Symbolic capital and scholarly communication in the humanities: An analysis of sociotechnical transition

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Voor Karel en Jan—*sine quibus non*

Table of Contents

Introduction 7
1. The disciplinary characteristics of scholarly communication in the Humanities 17
    1.1 Academia as a system of norms and values 19
    1.2 Varying interpretations of the norms in disciplines 31
    1.3 Describing the disciplines' formative practices 34
    1.4 Disciplinary practices specific to the Humanities 39
    1.5 The effect of disciplinary practices on scholarly communication in the Humanities 44
2. A conceptual analysis of scholarly publishing 53
    2.1 Point of departure: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu 59
    2.2 Exploring fields, identifying agents, and describing *habitus* 64
    2.3 Addressing the mechanisms of capital exchange 69
3. A formative century: The social, economic, political and technological contexts of academia and scholarly publishing 79
    3.1 Genesis and rise before 1940 88
    3.2 Maturing and bloom in the 1950s and 1960s 93
    3.3 Recession and divergence in the 1970s 99
    3.4 Reformation and consolidation from the 1980s 105
    3.5 Digitization and opposition since the 1990s 113
    3.6 Chapter conclusions 121
4. The current field of scholarly publishing for the Humanities 127
    4.1 Push and pull breed disruption and continuity 134
    4.2 Movement: The digital medium disrupts the field 139
    4.3 The constant: Humanities scholarly publishing's prestige 150
Coda – Extending the study of the field 163
    5.1 Returning to disciplinary *habitus* in the Humanities 164
    5.2 Other agents' transactions in symbolic capital 168
    5.3 Responding to shifts in the field of scholarly publishing 176
Bibliography 181
Curriculum Vitae 199
Samenvatting: Symbolisch kapitaal en wetenschappelijke communicatie in de Humaniora: Sociotechnologische verandering geanalyseerd 201
Woord van dank 205

Introduction

For more than three centuries, academic publishing has offered the primary route for the formal dissemination of research results.[1] With its annual revenues upward of 29 billion dollar, employment of at least 110,000 people worldwide, and global sales, it should not come as a surprise that academic publishing regularly attracts the attention of news media, government reporting agencies, as well as industry explorations.[2] Analyses of the academic publishing sector by the latter two parties are predominantly practical: they variously focus on its business models and economic relevance in direct or indirect comparison with other international industries; on its indispensable and pivotal position as service providers in the process of research information transmission; and on its innovative capacity in developing digital technologies for production, dissemination and consumption of publications.[3] Even many academic studies of publishing apply such a practical perspective, offering an analysis of the interplay between the market, business operations, processes and products.[4] Models of publishing, if presented, then often take shape of linear, outcome-oriented flow charts and chains that describe the route from manuscript to publication.

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[1] 'Science publishing' and 'scholarly publishing' are also often-used labels, with subtle differences in meaning between authors, depending on their interpretation of the positions of different disciplines in academia (see also towards the end of this introduction, the division STEM versus SSH). I use scholarly publishing in the context of humanities research, and academic publishing (or: research publications) as a neutral header that could point to all disciplines in academia. See also: Fleur Praal & Adriaan van der Weel, 'Taming the digital wilds: How to find authority in an alternative publication paradigm', *Powerful Pages: TXT 4* (2016), pp. 97–102; esp. pp. 97–99.

[2] Figures come from: Rob Johnson, Anthony Watkinson & Michael Mabe, *The STM Report: An Overview of Scientific and Scholarly Publishing*, 5th edition (International Association of Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers, October 2018). This report from inside the industry should be regarded as a reliable assessment, albeit one with little eye for non-commercial publishing, and those with little international reach. Other industry reports come from consultants Outsell and Simba; for an assessment of those, see the introduction to ch. 3 of the current work.

