaborating with nearby libraries opens the prospect of a comprehensive composite collection that also includes rather peripheral contributions. Peripherality can then be defined as not yet being discussed a lot by neither the local community, nor by many other communities, but as being of potential interest locally.

Vendors' preselections have to be scrutinised and supplemented with cultural humility. Comparing individual combinations of smaller resource packages or single journals to one large package, and negotiating pricing for all of these, is tedious, but most likely leaves more room to manoeuvre towards collections with more cultural humility. A (consortial) boycott in cases when vendors drive up prices for products lacking cultural humility is an option that should not be feared. If explained to faculty, the need to find other ways of getting access will most likely be accepted, at least temporarily (see e. g. Kwon 2018). Oligarchic market structures should be challenged to put some constraints on profit making from public funds that are entrusted to the library for the purpose of public good. Operating with a largely digital universe of resources, a distributed network of deep special collections that, in combination, reach a high level of coverage, can be the goal, and (para-)copyright[232] obstacles for sharing between libraries should be addressed.

However, experience is necessary to identify resources which are relevant to the user community, especially if they can only be found in environments that are hard to access from Europe. Therefore, knowledge management, namely documentation and dissemination of source information, is key.[233] A remaining problem is the confusion between studies *about* and

232 In this context, para-copyright is derived from contracts with vendors which extend actual copyright.

233 For instance, Andy Nobes provided an annotated and editable list of *Journal Publishers and Platforms Outside* USA, *Europe and Australia*, last edited on 5 Nov. 2018, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1ilW5ggwq4G5po_uCMFaBt3exFnrI50Dvf-5UGuHhXGg, visited on 29 June 2020.

studies *from* a certain area, apparently a remnant of colonial thinking. Even though 'Global North' experts on resources from specific world regions exist, the need to consult with librarians working in the relevant environment during accessing and indexing processes is self-evident: key resources of any field can only be defined by local experts. However, precautions must be taken in order to not abuse consultation to legitimise decisions as being embraced by the group to which the consultant has been affiliated.[234]

As a promising activity within a decolonisation programme, I suggest establishing a library service that helps to decolonise reading lists and curricula, maybe in the form of a 'cultural humility seal'. The service could facilitate discussion groups with faculty, students, and librarians in order to identify opportunities to provide the curriculum with more cultural humility. Creating an awareness of cultural humility in this way will feed back to library user demand and collection, and most importantly, it will engage academic staff. Since it can be expected that a fully voluntary service will not be used enough, the seal could have two sides—'part of the decolonisation effort' or 'not yet part of it', displayed by default on each course registration website.

Due to the small samples, my scientometric studies on Southeast African SSH literature only provide initial hints to determine and interpret the discoverability and recognition of this literature from a European position. Further research is required to understand to what extent my findings can be generalised for this region, or transferred to other regions in the 'Global South', and to other starting positions for searches. Several aspects require further sample analysis; for instance, to what extent 'local' journals actually have a broad international authorship. Furthermore, more evidence is needed to support the claim that works published in the 'Global South' are cited frequently from both 'Global North' and 'Global South' positions.

234 See Ahmed 2012, p. 94. The person consulted rarely officially represents the whole group. Also, consultation can become a routine that sparks fatigue.

It also turned out that Southeast African countries have distinct publishing cultures that should therefore be observed independently. The strong domestic orientation of research in Ethiopia differs from a more or less ubiquitous global orientation in other countries. Questions that would need to be addressed include: does this apply across fields, can a similar orientation be found elsewhere in the world, and does this result in a stronger commitment to local problems, appreciated by the local population?

The increasing number of discontinued Southeast African journals needs to be put into perspective with other regions, to determine if this process can be observed globally. Furthermore, the mentioned major publisher consolidation, against the backdrop of quantified communication, might only be part of the explanation. The difficult technical and organisational shift from print to digital is another important factor, and there might also be a generational shift pertaining to editors. However, those factors are beyond the range of influence of European information professionals.

Evaluation regimes increasingly press scholars globally to publish in 'international' journals, indexed in 'international' databases. The framing of research projects often has to be adapted to relevant concepts prevalent in these, which usually differ from what the local public would perceive of as relevant. Because this generalisation barrier thus deprives those local communities of the proper provision of new knowledge by the research system, the globality of the research system itself can be questioned, considering it is intended to provide *world society* with new knowledge. This constellation has excluding effects for certain segments of potential audiences for research results, especially if they originate in the 'Global South'.

The preference for 'international' publication venues drains local SSH publishing infrastructures such as journals and university presses run by the scholarly community. Furthermore, especially on the African continent, faculty workloads are overwhelming, technical infrastructure is lacking, and frequent (political) crises often make it difficult to ensure regular appearances of journals, and to adhere to other publishing standards set by the information industry operating from the 'Global North'. Equivalent 'Global South' systems, which have been established recently, strongly orient themselves towards those standards. In consequence, the scholarly communities lose control over their dissemination infrastructure.

All of these moves can be explained as part of the underlying disposition of scholarly communication to reduce its complexity, to stabilise its way of operating, and to minimise effort, and therefore only to invite a minimal amount of irritation necessary for innovation. However, the way this is being done puts the research system at risk of losing its society-wide acceptance as the primary instance for knowledge production. The range of interests represented is too narrow, and the continued 'Global North' control can no longer be accepted and justified when issues such as those presented in this thesis spark wider awareness.

Mainstream bibliometrics, based on citation databases that are strongly biased in favour of the 'Global North', reproduce socially unjust distinctions along geopolitical lines within the research system. This thesis demonstrated how this becomes strikingly evident by setting the number of indexed papers in those databases relative to researcher counts, per country. In SSH basic research, three-quarters of the publications indexed in WOS represent the research interests of only slightly more than half of the global SSH researchers, who are based in countries hosting less than a seventh of the world population.

To decolonise scientometrics, those limited databases cannot be used to describe what is happening in the research system, but rather only to describe the characteristics of the indexing results—and that makes a huge difference. By acknowledging that, scientometrics and bibliometrics can differentiate between levels of observation which are usually merged into one, producing misleading conclusions and putting 'Global South' research in a disadvantageous light. Instead, CRIS- and CV-based collecting, as well as item-by-item data collection approaches, can do right by the variety of publishing venues which are especially rich in the SSH. Complexity has to be increased before it can be reduced again, by more apt means which do not further social injustice but still tackle the problem of the inordinate volume of contributions. This applies not only to scientometrics, but also to publishing venues.

One way of tackling the issue from the researchers' and editors' side would be to work towards provincialising or localising (in the true sense of the word!) 'Global North' research outcomes which, despite claiming universality, are actually studying local environments. Specifically in the SSH, the establishment of truly global research could help: 'global journals', 'global book series', and e. g. something like a 'global' tag in a future 'scholarly network' (see Schmidt 2016c), considering that classical formats of formal scholarly communication might be replaced. Those media should strictly publish research that applies rigorous standards to make sure that relevance is global, instead of generalising results based on local data. Standards for truly global research could be based on the basic programmable structures of research: theory and method. For instance, a variety of theoretical approaches that have been developed on different continents would be considered and synthesised. Further, data would be gathered globally, in places that differ considerably in many different regards.[235] Of course, this requires a very broad knowledge of many approaches, and data collection is also much more laborious and difficult. This kind of research is therefore much rarer and more precious, and should be reviewed and evaluated accordingly. Truly 'international' research media would then take the role of collecting local research from or focusing on different places. For further research, the 637 scholarly media with 'global' in the title, listed by *Ulrichsweb*,[236] could be analysed to determine to what extent they already comply with these or similar standards.

Along with the publisher consolidation, the industry increasingly loses its potential to receive irritating impulses from outside of its organisations. Publishers already lack this potential in comparison with other lines of business because competition is not based on the product that customers are

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235 This naturally comes with many pitfalls. For an example from feminist psychology, see Kurtiş and Adams 2015.

236 The following query, filtered for 'primary' editions, was used on 22 September 2019: `(+title:(global))Status:("Active")Serial Type:("Journal" "Monographic series" "Proceedings" "Yearbook")Content Type:("Academic / Scholarly")`. 338 of the 637 media are assigned to SSH.

mainly interested in: the singular publications. This might be an explanation for the expansion of the major publishers to services that cover other parts of typical scholarly workflows, which they then redesign according to their business goals. Other products, fit for competition, thereby come to the fore. When scholars spend their entire workday using the tools, valuable data is created that can be used by the company to further the scholars' retention. Libraries support this business because the publisher's products are fully integrated into the users' standard retrieval workflows. There is little research on how this is done exactly and what consequences it has. Another question that comes up in this context, is to what extent the user data comes from the 'Global North', and if this leads to—at times globally unrivalled—research support products which are designed according to 'Global North' preferences.