[3] For instance: Laura Brown, Rebecca Griffiths & Matthew Rascoff, 'University publishing in a digital age: Report by Oxford University Press USA, Ithaka & JSTOR', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 10.3 (fall 2007), n.pag; Alex Humphreys et al., *Remagining the Digital Monograph: Design Thinking to Build New Tools* (JSTOR Labs report, June 2017).

Such a practical orientation on publishing provides concrete insights in the workings of publishing firms, which are indeed helpful in current times of rapid technological change. In the last two decades, especially, digital technologies have given rise to the re-evaluation of existing economic models of academic publishing worldwide: for instance, discourse on the 'serials crisis' has earlier origins, but has intensified recently;[5] and the Open Access and Open Science-movements of the digital age clamour for rearranging existing agreements between academic publishers and their traditional academic customers.[6] However, discussions of current developments predominantly centre on the practical aspects of publishing: they assess the effects of technological innovation on the transition from a product-oriented to a service-oriented line of business. In this discourse, interactions between publishers and academia tend to be reduced to historical contingencies that could, or even, should, be reshaped as markets and technologies develop. But this view systematically underrates the notion that publishing is also a cultural activity: its products are manifestations of cultural discourse—in the case of academic publishing, of research development—as well as market goods. This merits more conceptual analyses of publishing that are sensitive to its interactions with the cultural communities that shape the discourse transmitted through publishing, while not losing sight of the practical business reality either.

Michael Bhaskar offers such a conceptual, sociocultural analysis of publishing in his monograph *The Content Machine*, and argues that his approach stems from the challenge of reshaping the function of publishing in the digital age.[7] Bhaskar advocates viewing publishing as a system, in which technological, cultural, and economic influences may bring change, but that nevertheless remains comprehensible and recognizable because of certain continuous elements in it.[8] From an eclectic mix of theoretical concepts, Bhaskar comes to define two sets of such persisting elements in the continued system: publishers' activities, which he summarises as filtering and amplification (i.e. selection and making-public), and the 'content' of publishing, which he subdivides into frames, or containers, and models. Bhaskar's definition of the latter term is particularly interesting: he sees models as conceptual representations of combination of publishers' various motivations, or incentives, and the risks they run in acting on them.[9] These motivations may be profit-based (and they often are), but can also be aesthetic, or oriented to gaining cultural value; risks are also often, but not exclusively, financial. Each model, or different combination of drive and risk, gives rise to a different type of publisher, according to Bhaskar, and the analysis of various co-existing models helps explain the workings of publishing as a whole.

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[4] Rick Anderson, *Scholarly Communications: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Giles Clark & Angus Philips, *Inside Book Publishing*, 5th edition (London: Routledge, 2014); Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick, *Academic and Professional Publishing* (Oxford: Chandos, 2012); Frania Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing: An Introduction to the Digital Book and Journal Industries* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[5] For a recapitulation of earlier sources as well as contribution of new arguments and support, see: Janneke Adema, 'The Monograph Crisis Revisited', blogpost on *Open Reflections* (29 January 2015), n.pag..

[6] Two recent examples: 'An HSS Perspective on Plan S' (8 February 2019), n.pag.; Peter Weingart & Niels Taubert (eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Publishing: Open Access and the Economics of Digitisation* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2017).

[7] 'Above all, creating the New Publisher and meeting the digital challenge is not a business problem but a conceptual one.' Michael Bhaskar, *The Content Machine: Towards a Theory of Publishing from the Printing Press to the Digital Network* (London: Anthem Press, 2013), p. 189.

[8] Bhaskar, *The Content Machine*, pp. 132–134.

This conceptual approach to an analysis of publishing is valuable for its abstraction, as it allows the combined assessment of a multitude of different business types, functions, and roles found in publishing, that all undergo similar technological change. Indeed, Bhaskar weaves into his argument an impressive number of illustrative examples drawn from the breadth of publishing. Yet its wide applicability is also a limitation to this theoretical framework, because it hypothetically allows for an unlimited array of publishing model variants to co-exist seemingly without connections. This ignores the notion that there are structural divisions in the domain of publishing, in which the motivations, business propositions, or models of publishers are relatively similar because they deal with similar content and operate in similar networks.

In his analysis of the economic and technological changes in academic and higher education publishing, John Thompson argues deconstructing the precisely this generic notion of publishing by drawing lines around these structural divisions, or fields, because accounts from one are not universally relevant for the others—for instance, the conditions of trade publishing vary significantly from those of academic publishing.[10] Thompson implements the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu in his description of a field as a 'structured space of social positions; [...] of resources and power with its own forms of competition and reward'.[11] Fields are, in Thompson's interpretation, constructed by agents whose interactions develop in patterns, because their drives are similar: for instance, scholars seek to gain enhancement of their academic credibility through publishing their research findings; academic publishers have an interest in strict quality control (through organising peer review) because they need to remain credible among their customers.

Thompson's conceptual viewpoint is constructive and helpful, as it legitimises regarding academia as a sociocultural system with its own values, norms, and behavioural codes, which it expresses in its specific media and aesthetic conventions. It also opens up the possibility to define subfields within larger fields, in which specific circumstances may shape specific patterns of interactions that are subtly different from related niches. Scholarly publishing in the Humanities constitutes such a subfield, in which many characteristics are the same as those of other subfields of academic publishing, yet in which specific cultural practices can also be observed.[12]

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[9] Bhaskar, *The Content Machine*, esp. pp. 97–98 and ch. 5 (pp. 137–166).

[10] John B. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age: The Transformation of Academic and Higher Education Publishing in Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 'Introduction', esp. pp. 6–8.

[11] Ibid., p. 6. Bourdieu's theories and Thompson's contributions for their application to publishing are discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

In addition to his focus on the sociocultural interactions between agents in a field, Thompson emphasizes that fields of publishing as a whole are always connected to other social fields in mutual interdependence.[13] For instance, scholarly publishing is intricately connected to the field of academia, in which most of its authors and readers compete for success, and it is related to the field of higher-education and research policy for funding and binding regulations. Moreover, the boundaries between the different fields of publishing are diffuse, according to Thompson, because activities overlap and 'many individual publishing firms operate in several fields at the same time'.[14] The connectedness between different publishing fields is especially vital to Thompson's further argument, which is geared towards demonstrating that those fields' inherent logic makes them react distinctively to external developments. He then centralises four such external developments in his extensive analysis of academic and higher education publishing: three economic ones—corporatisation, changing market structures, and globalisation—and 'the impact of new technologies'.[15] The combination of these four factors, he argues, have caused shifts inside the fields of academic and higher education publishing, and in their relative position vis-a-vis the other fields of publishing.

Thompson's analysis of the impact of these external developments on the field of academic publishing is in itself persuasive, although no longer current, as fifteen years of ongoing developments have now passed since its publication. Yet on a more fundamental level, Thompson does not sufficiently acknowledge the degree to which different types of agents have been impacted on by these economic and technological changes that have affected each of the different fields they operate in simultaneously. For scholars, their academic disciplinary community is a crucial field: interactions with peers in this community shape their interest to a large degree, as the endorsement of peers is vital in career success. Scholarly communities, or fields, have been affected by economic and political pressures as well as technological innovations beyond merely their publishing habits; their research practices have changed, as have the dynamics within communities of practice. These internal dynamics must have changed scholars' expectations of publishing, and these expectations in turn exert influence on the field of scholarly publishing as scholars are core agents in that field, too. Inside agents and outside forces thus interact through iterative cycles of sociocultural influence on one another, when both are affected by external change. Scholars depend on publishers to formally disseminate their findings, and academic publishers would not exist without scholarly communities of authors and readers. Therefore, any analysis of scholarly publishing is not complete without an analysis of the particular research disciplines' characteristics.

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[12] This claim is substantiated in chapter 1.

[13] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 7–8.

[14] Ibid., p. 7.