Many questions that appeared implicitly during the course of writing this thesis are related to the content level of the publications, especially to the role of what is discussed as 'indigenous knowledge'. Are there differences in style, in doing research, between local communities, and between the tasks of writing for 'local' and writing for 'international' publication venues? The actual impact of 'Global North' standard setting on scholarly writing awaits analysis. I suggested that 'local' journals could be perceived of as places to try something new, to experiment. Is this role actually acknowledged by researchers, and does it show in texts published locally?

Related to this, social systems theory provided the insight that central communication depends much more on the reassuring effect of peripheral communication than vice versa, in order to stabilise *as* centre. It seems worthwhile to look more deeply into how this actually works, and, on the one hand, to what extent the periphery communicates on its own terms, unobserved by the centre. On the other hand, an analysis of the exploitation of the periphery as a back-up system for the centre could provide a revelatory contrast.

A recent phenomenon is the inclusion of indexes which are perceived of as local into 'international' databases. This confers some kind of hybrid status to the journals indexed there: being included as something that remains marginal. Similarly, journal standards have recently been established, particularly for 'local' journals in a 'Global South' context. Journals which comply with the criteria stand out and automatically push remaining 'local' journals further to the margins. It can be questioned whether those enterprises increase the popularity of journals published in the 'Global South', or whether they instead further stabilise their perceived defectiveness, and further reinforce social bias. Those kinds of effects become observable only over an extended period of time.

The evolution of the *Impact Factor*'s impact provided some hints on how oversimplication, for the sake of complexity reduction, creates new problems that might be even more serious for the research system than the problem it was supposed to solve in the first place, especially since WoS privileges 'Global North' research significantly. How it can still be such a solid tool for quantified communication should be analysed in more depth. Can a fading of its relevance be observed alongside decolonisation endeavours, and how is the overwhelming complexity of scholarly communication dealt with instead?

A topic that was barely discussed in this thesis, is finally coming to the fore: open access. Without going into a description of the state of things on the African continent, I would like to end with some thoughts on so-called transformative agreements with major publishers, and Plan S.[237] The members of the latter initiative, mostly European (national) research funders, require all journal articles resulting from funded research to be published open-access, retaining copyright, immediately without embargo from 2021. At the same time, they abstain from considering journal metrics for funding decisions. Further, they commit to supporting the development of an adequate publishing infrastructure. Transformative agreements—Big Deals which include a certain amount of open-access publishing fees to motivate researchers affiliated with the same institution to publish in the journals of that publisher in order to increase the journals' open-access share—are supported by Plan S, if they indicate a specific limited time frame for a full flip to open access. These developments are mostly

237 Plan S. Making full and immediate Open Access a reality, https://www.coalition-s.org, visited on 29 June 2020.

taking place in the 'Global North', but still might influence the issues discussed throughout this thesis.

First of all, the *Impact Factor* will lose some of its relevance. However, it has, so far, only been of relevance in some fields of SSH. More importantly, many 'Global North' SSH researchers and their 'Global South' collaborators either have to wait for their favourite closed-access journals to flip or to accept parallel publication in a repository—or they have to start considering other options. This can be imagined as a good opportunity for open-access journals worldwide to attract some attention and diversify their author base. At the same time, the transformative agreements with major publishers which are currently gaining momentum with many national consortia in Europe, plus the announcement of Plan S to work with smaller publishers towards similar models, might be a huge drawback for 'Global South' open-access publishers and journals. Researchers, who usually are not familiar with the complexities of open-access business models, are drawn towards journals that their institution has a transformative agreement with. It is the libraries who usually administer these agreements, and who make sure that researchers become aware of the 'free' open-access option. Additionally, the announced supportive programmes for flipping closed-access journals might privilege small publishers which are based in the same countries as the funders. There is a slight chance that 'Global South' closed-access publishers can also benefit, but the technical requirements in order to apply for support are on the high end.[238] It remains to be seen whether, once again, 'Global North' institutions will make use of a system-wide transformative intervention to stabilise their own privilege, when there actually is an opportunity to irritate the global research system, and a chance for more social justice.

238 Those criteria also become mandatory for all Plan S-compliant journals in 2024; see Part III: Technical Guidance and Requirements, https://www.coalition-s.org/addendum-to-the-coalition-s-guidance-on-the-implementation-of-plan-s/principles-and-implementation, visited on 29 June 2020.

Svensk sammanfattning

Den empiriska grunden till detta projekt utgörs av ett flertal självständiga studier som i sin tur bygger på uppgifter från många olika källor. I stället för att sammanfatta dessa studier här kommer jag att bygga vidare på deras huvudargument. Avhandlingen bygger också på en omfattande och varierad litteratur. I stället för att lägga tonvikten vid ett fåtal författare och verk kommer jag i sammanfattningen att hänvisa till tidigare lärdomar implicit, i insikt om att all kunskap är social och att många frågor som är relevanta för mitt arbete redan har diskuterats i olika samhällen. Genom att skriva denna sammanfattning får jag därmed en möjlighet att ta ett steg tillbaka från mitt privilegium att göra ett urval av litteratur, åtminstone i viss mån.

1. Problem och syfte

I avhandlingens inledning beskrivs det problem som undersöks som omotiverat åsidosättande av akademiska texter från den 'globala södern'. Syftet med avhandlingen är att synliggöra några av de sätt på vilka de som arbetar inom informationssektorn bidrar till detta åsidosättande på grund av specifika faktorer som är mycket framträdande i dagens världssamhälle**, närmare bestämt det koloniala arvet, social orättvisa och kvantifierad kommunikation. Akademisk kommunikation betraktas ofta som en typ av kommunikation vars alla delar är i hög grad sammankopplade på global nivå. Bland annat ämnets relevans och platsen för publicering spelar stor roll vid urvalet av referenser. Litteratur som publiceras i den 'globala norden'

** Detta begrepp översätts direkt från det övervägande tyska sammanhanget för sociala systemteorier (*Weltgesellschaft*), och det används också i samband med nyinstitutionalism (*world society*).

är lättare att hitta än litteratur från den 'globala södern', varför den förra sorten kan sägas vara privilegierad i detta sammanhang.

Hur betraktar sig forskningssystemet som globalt, när det i själva verket är uppdelat i en central och en perifer del? Jag föreslår sätt att analysera detta begreppsmässigt såväl som scientometriskt. Med utgångspunkt i ett urval av relevant publikationsdata undersöker jag hur grundforskning inom samhällsvetenskap och humaniora från sydöstra Afrika tillåts ta plats i den globala akademiska kommunikationen. Platsen för publicering ger en fingervisning om hur lätt viss litteratur är att upptäcka. I avhandlingen undersöks även hur den aktuella samhällsutvecklingen på global nivå inverkar på sydöstra Afrikas infrastrukturer för spridning av forskning. Eftersom ingen bibliografisk uppgiftskälla finns att tillgå på ett enkelt sätt måste en sådan upprättas. Ett sekundärt syfte med avhandlingen är således att reflektera över scientometrins blinda fläckar.

Slutligen, när det gäller europeiska akademiska bibliotek, undersöks hur de ovannämnda problematiska samhällsstrukturerna är kopplade till yrkesvärderingar, närmare bestämt neutralitet, och arbetsflöden när det gäller hantering av samlingar.

2. Forskningssystemet i världssamhället

I kapitel 2 beskrivs forskningssystemet som ett autonomt socialt system. Med sin specialiserade kommunikation fyller det en viss funktion i världssamhället, närmare bestämt att förse världssamhället med ny och tillförlitlig akademisk kunskap. Jag utgår ifrån att forskare åtminstone i viss mån företräder lokala intressen, och att befolkningen i den 'globala södern' till viss del har andra intressen än befolkningen i den 'globala norden'. Med tanke på detta kan forskningssystemet knappast sägas fylla sin funktion att företräda intressena hos världens befolkning. Genom kolonisationen förhindrade länderna i den 'globala norden' att den 'globala söderns' kunskapsproduktion och även dess system för mottagandet av kunskap utvecklades på ett gynnsamt sätt. Dessa förpassades till forskningssystemets periferi, samtidigt som själva forskningssystemet institutionaliserades i praktiskt taget alla länder i den 'globala södern'.