[15] Ibid., pp. 8–9.

The current study aims to gain more detailed insight in the phenomenon of scholarly publishing for the humanities disciplines in the current age of significant technological change, by means of analysing the sociocultural exchanges between stakeholders in this process. It is notoriously difficult to get a firm conceptual grasp on a 'moving target' like academic publishing in the digital age; to get a conceptual grip on the ever-evolving field of humanities scholarly publishing, I develop a theoretical framework by advancing existing concepts, addressing existing hiatus, and combining them in new ways. In particular, this dissertation examines and conceptualizes the relationships between publishers and scholarly authors. Together, these two parties determine the creative process of publishing, or the supply-side of the market: scholarly authors submit manuscripts with their research findings, which publishers consecutively select, evaluate, and disseminate in particular channels. The specific properties of the manuscripts that authors supply—length, scope, language, register, structure, to name a few very visible ones—may be further developed by publishers, but they are predisposed to an important degree by the requirements set by disciplinary communities. The practices of humanities research thus shape the final forms that its products may take.

Since the last few decades, the rise of the digital medium, and especially the online realm, has brought change to both aspects of the creative process of research publishing: it has altered publishers' working practices, and it has also shifted the research and communication practices of humanities scholars that precede and underpin the publishing process. As a result, scholarly publishing in the Humanities has undergone transformations, and will continue to undergo these, as technological innovation is only accelerating. The current study is an interpretative analysis of these transformations, which are caused both directly by implemented technologies and innovations, and by the indirect, slower, and much less visible shifts of attitudes and perceptions of agents that these technologies bring forth.

It is striking that several theories from different research disciplines, notably sociology and publishing studies, attempt to describe and model a similar, elusive concept, namely the existence and influence of invisible, immaterial drivers of behaviour in specific communities (or fields). Sociology envisages these drivers as cohesive forces for communities and for the organization of specific cultures among individuals in them through structured incentives and rewards; it aims to map these structures to analyse communities. Prestige—or reputation, or symbolic capital, the precise terminology differs between theorists—not coincidentally constitutes an important finding across studies. Publishing research is more inclined to readily accept that such communities exist, as it seeks to examine how publishers may be of service to them; it connects descriptions of apparent immaterial values in cultures—without necessarily digging for their root causes—to the media products and services publishing provides in the economic and technological reality of business. For publishing research, models of immaterial incentives offer explications for the functions of publishing; they elucidate what aspects of communication cannot circulate internally within cultures. Here, prestige, fame, or 'marketability' also is an often-mentioned aspect: publishers function as prestige-enhancers or amplifiers for the authors whose manuscripts they select to produce and market. The current study will arrive at its analysis of scholarly publishing for the Humanities by combining approaches from sociology and publishing studies in the conceptualisation of the immaterial incentives, and symbolic capital in particular.

Granted that scholarly publishers have a function in generating symbolic capital, or academic reputation, for authors, any analysis of developments in the field of humanities scholarly publishing merits an extensive conceptual analysis of humanities scholars' expectations of publishing, as formed by the immaterial incentives that drive their disciplinary communities. In order to investigate these disciplinary incentives, academia should be regarded as specific social system, in which norms and values can exist in patterns distinct from those in society at large. I apply such a perspective with the aid of Mertonian theory of the norms of science, while taking into account the substantial criticism and modernisations this concept has met over the years.[16]

After having described the normative framework of academia as a whole, insights from knowledge-practice studies, a particular branch from the sociology of science, allow 'zooming in' to specific disciplines. Theorists like Tony Becher and Paul Trowler, Karin Knorr-Cetina, and Richard Whitley have developed conceptual frameworks for identifying intrinsic disciplinary characteristics from their theoretical or ethnographical studies of research practices.[17] However, such studies have not been executed in the Humanities, nor have the resulting frameworks been applied to those scholarly disciplines in particular. The first chapter of the current study will therefore extend existing models of disciplinary characteristics in research communities for the Humanities. Findings on the peculiarities of humanities publication practices, as reported in bibliometrics (science and technology studies), support and underwrite the formulated concept. This provides a useful framework for mapping the attitudes of scholars and expectations they have of publishing, to start evaluating the changes in these attitudes and expectations brought by the rise of new online technologies.