Det ojämlika deltagandet i kommunikationen på området samhällsvetenskap och humaniora är en återspegling av seglivade sociala orättvisor som genomsyrar samhället i stort. Efter den politiska kolonialismens slut ändrade forskare i den 'globala norden' inte sin inställning till 'södern'. Developmentalismen och det kalla kriget, i kombination med uppdelningen av samhällsvetenskap och humaniora i dels de 'klassiska' ämnena, dels områdesstudier befäste denna nedlåtande syn. Områdesstudier är till en viss grad isolerade från andra humanistiska och samhällsvetenskapliga ämnen, inte minst på grund av informationsmässiga men även rumsliga avstånd, som till exempel på bibliotek. Detta beskriver jag med begreppet 'instängning av områdesstudier' (*area studies incarceration*).

I kapitlet ges också vissa inledande förklaringar av varför vissa akademiska publikationer mer sällan upptäcks och hänvisas till än andra. Dagens citeringsindex av typen *Web of Science* (WoS) var ursprungligen avsedda som verktyg för informationssökning. De som tilldelar forskningsmedel började emellertid snart att använda dessa som det verktyget för att få översyn över forskningssystemet. Eftersom inkludering av forskningsresultat i detta verktyg är särskilt osannolikt när de har sitt ursprung i den 'globala södern' samt beror på ett privat företags icke-transparenta beslut, reproduceras åsidosättandet i hela forskningssystemet. Den ordinarie scientrometrin, och inkluderingsförfarandena i de databaser som används, bidrar till att bibehålla status quo.

De akademiska bibliotekens problematiska roll som medlare mellan forskare och kommersiella informationsleverantörer tas också upp i detta kapitel. Biblioteken utkontrakterar numera urvalsförfarandet (delvis till obetalda användare) och fungerar i allt högre grad som en helpdesk, övervaknings- och marknadsföringstjänst för leverantörernas produkter. De uppfyller alltså endast sitt uppdrag som offentliga administrativa organisationer i nyliberal mening, där ekonomiska intressen tillåts få överhanden. Bibliotekens roll vid utformning av kunskapssamlingar blir däremot allt mindre.

Öppen tillgång (*Open Access*) som tillsammans med ideella organisationer hjälper till att bygga upp förtroende och understödjer synlighet och möjligheten att upptäcka olika informationsresurser kan framstå som en bra lösning, men affärsmodellers centrala betydelse får inte underskattas. När avgifter till förläggaren betalas före publikation, antingen av författarna eller av deras institutioner, förlorar biblioteken sitt enda effektiva förhandlingsverktyg gentemot förläggarna eftersom det inte går att förhandla om priset. I takt med att förlags- och informationsindustrin i den 'globala norden' växer till att omfatta hela forskningsflödet ifrågasätts den allt mindre av externa aktörer. Även när det gäller forskarledd publicering med öppen tillgång har forskare i privilegierade miljöer än en gång ett tydligt övertag. Öppen tillgång som ny standard utestänger ofta aktörer från den 'globala södern', eftersom det kräver avancerad IT-infrastruktur och omfattande personalresurser.

'Mångfald' nämns allt oftare i samband med akademiska bibliotek, vilket tyder på en växande medvetenhet om sociala orättvisor. 'Mångfaldshantering' riskerar emellertid att förvärra situationen, vilket diskuteras kort i kapitel 2. I stället introduceras begreppet 'kulturell ödmjukhet' (*cultural humility*), vilket flyttar fokus från 'de andra' och tvingar personer i privilegierad ställning att undersöka sina egna attityder.

Slutligen påvisar jag sambandet mellan den allt större pressen på forskare att publicera i stora mängder, oavsett kvalitet, och samhällets preferens för kvantifierad kommunikation å ena sidan, och framväxandet av *predatory publishing* å andra sidan. Kopplingen mellan denna företeelse och den akademiska världen i den 'globala södern' har diskuteras öppet, och den förra kan sägas brista i respekten för och inverka negativt på den senare.

Avslutningsvis kan det konstateras att forskningssystemet måste ta itu med problemet med en enorm mängd tidigare kommunikation som eventuellt är relevant för diskussionen om aktuella frågor. Detta innebär en stor komplexitet som måste bemötas. Tekniska system, såsom exempelvis relevansordningar i bibliotekens söksystem, är välkomna eftersom de kräver en mycket liten arbetsinsats. Om forskare förlitar sig på dessa system utan att ifrågasätta deras mer eller mindre komplexa funktionssätt, och inte utvecklar reflexiva metoder för litteratursökning på egen hand, kommer systemens interna strukturer att få en direkt inverkan på den akademiska kommunikationen. Det krävs medvetenhet av att överförenkligar förekommer och en acceptans för ökad komplexitet. Endast då kan det finnas hopp om ett mer socialt rättvist och kulturellt ödmjukt system. Med tanke på det sätt på vilket det globala forskningssystemet ursprungligen etablerades har den akademiska kommunikationen själv, liksom alla institutioner som tjänar denna, däribland akademiska bibliotek, ett ansvar att för det första, reflektera över sina privilegier och avsäga sig dessa och, för det andra, att aktivt bekämpa dessa varhelst de förekommer.

3. Att dela upp världen och den akademiska kommunikationen

I kapitel 3 diskuteras uppkomsten och utvecklingen av det dubbla konceptet centrum/periferi. I synnerhet den senaste tidens förståelser av detta koncept innefattar en spatial – eller geografisk – åtskillnad med koppling till 'den globala norden/södern'. Det har flera nackdelar. Först och främst befäster det ansamlingen av referentiellt uppkomna kommunikativa periferier i den 'globala södern', och av centrum i den 'globala norden'. Det är ett sätt att skapa (och befästa) ett privilegium och är därmed en social orättvisa. Jag argumenterar för att den spatiala hänvisningen ska ersättas med en hänvisning till den interna differentieringen i sociala system. Forskningssystemets centrum uppkommer flexibelt och formas kring forskningsresultat som refereras särskilt frekvent i andra forskningsresultat. Det som är perifert för ett kommunikativt kluster kan vara centralt för ett annat. Perifer kommunikation är ett område där epistemologiska risker kan tas och där centrumet befästs som sådant.

Den spatiala uppdelningen i centrum/periferi återspeglas semantiskt i uppdelningen i 'internationella' och 'lokala' tidskrifter. Definitionerna är ofta implicita och tar sig många olika uttryck, men det förra kopplas i allmänhet till karriärfrämjande publikation och hög global synlighet, och det senare till relevans endast för lokalsamhället eller tveksam kvalitet. Det som inte beaktas i samband med dessa definitioner är förmågan hos tidskrifter som inte drivs av större förlag att utforma riktlinjer för författare som kan skilja sig från standarderna i den 'globala norden'. Här ges utrymme för produktiv irritation i akademisk kommunikation som går längre än bara teknisk innovation. Dock försvinner kontinuerligt fler och fler av dessa öppningar som möjliggör utvecklingsimpulser. Det är därför angeläget att forskningsledare, bibliotek och forskare se över sina förhållningssätt.

Här återkommer emellertid den problematiska situationen som utveckling mot publicering med öppen tillgång också måste relateras till och som diskuterades i kapitel 3: de flesta institutioner i den 'globala södern' har knappt råd att driva lokala strukturer på ett tillförlitligt sätt. Ett möjligt scenario är att ännu fler forskningsresultat omstruktureras för att ta sig över 'internationella' publikationers generaliseringströskel, men det riskerar att forskningens lokala synlighet och relevans gå förlorad. Det andra scenariot är att lokalt relevanta resultat förblir gömda för en global publik i beställda rapporter som sällan varken genomgår kollegial granskning, finns tillgängliga under längre tid eller bevaras. Båda dessa scenarier är redan vanligt förekommande, och alla andra alternativ kommer att bli svåra att göra gällande under rådande omständigheter.

Scientometri och bibliometri understöder ofta reproduktionen av den spatiala åtskillnaden mellan centrum/periferi i forskningssystemet, genom att identifiera centrum för forskningskommunikation – länder eller institutioner – kvantitativt, utifrån icke-representativa data. När det gäller WoS överfördes en intern organisationspolicy indirekt på andra sammanhang av forskningsledare och inverkanssemantik utan en noggrann bedömning av huruvida den faktiskt var lämplig för det avsedda ändamålet. Hänvisningar till forskningskommunikation i andra och tredje hand, såsom bibliografiska databaser och studier om dessa databaser, matas tillbaka in i systemet för akademisk kommunikation och blir en del av dess hänvisningsmiljö. Det finns inget bättre exempel på detta än WoS. Den utbredda uppfattningen att en hänvisning i fjärde hand är en garanti för högkvalitativ forskning har lett till en rad systematiska fel.

Som en avslutning på detta kapitel lägger jag fram ett förslag om att forskningssystemet bör bli mer komplext, detta för att göra det möjligt att göra sig av med den koloniala åtskillnad (*colonial difference*) som systemet reproducerar genom ackumulerade spatiala periferier i den 'globala södern'. Den koloniala åtskillnaden är en genväg för att göra forskningssystemet mindre komplext och det krävs ett annat sätt att nå det målet. I stället för ett program som är avsett att laga systemet måste den 'globala nordens' åtgärder för att minska systemets komplexitet, inbegripet alla dess kriterier, först och främst förkastas och additiva tillvägagångssätt undvikas. Då kan större komplexitet möjliggöras, och strukturer som är bättre lämpade för ett globalt system – och social rättvisa – kan växa fram.

4. Avkoloniserad scientometri

Kapitel 4 ägnas åt en utforskning av hur scientometrin kan avkoloniseras: scentometristudier måste ha kunskap om det specifika sammanhang i vilket akademisk kommunikation förekommer. De kan inte heller begränsa sig till en viss datakälla, med tanke på att deras insikter är avsedda att göra mer än att bara beskriva den datakällan. Källornas inkluderingskriterier och begränsningar måste undersökas. Eftersom många manuella steg krävs för att kombinera olika källor blir urvalen små och beroende av projektets kapacitet. Curriculum vitae-baserad och institutionsbaserad datainsamling gör det också lättare att hitta icke-indexerade publikationer.

Bibliotek och organisationer som arbetar för dessa använder sig fortfarande av standardiserade bibliografiska metadataformat för sina index. *Googles* helt annorlunda, länkbaserade, sökmetod är överlägsen de andra metoderna, åtminstone när det gäller täckning. I allt större utsträckning, förefaller det som att möjligheten att hitta en text är beroende av att sökverktyget *Google Scholar* (Gs) används, vilket är problematiskt på flera sätt: det finns inget sätt att ansöka om att bli inkluderad, ingen namngiven personal kan hållas ansvarig för plattformen och Gs drivs av ett företag vars centrala affärsidé bygger på reklam och insamling av användardata. Det främsta skälet till att erbjuda denna för användaren kostnadsfria tjänst är därmed förmodligen inte att tillgodose forskares informationsbehov. Att förlita sig på Gs framstår därmed som ohållbart och jag menar att detta kan leda till att ytterligare äventyra forskningssystemet.

De avkolonialiserade scientometriska studierna i kapitel 4 leder till tre viktiga insikter. För det första: ‘lokala’ sydostafrikanska tidskrifter är ofta avsevärt ‘internationella’ när det gäller författarskap. För det andra: när sydostafrikanska författare inom samhällsvetenskap och humaniora publiceras i den ‘globala södern’ leder det ofta till ett erkännande i den ‘globala norden’. För det tredje: det ofta upprepade påståendet att akademiker från den ‘globala södern’ föredrar att citera ‘central’ forskning tenderar att försvagas när ‘lokala’ publikationer inkluderas i studien. Åtminstone framträder ett sådant förändrat mönster i undersökningen av anknytningarna hos dem som citerar mauritiska författare inom samhällsvetenskap och humaniora.

När författare från sydöstra Afrika i större utsträckning vänder sig till förläggare i den 'globala norden' leder det till att deras arbete blir lättare att upptäcka och mer synligt. Denna effekt välkomnas sannolikt av både författarna och deras läsare, men den har sitt pris: ytterligare urgröpning av lokala eller regionala publiceringsinfrastrukturer i de fall sådana existerar, och därmed en försvagning av lokala kulturer för översyn, urval och redigering. Om akademiker från sydöstra Afrika fortfarande deltar i detta arbete, som är av stor vikt för flödet av akademisk kommunikation, kommer de att göra det på villkor som helt bestäms av den 'globala norden'.

5. Avkolonisering av akademiska bibliotekssamlingar i Europa

I kapitel 5 förstås bibliotekssamlingen som ett slags insamlingstjänst för användarna som går utöver vanliga sökverktyg som redan omfattar 'grundläggande' litteratur, till exempel GS. När det gäller ämnen som man vet är viktiga för användarna inkluderar en samling präglad av kulturell ödmjukhet publikationer från små förlag, även när det innebär att man måste frångå de vanliga förvärvsprocesser.

De metoder för utvärdering av samlingar som diskuteras i litteraturen bedömer i normalfallet hur väl den grundläggande litteraturen täcks in, medan allt som går utöver denna placeras i en odifferentierad gråzon. Kulturell ödmjukhet kräver tematisk öppenhet, som kan nås genom en utvärderingsmetod som baseras på förekomsten av förläggare, författares anknytningar och den geografiska fördelningen av båda dessa inom samlingen.

För närvarande håller bibliotekariers intellektuellt grundade urval på att bli alltmer sällsynt och används endast som ett komplement till efterfrågansbaserade förvärv och produkter som valts ut på förhand av säljarna. 'Efterfrågan' i detta sammanhang definieras på förhand till stor del av sökverktyg och beror på bibliotekets rangordning av användargrupper. Mot bakgrund av den aktuella sammanslagningen av förlag och tjänsteleverantörer finns det en tendens för biblioteksteknik och samlingar att bli mer homogena. Kraven på att bibliotekarier ska vara neutrala, både passivt och aktivt, stöder dessa urvalsprocesser.

Att ge forskare tillgång till litteraturens hela universum och samtidigt bekämpa social snedvridning innebär arbetskrävande och kostsamma förvärvsprocesser. Det är ett cirkelresonemang när det sägs att detta inte görs på grund av den bristande efterfrågan hos användarna. Forskarna kan inte efterfråga något som är osynligt för dem. De verktyg som biblioteket erbjuder och som är avsedda att användas för att upptäcka resurser som det inte redan hänvisas till i litteraturen måste nödvändigtvis omfatta 'perifera' resurser. Potentiell irritation, dvs. möjliga störningsmoment, måste välkomnas. Den i allmänhet positiva uppfattningen av 'neutralitet' i bibliotekariesammanhang kan bara upprätthållas om neutraliteten kombineras med kulturell ödmjukhet.

6. Implikationer och vidare forskning

Avhandlingen är till största delen argumenterande. Den innehåller flera begreppsmässiga diskussioner som stöds av småskaliga empiriska studier. I det avslutande kapitlet presenteras ytterligare frågor för diskussion som uppkom under arbetets gång och som förtjänar att uppmärksammas. Det är min förhoppning att resultaten kan ligga till grund för en diskussion bland yrkesverksamma om avkolonisering av akademiska bibliotek. Förteckningen över förslag rörande kulturell ödmjukhet för akademiska bibliotekarier i bilaga G inleds med en analys av den europeiska bibliotekariens egna privilegierade ställning. Kulturell ödmjukhet måste införas i rekrytering, förvaltning och PR-verksamhet och införlivas i utbildning i biblioteks- och informationsvetenskap. Hantering av samlingar bör vara en kollektiv uppgift, där bibliotekarier, lärare och studerande deltar. Det kräver att man förvärvar och indexerar publikationer även från underprivilegierade miljöer, utan att förstärka instängningen i områdesstudiefacket. Befintliga samlingar måste också utvärderas i detta sammanhang. Litteraturens hela universum kan bara täckas in i samarbete med andra bibliotek. Samarbete mellan bibliotek stärker dessutom bibliotekens ställning i förhandlingar med förlag och tjänsteleverantörer. Akademikerledda icke vinstdrivna förlagsinfrastrukturer måste stödjas både lokalt och globalt. Det kan hjälpa till att förflytta makten att sätta standarder från kommersiella förläggare till akademiker, särskilt till dem som i dagsläget är underprivilegierade.