Disciplinary communities transmit their attitudes and expectations to scholarly publishers, in patterns of interactions that have over time become engrained in a logic of implicit practices that are understood, but rarely expressed by either party. A conceptual analysis of such practices and exchanges renders them more explicit, and this is the goal of the second chapter of this dissertation. It borrows heavily from Bourdieusian field theory, which provides extensive conceptual vocabulary to perceive and describe different agents and their interests, as well as the arena they engage in.[18] However, my analysis does deliberately not engage in sociology's disciplinary debates on Bourdieu's concepts through his extensive oeuvre; rather it addresses shortcomings specific to the study of scholarly publishing for the Humanities. One is the lack of a mechanism for the exchange of capital: although Bourdieu acknowledges that agents in a field can trade various types of value (economic, but also cultural, and symbolic), he never conceptualises how such transactions develop. As exchanges between scholars and publishers feature symbolic capital predominantly, this is an important hiatus to address in the current study. The concept of the 'esteem economy', as developed in the philosophy of economy by Geoffrey Brennan and Philip Pettit, is particularly helpful in this regard.[19] I will apply this theory to scholarly publishing for the Humanities to come to a more precise analysis of interactions in the field as if it were an extension of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, although its authors have not explicitly intended it as such.

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[16] Robert K. Merton, *The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations, edited and introduced by Norman W. Storer* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1973). An extensive discussion of his work and the criticism it has attracted features in part 1.1.

[17] Richard Whitley, *The Social and Intellectual Organisation of the Sciences* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984); Karin Knorr-Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge* (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1999); Tony Becher & Paul R. Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, (2nd rev.ed., Buckingham: SHRE & Open University Press, 2001).

[18] There is not one distinct work by Bourdieu in which he posits his theory; rather, he develops concepts and terminology over the course of his extensive oeuvre. This is discussed in chapter 2, esp. section 1.

The second shortcoming in Bourdieusian theory is that it completely overlooks technological innovations as a pervasive force for sociocultural change. In chapters 3 and 4, I will centralise this notion and therefore reduce the extended Bourdieusian theory to an underlying conceptual framework against which developments are analysed in a historical narrative. Academic publishing and academic disciplinary cultures are symbionts: they have developed together in a shared context of modern, western society with its political, economic, and technological currents. Chapter 3 is dedicated to a descriptive historical analysis of these currents in approximately the last hundred years. It portrays events in chronological order, to outline the most important developments in scholarly publishing and academia, as well as their coherence and mutual dependency. Through this, it reinforces the notion of symbiosis. Moreover, it adds to that recombination the pervasive influence of the digital medium from its invention approximately up to the economic crisis of 2008, both in directly implemented technologies and innovations, and in the indirect (and slower) shifts of attitudes and perceptions these have brought forth.

In chapter 4, the separate strands of the concept of scholarly publishing (ch. 2), the disciplinary characteristics of the Humanities (ch. 1), and the historical context of the field (ch. 3) culminate in an essayistic analysis of the most recent decade of and current issues in scholarly publishing for the Humanities in the digital age. This chapter contributes connections between trends and current issues and the conceptual frameworks that have been constructed in the preceding chapters; any quantifications, statistics and examples should be read as illustrative support to and validation of those. In the coda, lastly, I will explore some other potential applications of the conceptual framework that are peripheral to the current study and have therefore not been integrated with its central object, the relationships between scholarly authors and academic publishers in the Humanities.