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Appendix A

On 25 March 2017, Wos returned 1,160,596 records for the following query which was intended to cover the entire WoS share of the global SSH basic research publications. When split into publication counts for the single countries, this number increases to 1,366,280 because of international co-authorships:

```
((CU=(Switzerland OR Iceland OR Lithuania OR Portugal OR New
    Zealand OR United Kingdom OR Norway OR Sweden OR Finland OR
    Denmark OR Tunisia OR Greece OR Austria OR Estonia OR
    Slovakia OR Macao OR Latvia OR Spain OR Germany OR
    Montenegro OR Ireland OR Malta OR Belgium OR Canada OR
    Australia OR Japan OR Poland OR Hungary OR Luxembourg OR
    Turkey OR United States OR Slovenia OR Israel OR Czech
    Republic OR Korea OR Cyprus OR Morocco OR Iraq OR Malaysia
    OR Bahrain OR Italy OR Croatia OR Argentina OR Netherlands
    OR Uzbekistan OR Brazil OR Serbia OR Bulgaria OR Egypt OR
    Senegal OR Macedonia OR Palestine OR South Africa OR Iran
    OR Georgia OR Albania OR Kuwait OR Romania OR Singapore OR
    Thailand OR Uruguay OR Cuba OR Costa Rica OR Kazakhstan OR
    Colombia OR Trinidad and Tobago OR Qatar OR Oman OR Chile
    OR Gabon OR Cabo Verde OR Azerbaijan OR Ecuador OR Russian
    Federation OR Pakistan OR Cameroon OR Moldova OR Venezuela
    OR Algeria OR Zimbabwe OR Puerto Rico OR Mexico OR Namibia
    OR Sudan OR Côte d'Ivoire OR Democratic Republic Congo OR
    Mauritius OR Nicaragua OR China OR Armenia OR Bolivia OR
    Benin OR Paraguay OR Kyrgyzstan OR Togo OR Indonesia OR
    Philippines OR Belarus OR Kenya OR France OR Madagascar OR
    Mongolia OR Tajikistan OR Malawi OR Peru OR Angola OR
    Panama OR Bosnia and Herzegovina OR Mozambique OR El
    Salvador OR Ethiopia OR Bermuda OR Rwanda OR Mali OR
    Tanzania OR Sri Lanka OR Guatemala OR Uganda OR Central
    African Republic OR Ghana OR Nepal OR Ukraine OR Zambia OR
    Nigeria OR Gambia OR Botswana OR Niger OR Viet Nam OR India
    OR Timor-Leste OR Swaziland OR Guinea OR Guinea-Bissau OR
    Lesotho OR Burundi OR Jamaica OR Mauritania OR Liberia OR
    Congo OR Eritrea OR Saudi Arabia OR Lebanon OR Turkmenistan
    OR Sierra Leone OR Libya OR Laos OR Jordan OR Papua New
    Guinea OR Honduras OR United Arab Emirates OR Somalia OR
    Dominican Republic OR Haiti OR South Sudan OR Chad OR
    Cambodia OR Burkina Faso OR Syrian Arab Republic OR Yemen
    OR Myanmar OR Bangladesh))
NOT (WC=(Public Environmental Occupational Health OR Clinical
    Neurology OR Health Policy Services OR Obstetrics
```

```
    Gynecology OR Biology OR Social Sciences Biomedical OR
    Zoology OR Economics OR Substance Abuse OR Rehabilitation
    OR Infectious Diseases OR Psychology Applied OR Planning
    Development OR Virology OR Environmental Studies OR Green
    Sustainable Science Technology OR Environmental Sciences OR
    Energy Fuels OR Respiratory System OR Agricultural
    Economics Policy OR Veterinary Sciences OR Health Care
    Sciences Services OR Psychiatry OR Tropical Medicine OR
    Pharmacology Pharmacy OR Immunology OR Business Finance OR
    Nursing OR Forestry OR Agriculture Multidisciplinary OR
    Ecology OR Endocrinology Metabolism OR Management OR
    Psychology Clinical OR Computer Science Interdisciplinary
    Applications OR Geography Physical OR Soil Science OR
    Social Sciences Mathematical Methods OR Biodiversity
    Conservation OR Public Administration OR Pediatrics OR
    Parasitology OR Nutrition Dietetics OR Hospitality Leisure
    Sport Tourism OR Medicine General Internal OR Water
    Resources OR Medical Informatics OR Industrial Relations
    Labor OR Transportation OR Integrative Complementary
    Medicine OR Engineering Environmental OR Food Science
    Technology OR Law OR Computer Science Information Systems
    OR Evolutionary Biology OR Agriculture Dairy Animal Science
    OR Ophthalmology OR Oncology OR Demography OR Mathematics
    OR Science Technology Other Topics OR Geriatrics
    Gerontology OR Fisheries OR Government Law OR Entomology OR
    Research Experimental Medicine OR Engineering OR Dentistry
    Oral Surgery Medicine OR Chemistry OR Cardiovascular System
    Cardiology OR Urology Nephrology OR Agriculture )))
AND DOCUMENT TYPES: (Article OR Book OR Book Chapter OR
    Proceedings Paper)
Indexes: SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-SSH, BKCI-SSH, ESCI. Timespan:
    2007-2016.
```

Appendix B

Country	HDI rank	x=1 researcher n inhab.
Albania	75	3,751
Lebanon	76	12,408
Mexiko	77	21,065
Algeria	83	12,709
Ukraine	84	16,916
Armenia	84	21,123
Jordan	86	27,896
Peru	87	57,775
Thailand	87	4,791
Mongolia	92	33,835
Jamaica	94	20,665
Colombia	95	7,494
Tunesia	97	1,014
Libya	102	1,650
Uzbekistan	105	2,286
Bangladesh	139	131,622
Ghana	139	121,064
Zambia	139	142,179
Cambodia	143	153,923
Nepal	144	165,666
Cameroon	153	15,189
Papua New Guinea	154	14,665
Zimbabwe	154	14,141

Table 16. For emphasised countries, UNESCO data about researcher numbers was not available or 'negligible'. For these countries, WoS SSH publication count 2007-2016 was >100. Their HDI (2016) 'rank neighbours' helped estimating x.

Country	Population
Bermuda	65,216
Burkina Faso	16,590,813
Chad	12,715,465
Congo	4,286,188
Dominican Rep.	10,155,036
Eritrea	4,892,233
Guinea-Bissau	1,714,620
Haiti	10,288,828
Honduras	7,736,131
Laos	6,473,050
Liberia	4,190,155
Mauritania	3,777,067
Myanmar	52,543,841
North Korea	24,763,353
Sierra Leone	6,043,157
Somalia	10,033,630
South Sudan	10,980,623
Swaziland	1,231,694
Syria	19,978,756
Timor-Leste	1,102,076
Turkmenistan	5,172,941
Yemen	24,882,792

Table 17. Countries without any UNESCO data about researcher numbers or with note 'magnitude nil or negligible', when WOS SSH publication count 2007-2016 was less then one hundred. For these countries, the ratio of one SSH researcher to *n* inhabitants, has been set to equal the population count.

Country	Data Year	Researchers by Unesco indicator	Estimated Hc Hei Ssh	Population	Unesco indicator
Benin	2007	1,000	347	10,049,792	Hc
Brazil	2010	188,033	65,289	202,401,584	Hc Hei
Cameroon	2008	4108	1,426	21,659,488	Hc Hei
Côte d'Ivoire	2005	2,359	819	21,102,641	Hc Hei
Cuba	2012	4,655	1,616	11,342,631	Hc
Dem. Rep. Congo	2009	7,813	2,713	70,291,160	Hc Hei
France	2012	111,036	38,554	63,561,798	Hc Hei
Guinea	2013	14	5	11,628,767	Hc Hei
Israel	2013	9,614	3,338	7,694,507	Fte Hei
Mexico	2011	16,691	5,795	122,070,963	Fte Hei
Nepal	2010	478	166	27,500,515	Hc
New Zealand	2013	19,000	6,597	4,435,883	Hc Hei

Table 18. Countries for which I estimated the Ssh researcher head counts at Hei, proceeding from available researcher counts (see Unesco indicator) and the mean ratio Ssh:Stem researchers of 1:1.88 (mean from all countries with available data). Southeast African countries have been estimated according to the counts in the region. For the Usa, there only was data for researchers working in companies. To be continued in Table 19.

Country	Data Year	Researchers by UNESCO indicator	Estimated HC HEI SSH	Population	UNESCO indicator
Niger	2005	129	45	17,635,782	HC
Nigeria	2007	2,179	757	168,240,403	HC HEI
Peru	2012	1,503	522	30,158,768	HC
Puerto Rico	2013	519	180	3,695,674	HC HEI
Rwanda	2009	564	160	10,817,350	HC HEI
South Africa	2012	32,955	11,443	52,837,274	HC HEI
Switzerland	2012	41,395	14,373	8,022,628	HC HEI
Tanzania	2010	2,051	580	48,645,709	HC HEI
Tunisia	2014	30,901	10,730	10,881,450	HC HEI
USA	2012	396,064	137,522	314,799,465	FTE (in Co.)
Viet Nam	2011	468	163	90,335,547	HC HEI
Zambia	2008	366	104	14,786,581	HC HEI

Table 19. Continued from Table 18.

Appendix C

For the results in Table 3, I used the following queries in Wos on 2 March 2017, with the respective country in the first search field:

```
((CU=(Burundi OR Comoros OR Djibouti OR Eritrea OR Ethiopia OR
    Kenya OR Madagascar OR Malawi OR Mauritius OR Mayotte OR
    Mozambique OR Reunion OR Rwanda OR Seychelles OR Somalia OR
    Tanzania, United Republic of OR Uganda OR Zambia OR
    Zimbabwe))
NOT (WC=( PUBLIC ENVIRONMENTAL OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH OR CLINICAL
    NEUROLOGY OR HEALTH POLICY SERVICES OR OBSTETRICS
    GYNECOLOGY OR BIOLOGY OR SOCIAL SCIENCES BIOMEDICAL OR
    ZOOLOGY OR ECONOMICS OR SUBSTANCE ABUSE OR REHABILITATION
    OR INFECTIOUS DISEASES OR PSYCHOLOGY APPLIED OR PLANNING
    DEVELOPMENT OR VIROLOGY OR ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES OR GREEN
    SUSTAINABLE SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY OR ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES OR
    ENERGY FUELS OR RESPIRATORY SYSTEM OR AGRICULTURAL
    ECONOMICS POLICY OR VETERINARY SCIENCES OR HEALTH CARE
    SCIENCES SERVICES OR PSYCHIATRY OR TROPICAL MEDICINE OR
    PHARMACOLOGY PHARMACY OR IMMUNOLOGY OR BUSINESS FINANCE OR
    NURSING OR FORESTRY OR AGRICULTURE MULTIDISCIPLINARY OR
    ECOLOGY OR ENDOCRINOLOGY METABOLISM OR MANAGEMENT OR
    PSYCHOLOGY CLINICAL OR COMPUTER SCIENCE INTERDISCIPLINARY
    APPLICATIONS OR GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL OR SOIL SCIENCE OR
    SOCIAL SCIENCES MATHEMATICAL METHODS OR BIODIVERSITY
    CONSERVATION OR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OR PEDIATRICS OR
    PARASITOLOGY OR NUTRITION DIETETICS OR HOSPITALITY LEISURE
    SPORT TOURISM OR MEDICINE GENERAL INTERNAL OR WATER
    RESOURCES OR MEDICAL INFORMATICS OR INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
    LABOR OR TRANSPORTATION OR INTEGRATIVE COMPLEMENTARY
    MEDICINE OR ENGINEERING ENVIRONMENTAL OR FOOD SCIENCE
    TECHNOLOGY OR LAW OR COMPUTER SCIENCE INFORMATION SYSTEMS
    OR EVOLUTIONARY BIOLOGY OR AGRICULTURE DAIRY ANIMAL SCIENCE
    OR OPHTHALMOLOGY OR ONCOLOGY OR DEMOGRAPHY OR MATHEMATICS
    OR SCIENCE TECHNOLOGY OTHER TOPICS OR GERIATRICS
    GERONTOLOGY OR FISHERIES OR GOVERNMENT LAW OR ENTOMOLOGY OR
    RESEARCH EXPERIMENTAL MEDICINE OR ENGINEERING OR DENTISTRY
    ORAL SURGERY MEDICINE OR CHEMISTRY OR CARDIOVASCULAR SYSTEM
    CARDIOLOGY OR UROLOGY NEPHROLOGY OR AGRICULTURE )))
AND DOCUMENT TYPES: (Article OR Book OR Book Chapter OR
    Proceedings Paper)
Indexes=SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-SSH, ESCI. Timespan=2008-2009
```

On the same day, I used a similar row of queries in *Scopus*:

```
AFILCOUNTRY(Burundi OR Comoros OR Djibouti OR Eritrea OR
    Ethiopia OR Kenya OR Madagascar OR Malawi OR Mauritius OR
    Mayotte OR Mozambique OR Reunion OR Rwanda OR Seychelles OR
    Somalia OR Tanzania OR Uganda OR Zambia OR Zimbabwe)
AND DOCTYPE (ar OR bk OR ch OR cp)
AND (EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,MEDI) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,ENVI) OR
    EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,AGRI) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,ECON) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,COMP) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,BUSI) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,HEAL) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,NURS) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,ENGI) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,EART) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,ENER) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,BIOC) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,DENT) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,MATH) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,PHAR) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,VETE) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,PHYS) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,MATE) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,CHEM) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,MULT) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,CENG) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,IMMU) OR EXCLUDE
    (SUBAREA,DECI) OR EXCLUDE (SUBAREA,NEUR))
AND (LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2009) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR,2008))
```

Appendix D

The query referred to in Section 4.5.1, was exercised in *Ulrichsweb* on 7 July 2016 and returned 148 primary results:

```
Status:("Active") Serial Type:("Journal") Content
    Type:("Academic / Scholarly") Subject Areas:("Arts and
    Literature" "Business and Economics" "Education" "Ethnic
    Studies, Gender, and Lifestyle" "Government, Law, and
    Public Administration" "Philosophy and Religion" "Social
    Sciences and Humanities") Key Feature:(+"Refereed /
    Peer-reviewed") Country of Publication:("Burundi" "Comoros"
    "Djibouti" "Eritrea" "Ethiopia" "Kenya" "Madagascar"
    "Malawi" "Mauritius" "Mayotte" "Mozambique" "Reunion"
    "Rwanda" "Seychelles" "Somalia" "Tanzania, United Republic
    of" "Uganda" "Zambia" "Zimbabwe")
```

The query referred to in Section 4.5.3, was exercised in *Scopus* on 29 October 2019:

```
( AF-ID ( "University of Mauritius"  60072656 )  AND  PUBYEAR
    >  2011  AND  PUBYEAR  <  2015 )  AND  ( LIMIT-TO ( DOCTYPE
    ,  "ar" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( DOCTYPE ,  "ch" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    DOCTYPE ,  "bk" ) )  AND  ( LIMIT-TO ( SUBJAREA ,  "SOCI" )
     OR  LIMIT-TO ( SUBJAREA ,  "BUSI" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    SUBJAREA ,  "ECON" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "ENVI" )
    OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "ENGI" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA
    ,  "COMP" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "ENER" )  OR
    EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "AGRI" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,
    "EART" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "MATH" )  OR  EXCLUDE (
    SUBJAREA ,  "NURS" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "BIOC" )
    OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "CHEM" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA
    ,  "MATE" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "MEDI" )  OR
    EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "PHYS" ) )
```

Appendix E

Transcript of the online questionnaire 'Collection management & journal/database subscriptions: a super-short survey'. I used the survey tool supplied by Lund University, Survey & Report, vs. 4, by Artologik. Free text fields are indicated by '…'. I made a pretest with an e-resources manager that resulted in changing the phrasing of question block 3 slightly. However, since understanding was given, the pretest could be included in the responses.

I am a PhD candidate in information studies at Lund University, studying how social sciences and humanities (SSH) scholarship, published in journals which are not included in Big Deals, could possibly reach a European audience. Since you are a collection manager at one of the universities which are best renowned for their SSH research and teaching in Europe, I am interested in the criteria you apply while including single print or e-journals, small journal packages or databases into the library's collection. This very short survey is addressed to only a small number of respondents, hence your participation is highly valued. In the research results, I will make sure that your answers cannot be related to your name or institution.

If you encounter problems viewing the survey, please try another browser.

……………………………………………………………

1. Is there a chance that you would include a single journal, small package or database into the collection without having at least one patron requesting this specific resource or one specific journal from the package?

Yes/No

1.a. If yes, which reasons can you imagine to subscribe to the resource(s)? …

1.b. If no, why not? …

. . . .

2. Imagine a student at your institution suggests that the library would subscribe to a certain e-journal which is not part of any journal package, but, compared to other resources you subscribe to, inexpensive. Please describe the workflow that you would follow to come to a decision. …

. . . .

3. Does your team ever evaluate the journal collection and database coverage, looking at geographical origin of the resources and/or geographical coverage of research subjects? Do other criteria with regards to a balanced content matter?

Yes/No/I don't know

3.a. If yes, would you describe the evaluation process(es) and criteria, please? …

. . . .

4. Does your library subscribe to the following resources?

	African Journals Online (AJOL)	Sabinet African ePublications
Yes.		
Not considered.		
After consideration, it was decided not to subscribe.		
We will consider a subscription in the near future.		