Before commencing with the analysis proper, two implicit discourses merit introduction here. Neither one will feature extensively or in great detail in the current study, but nevertheless an indication of my positions in them seems warranted, because these have shaped my emendations of existing theoretical framework as well as my initial interest in the study of scholarly publishing for the Humanities. The first is the discourse on the nature of interaction between society and technology, which can be broadly sketched as a continuum ranging from technological determinism to social constructivism. In the briefest recapitulation, the opposition can be outlined as follows: technological determinists (since the term was coined at the beginning of the twentieth century) hold that technology develops largely independently from sociocultural influences, and that it has inherent effects on society which cannot really be steered as it unintentionally and unnoticed induces dependency and value change.[20] Social constructivists, on the other hand, argue that technological innovation is largely shaped by sociocultural demands and influences, and that people determine its consequences through a process of discovery and deliberate adoption and adaptation.[21] For the purpose of the current study, it suffices to focus as narrowly as possible in the discourse of technological determinism versus social constructivism on the implementation of the digital medium for scholarly publishing.

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[19] Geoffrey H. Brennan & Phillip Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem: An Essay on Civil and Political Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Adriaan van der Weel's conceptual framework in three tiers, as presented in his monograph *Changing Our Textual Minds*, is particularly helpful in this regard. With the intention of making visible what digitisation entails, and how it impacts on our textual culture, he distinguishes firstly core properties of the computer, that secondly enable features of the digital medium, which in turn lead to the third tier of social effects. These effects can be further divided into direct, intended ones and indirect, unintended consequences in society.[22] In scholarly publishing, the inherent properties of networked computers have brought technological innovation to the business (direct effects) since the 1970s; yet there are still unintended shifts ongoing in the publishing business, but also in fields related to it—for the current study, that is humanities scholarship most importantly.[23] Like Van der Weel, I would position myself towards the deterministic end of the spectrum—the very fact that the current study extensively analyses unintended sociocultural consequences of digitization is an implicit testimony to that.

It should be noted that publishers and academics themselves have also engaged in the discourse on sociotechnological progress, specifically applied to digital publishing and its consequences. They have done so occasionally explicitly through perspectives on the field, but much more often implicitly, through adapting their behaviour or strategies. For instance, publishers expressed a wave of technological optimism, which can be interpreted as a social-constructivist position, in experiments and pioneering with online formats; this wave was quenched in the early 2000s after the dot-com bubble burst, and publishers have become more cautious since then.[24] Similarly, the rise of measurement systems to evaluate academic research has been met with ambivalence: the original, social constructivist hopes were to be able to better steer science with them, but recently the social consequences, including unintended and undesired ones, have attracted attention as well.[25] Although the field of science and technology studies (STS) is still divided over the spectrum of the debate, I believe a rather technological determinist stance helps retaining a critical attitude here. The social constructivist viewpoint that sociocultural issues can be addressed with technological innovations frames the discussion as if innovation is, or should be, linearly progressive, and moreover obscures the fact that technologies themselves have sociocultural status—plural, as communities of practice reflect on technologies differently.

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[20] The term 'technological determinism' is attributed to the American sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1851–1929); in media studies, its initial proponent is probably Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

[21] Important in the development of social constructivism, especially in the context of science and technology studies, is: Trevor Pinch & Wiebe Bijker, 'The social construction of facts and artefacts: Or how the sociology of science and the sociology of technology might benefit each other', *Social Studies of Science* 14.3 (1984), pp. 399–441. For a review of this perspective, see also: Hans K. Klein & Daniel Lee Kleinman, 'The social construction of technology: Structural considerations', *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 27 (2002), pp. 28–52.

[22] Adriaan van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds: Towards a Digital Order of Knowledge* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 2–4, and 142–143.

[23] The mix of direct and indirect, intended and unintended effects on the publishing business and the sociocultural exchanges in and around it feature extensively in chapters 3 (esp. from 3.4 onwards) and 4.