Comment, e. g. why you decided not to subscribe: …

....

5. May I contact you if I have comprehension questions?

Yes/No

5.a. If yes, please enter you email address: …

....

Room for your comments: …

Appendix F

I searched *Scopus*-indexed papers by European authors published in the years 1997-2018, since the ground-breaking paper about collection bias by Dilevko and Grewal was published in 1997. Of course, in terms of LIS journals, *Scopus* is not as inclusive as LISTA or LISA subject databases, but for compensation, it includes affiliation data which makes a European focus possible. For instance, one of the best known German LIS journals, *Bibliotheksdienst*, which is included in LISTA, is missing from *Scopus*.[239] Therefore, the results of this short analysis have to be taken with a grain of salt. For the query on 5 October 2018, I additionally included terms in German and French, even though I am aware that all titles and abstracts in *Scopus* have English versions. I discovered a minimal difference in the results after including these terms, which apparently are due to translation issues.

```
TITLE-ABS-KEY ( ( ( collection* OR acquisition* ) AND (
    "university librar*" OR "academic librar*" ) ) OR ( (
    sammlung* OR bestand* OR erwerbung) AND (
    universitätsbibliothek* OR "wissenschaftliche
    bibliothek*" ) ) OR ( ( collection* OR fonds OR
    acquisition* ) AND ( "bibliothèqu* universitaire*" OR
    "bibliothèqu* scientifique*" ) ) ) AND PUBYEAR > 1996
```

From the result, I excluded all subject areas except 'Social Sciences' and 'Arts and Humanities', and the document types 'review', 'note', and 'erratum', and received 1,980 hits.

After limiting the result to only publications authored with European contribution, 320 publications were left, of which 252 are written in English. Even though the subjects of the papers are widely dispersed and any interpretation therefore difficult, I still want to mention that significantly more papers from the set are recent: rather few have been published before 2009, 2-10 per year, with the exception of 2006, when 16 publications appeared. 2009-2014, annually, 17-25 were published, and in recent years,

239 I searched it individually and came up with one relevant result, Tappenbeck 2014.

the figure raised to 28-35.

For the title-by-title review, I additionally excluded all source titles that did not have any obvious relation to library studies, excluding also archival, museum, and historical studies, but including broad cultural studies journals (see the full query below). Some languages of the source titles I could not read and therefore, I did not exclude them.

This is the full *Scopus* query I used on 5 October 2018:

```
TITLE-ABS-KEY ( ( ( collection  OR  acquisition )  AND  (
    "university librar*"  OR  "academic librar*" ) )  OR  ( (
    sammlung  OR  bestand OR erwerbung)  AND  (
    universitätsbibliothek*  OR  "wissenschaftliche
    bibliothek*" ) )  OR  ( ( collection  OR  fonds OR
    acquisition)  AND  ( "bibliothèque* universitaire*"  OR
    "bibliothèque* scientifique*" ) ) )  AND  PUBYEAR  >  1996
    AND  ( EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "COMP" )  OR  EXCLUDE (
    SUBJAREA ,  "ENGI" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "MEDI" )
    OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "BUSI" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA
    ,  "MATH" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "EART" )  OR
    EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "AGRI" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,
    "BIOC" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "DECI" )  OR  EXCLUDE (
    SUBJAREA ,  "MATE" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "ECON" )
    OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "IMMU" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA
    ,  "NURS" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "CHEM" )  OR
    EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "ENVI" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,
    "HEAL" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( SUBJAREA ,  "PHAR" )  OR  EXCLUDE (
    SUBJAREA ,  "VETE" ) )  AND  ( EXCLUDE ( DOCTYPE ,  "re" )
    OR  EXCLUDE ( DOCTYPE ,  "no" )  OR  EXCLUDE ( DOCTYPE ,
    "er" ) )  AND  ( LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "United
    Kingdom" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Germany" )  OR
    LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Spain" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Croatia" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
    "Netherlands" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Finland" )
     OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Poland" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "France" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
    "Italy" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Sweden" )  OR
    LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Ireland" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Austria" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
    "Belgium" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Greece" )  OR
    LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Slovenia" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Denmark" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
    "Estonia" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Lithuania" )
    OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Portugal" )  OR  LIMIT-TO (
    AFFILCOUNTRY ,  "Norway" )  OR  LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
```

```
    "Russian Federation" ) OR LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
    "Switzerland" ) OR LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY , "Romania" )
     OR LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY , "Bosnia and Herzegovina" )
    OR LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY , "Georgia" ) OR LIMIT-TO (
    AFFILCOUNTRY , "Hungary" ) OR LIMIT-TO ( AFFILCOUNTRY ,
    "Slovakia" ) )
AND ( EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Islamic
    Manuscripts" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Cambridge
    History Of Libraries In Britain And Ireland Volume I To
    1640" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Indic Manuscript
    Cultures Through The Ages Material Textual And Historical
    Investigations" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Symbolae
    Osloenses" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Africa
    Spectrum" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "American
    Archivist" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Antiquity" )
    OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Aramaic Studies" ) OR
    EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Archiv Fur Papyrusforschung Und
    Verwandte Gebiete" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
    "Archivaria" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Arti
    Musices" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Australian
    Journal Of Basic And Applied Sciences" ) OR EXCLUDE (
    EXACTSRCTITLE , "Authority Control In Organizing And
    Accessing Information Definition And International
    Experience" )
OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Cambridge Companion To Laurence
    Sterne" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Cambridge
    Companion To The History Of The Book" ) OR EXCLUDE (
    EXACTSRCTITLE , "Darwin Inspired Learning" ) OR EXCLUDE
    ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "English Literary Renaissance" ) OR
    EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "English Studies" ) OR EXCLUDE
    ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Euphorion Zeitschrift Fur
    Literaturgeschichte" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
    "Fluminensia" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Fontes
    Artis Musicae" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "German
    Life And Letters" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
    "Handbook Of Research On E Learning Methodologies For
    Language Acquisition" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
    "Historic Newspapers In The Digital Age Search All About
    It" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Ikon" ) OR EXCLUDE
    ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Inner Asia" ) OR EXCLUDE (
    EXACTSRCTITLE , "International Financial Law Quo Vadis" )
    OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Jewish Manuscript Cultures
    New Perspectives" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
    "Journal Of Archival Organization" ) OR EXCLUDE (
    EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Baltic Studies" ) OR EXCLUDE
    ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of Palestine Studies" ) OR
    EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of The History Of
    Collections" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Journal Of
```

```
The Society Of Archivists" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
 "Journal Of Writing In Creative Practice" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Kartografisch Tijdschrift" ) OR EXCLUDE
( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Modern Italy" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Museon" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE ,
"NTM International Journal Of History And Ethics Of Natural
Sciences Technology And Medicine" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Neophilologus" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "New Hong Kong Cinema Transitions To
Becoming Chinese In 21st Century East Asia" ) OR EXCLUDE
( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Notes And Records" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Pamietnik Literacki" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Restaurator" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Revue D Histoire Des Textes" ) OR
EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Revue De L Art" ) OR EXCLUDE
( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Revue Des Etudes Juives" ) OR EXCLUDE
( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Ricerche Di Storia Dell Arte" ) OR
EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Scire" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Societies Under Construction Geographies
Sociologies And Histories Of Building" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Studia Neophilologica" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Tijdschrift Voor Filosofie" ) OR
EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Vox Romanica" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Voyages Over Voices Critical Essays On
Anne Stevenson" ) OR EXCLUDE ( EXACTSRCTITLE , "Western
Illuminated Manuscripts A Catalogue Of The Collection In
Cambridge University Library" ) OR EXCLUDE (
EXACTSRCTITLE , "Zeitgeschichte" ) )
```

The result is 260, with 242 being journal papers. I list the top 16 journal titles, with between 25 and 6 hits each, in Table 20. The list is limited to 16, because the journal on rank 17 has only 4 hits. The list shows a broad diversity of countries of origin: amongst others, there are journals from and focusing on Austria, Croatia, Germany, and Spain, as well as journals with editors and boards from a broad range of countries, such as *Library Management*, the top journal of the list, and *Libri*. Only one of the collection-focused North American journals mentioned before shows up in the top 16 list. This indicates that the discussion of the topic at hand here is separated into different threads, and is often, if at all happening, limited to a regional or local level. Only a deeper look into the publications will allow to draw further conclusions about the scope of collection-related discussions with European participation.

Journal	Query result
Library Management	25
Vjesnik Bibliotekara Hrvatske	20
Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie	16
Library Review	14
Journal of Librarianship and Information Science	11
Journal of Academic Librarianship	10
Collection Building	9
Liber Quarterly	9
New Library World	9
New Review of Academic Librarianship	9
Performance Measurement and Metrics	8
Interlending and Document Supply	7
Revista Espanola de Documentacion Cientifica	7
Slavic and East European Information Resources	7
Libri	6
Mitteilungen der Vöb	6

Table 20. Top 16 Journals, in which European-authored papers about collection management appeared.

I checked all the titles, and occasionally the abstracts of the 260 publications, to which European authors contributed, for subject relevance. The results, presented in Table 21, confirm that European Lis scholars who published in *Scopus*-indexed journals did not engage explicitly with the subject of collection bias in academic libraries. However, there were 34 papers of actual relevance to Chapter 5, and they are therefore listed in the following table by topic, and most of them are referred to in the text.

Topics	European-Authored Papers Indexed in *Scopus* 1997-2018
Collections & Policies	*Ireland:* McCarthy 2007; UK*:* Joint 2009; Tbaishat 2010; Hunt 2017; *Croatia:* Majstorović and Ivić 2011; Krajna and Markulin 2011; Kosić and Heberling Dragičević 2017; Pikić 2017; *Spain:* San Jose Montano 2014; Herrera-Morillas 2014; Morillas 2015; *Russia:* Razumova and Kuznetsov 2018
Collection Evaluation	Chapman, Creaser et al. 2000; Iivonen, Nygrén et al. 2009; Murphy 2013; Hyödynmaa, Ahlholm-Kannisto et al. 2010; Romić and Mitrović 2016; Grigas, Juzeniene et al. 2017
Cooperation	*Germany:* Moravetz-Kuhlmanm 2004; *Finland:* Muhonen, Saarti et al. 2014; Saarti, Laitinen et al. 2017; Saarti 2005; Flemming 2011; *Romania:* Madge 2018
DDA	Schumm 2013; Downey, Zhang et al. 2014; Woodward and Henderson 2014; Kont 2016
Big Deals	Kellersohn, Meyer et al. 2011; Schöpfel and Leduc 2012; Dikboom 2016
Other	SSG*:* Dörr 2014; *Data-driven-selection:* Kirkwood 2016; *Neoliberal* LIS *language:* Quinn and Bates 2017

Table 21. European-authored papers on collection management relevant for Chapter 5, by topic.

Appendix G

Cultural Humility for Academic Librarians

1. Analyse your own privilege, and refrain from exercising it and from reproducing privileges in society.
2. Be culturally humble in staffing, management, and public relations—feeding back into LIS education.
3. Educate yourself about academic publishing in underprivileged environments.
4. Question demand as primary criterion for collection development.
5. Support indexing of marginalised literature.
6. Request cultural humility from vendors and their products. (Consortial) boycott is an option.
7. Support scholar-led non-profit publishing infrastructures locally and globally, helping to transfer standard-setting power from commercial publishers to scholars.
8. Do not support fee-based open-access business models, since these are socially unjust and deprive librarians of their negotiatory power.
9. Open the black box: assess the collection critically for publication venues.
10. Open the black box also to the users: provide a searchable data field for the main editing/production country of a publication in the library discovery system.

11. Reconceptualise collection management as a collective enterprise, including librarians, faculty, and students, in order to mix up biases and prioritise acquisitions.
12. Facilitate curriculum decolonisation discussion groups, in which librarians, faculty and students cooperate to provide course content and literature with more cultural humility.
13. Cooperate with nearby libraries towards a comprehensive composite collection and common search tools. Learn from 'global resources librarians'.
14. End area studies incarceration by incorporating the respective material into their 'mother disciplines' via descriptive metadata.
15. Explain and demonstrate your library's collection *as* collection with cultural humility to users, funders and the public.
16. Do not end an institutional debate by resolving a policy—it should be a living document.

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25. Martin , Christopher 2020. *Shifting Gears. Automated Driving on the Eve of Autonomous Drive.*
24. Höög, Victoria, Kärrholm, Sara & Nilsson, Gabriella (red.) 2019. *Kultur X. 10-talet i kulturvetenskaplig belysning.*
23. Olsson Dahlquist, Lisa 2019. *Folkbildning för delaktighet. En studie om bibliotekets demokratiska uppdrag i en digital samtid.*
22. Jönsson, Jimmy 2019. *Den biologiska vändningen. Biologi och skogsvård, 1900–1940.*
21. Wiszmeg, Andréa 2019. *Cells in Culture, Cells in Suspense. Practices of Cultural Production in Foetal Cell Research*
20. Hanell, Fredrik 2019. *Lärarstudenters digitala studievardag. Informationslitteracitet vid en förskollärarutbildning*.
19. Herd, Katarzyna 2018. *"We can make new history here". Rituals of producing history in Swedish football clubs*.
18. Qvarnström, Ludwig (ed.) 2018. *Swedish Art History. A Selection of Introductory Texts*.
17. Salomonsson, Karin (red.) 2018. *Mitt och ditt. Etnologiska perspektiv på ägandets kulturella betydelse.*
16. Bengtsen, Peter, Liljefors, Max & Petersén, Moa (red.) 2018. *Bild och natur. Tio konstvetenskapliga betraktelser*.
15. Cridland, Meghan 2017. *'May contain traces of'. An Ethnographic Study of Eating Communities and the Gluten Free Diet*.
14. Jönsson, Lars-Eric (red.) 2017. *Politiska projekt, osäkra kulturarv*.
13. Jönsson, Lars-Eric & Nilsson, Fredrik (red.) 2017. *Kulturhistoria. En etnologisk metodbok*.
12. Askander, Mikael 2017. *Poesier & kombinationer. Bruno K. Öijers intermediala poesi*.
11. Alftberg, Åsa, Apelmo, Elisabet & Hansson, Kristofer (red.) 2016. *Ljud tar plats. Funktionshinderperspektiv på ljudmiljöer*.
10. Arvidson, Mats 2016. *An Imaginary Musical Road Movie. Transmedial Semiotic Structures in Brad Mehldau's Concept Album Highway Rider*.
9. Brenthel, Adam 2016. *The Drowning World. The Visual Culture of Climate Change*.

8. Rekers, Josephine V. & Sandell, Kerstin (eds.) 2016. *New Big Science in Focus. Perspectives on ESS and MAX IV*.
7. Gunnarson, Martin 2016. *Please Be Patient. A Cultural Phenomenological Study of Haemodialysis and Kidney Transplantation Care*.
6. Lindh, Karolina 2015. *Breathing Life into a Standard. The configuration of resuscitation in practices of informing*.
5. Jönsson, Lars-Eric & Nilsson, Fredrik (red.) 2014. *Skratt som fastnar. Kulturella perspektiv på skratt och humor*.
4. Blaakilde, Anne Leonora & Nilsson, Gabriella (eds.) 2013. *Nordic Seniors on the Move. Mobility and Migration in Later Life*.
3. Carlsson, Hanna 2013. *Den nya stadens bibliotek. Om teknik, förnuft och känsla i gestaltningen av kunskaps- och upplevelsestadens folkbibliotek*.
2. Hagen, Niclas 2013. *Modern Genes. Body, Rationality and Ambivalence*.
1. Lysaght, Patricia (ed.) 2013. *The Return of Traditional Food. Proceedings of the 19th International Ethnological Food Research Conference*.

To European social sciences and humanities researchers, substantial parts of potentially relevant literature published in the "Global South" are invisible. This literature is neither indexed in any subject databases nor acquired by European libraries – a gap virtually unacknowledged by the information profession and, consequently, also by researchers worldwide.

Uncritical talk about an international research system is omnipresent, and the attribution of the "Global South" as its periphery is not only taken for granted but also serves to stabilise the "Global North's" privilege.

The call for decolonisation is currently gaining momentum in many contexts, especially in heritage institutions. However, academic libraries exempt themselves from this movement if they continue to interconnect user demand directly with vendor-preselection products.

This book develops conceptually and empirically grounded arguments for European academic libraries, researchers, information professionals and research managers, leading to the insight that they can only contribute to global social justice if they radically question their privilege to select and put this privilege on hold. Cooperation in various ways is key to (re)producing and receiving society's knowledge, and to tackling its complexity with cultural humility.

Nora Schmidt holds second-cycle degrees in library and information science, sociology and history of art. *The Privilege to Select* is her PhD project at the Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences, Lund University.

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