The various status of technology become apparent in the second discourse that surfaces only at some points in the current dissertation, but is present throughout: that on the distinction between Science, Technology, Engineering and Medicine (STEM, or the sciences) and Social Science, Humanities, Arts and Law (SSH, A&L). Extensive use of this framework was perhaps initiated by C.P. Snow's 1959 essay, *The Two Cultures*, and Thomas Kuhn's monograph *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* from 1962.[26] Both texts are now considered formative, although they should also be interpreted as an articulation of ideas already prevalent in science policy and the emerging discipline of STS after World War II. At that time, novel attention for the social contexts of knowledge production led to two fundamental assumptions: firstly, that all research disciplines mature, and secondly, that all mature fields behave uniformly and rationally—although conceptualisations of maturity differ, empiricism (falsification) and quantification feature often.[27] This discourse rendered the STEM in a privileged position on national research agendas and effectively dropped any comparative analysis with, for instance, the Humanities; it created an ideal for all academic disciplines, despite diverging epistemologies and methods.

Despite demonstrated porosity of the boundaries between disciplines as well as marked shifts in epistemology and research methods in various branches of science and scholarship, the division into two domains is persistent, and has made its way into popular representations of academia as well. The discourse is also still alive in the sociology of science and STS, if perhaps with modifications, such as Jerome Kagan's argument positing that the Social Sciences should be regarded separately, as their methods are shifting towards those of STEM research.[28] As Thomas Franssen and Paul Wouters perceptively note, attempts at positioning the Humanities vis-à-vis the sciences (STEM) generally come in two types: it is either assumed that the Humanities and the STEM disciplines are related – which does not explain the different practices between the disciplines—or that the Humanities are somehow fundamentally, yet inexplicably, different from STEM research.[29]

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[24] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 1–2.

[25] For a conceptual analysis, see Michael Power, *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[26] C.P. Snow, *The Two Cultures*, The Rede Lectures Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959); Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[27] For a critical review of this line of thought, see: Mario Biagioli, 'Post-disciplinary liaisons: Science studies and the Humanities', *Critical Enquiry* 35.4 (2009), pp. 816–833; Whitley, *The Social and Intellectual Organisation of the Sciences*. For a recent Kuhn-inspired perspective, see: John Ziman, *Real Science: What It Is and What It Means* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

As the second assumption does not deliver any persuasive argument for the alternative origins of Humanities research—which roots, demonstrably, in the same academic culture as STEM—I position myself in the first group. However, I advocate regarding each discipline independently and without comparison to others; specific similarities and differences between disciplines are not as important as the combination of disciplinary characteristics within research communities. This may sound contradictory given the fact that this project features an identification of disciplinary characteristics derived at through precisely such comparative analysis—perhaps, but it should be noted that here the comparison is instrumental, and that its objective is the analysis of the characteristics of the Humanities (ch. 1). This also functions also as a cautionary tale. Any categorisation of academic disciplines into two—or three, or any number of—domains also shapes the relative position of each of them; any comparative analysis of a subdomain of academia is performative.

This performativity does not just apply to disciplinary research, but also to communication practices, and therefore also to publishing. In this dissertation, the focus is on publishing for the Humanities, yet comparisons with publishing for the STEM disciplines and Social Sciences are inevitable for several reasons. Firstly, academic publishing consists of overlapping fields servicing the different research disciplines. Many publishing firms operate in the STEM and SSH-fields, and even in the case of separate focuses, academic publishing in the widest range of disciplines forms the most direct context. Moreover, science policy tends to group all academic fields together in regulations of and pressures on academic publishing. STEM publishing is larger, in terms of budgets, employment, and production; this renders it more visible, and possibly—depending on one's position in the discourse sketched in the previous three paragraphs—more important to society (many policy makers seem to have taken to this position). Humanities scholars and publishers tend to find themselves in an underdog position, explaining and accounting for their idiosyncrasies in the hopes of retaining them. I consider this unfortunate, and unjust. Therefore, I hope my dissertation will not be read as a defence of specific practices, values and cultural exchanges in scholarly publishing for the Humanities—I do not deem such a defence imperative. Rather, the current work is an articulation of dynamics that often remain invisible or implicit.

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[28] Jerome Kagan, *The Three Cultures: Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, and the Humanities in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[29] Thomas Franssen & Paul Wouters, 'Science and its significant other: Representing Humanities in bibliometric scholarship', *Journal of the American Society of Information Science and Technology* 70.10 (2019), pp. 1124–1137; p. 1124.

1

The disciplinary characteristics of scholarly communication in the Humanities

Academic communication in general and formal publication even more specifically are a largely internal affair: researchers distribute their findings first and foremost to other researchers in specifically designed channels. This is not surprising: academic research is so highly specialised, that only those who engage in the pursuit of highly similar knowledge will be able to recognize the value of specific results in the knowledge-building process. These peers are also the only ones able to assess the value of a particular contribution to the scholarly discourse and esteem its creator accordingly. Based on this premise, peers determine each other's academic success to a strong degree: review procedures and editorial boards, conference programme committees, and academic hiring and promotion decisions all depend on their judgement. Moreover, citations are a form of peers acknowledging each other's work, and therefore count as demonstrations of peer acclaim. The processes of peer review and recognition have become widely accepted as academic standard practice, and publications and citations are even seen as a 'currency' with which scholars demonstrate their standing.

While the workings of the academic machine are understood in general, how its precise mechanisms vary between academic specialisms, or disciplines, is not so universally comprehended. For a start, communication and publication practices demonstrably vary widely between different branches of research: most academics publish in journals, but some write monographs too, while others circulate datasets. Collaboration patterns differ as well between disciplines, so that single authorship is common in some, but twenty co-authors is not exceptional in others. Most disciplinary communities write in English, but some use other languages for both formal and informal communication—to name just a few parameters. This variation in disciplinary scholarly communication has organically grown, but that does not mean it is fully contingent; rather, it is the result of the objects of research and the methods with which those objects could be studied, combined with evolving incentives and pressures that researchers experience. Such influences come from other peers as well as external parties, most notably employers and funders, and the varied communities of researchers experience them in different degrees: some fields of science collaborate with industry partners, for instance, which render them less dependent on governmental support than others. Because of such specifics in their contexts, disciplines continue to evolve in reaction to forces that they encounter; similarly, discipline-internal forces are continuously reshaped through scholars' interactions. An analysis of the epistemological and social pressures and pulling forces at play in scholarly disciplines thus refines understanding of the internal dynamics of these communities, and so helps explain disciplinary communication and publication practices as well as patterns of divergence found in them.

Although most existing research does not readily acknowledge this, technology should be regarded as an external factor influencing disciplinary behaviour; especially when this technology changes the object of research as well as the possibilities to communicate it, as digitization has done. This renders the analysis of disciplinary dynamics especially relevant for the current analysis of scholarly publishing for the Humanities in the digital age. Humanities publication habits had already come to strongly deviate from the majority of academic publishing; this renders it only more likely that the disciplinary reaction to new technologies, policies and ideologies will therefore also differ from that of other academic disciplines. Digitization and the analysis of its accompanying socio-technological developments will feature in later chapters (3 and 4), and it is the objective of the current chapter to provide solid ground for that. This chapter ultimately delivers an analysis of the communication and publication practices that are widely shared among humanities scholarly communities, and it points out humanities idiosyncrasies, with occasional comparison to other disciplines' conventions in this regard. For this concluding analysis, I will draw on observations from the sociology of science and of scientometrics, as well as on self-reports and accompanying reflections by humanities scholars themselves.

To make it applicable in the current project's larger aim of analysing scholarly publishing in the digital age, the description of humanities disciplinary specifics is first firmly ground in existing models of the underlying forces that shape all research fields, the construction which has been the objective of knowledge practice studies. Since this line of research has unfortunately only very rarely focused on humanities scholarship in its explorations, it does not always sufficiently address the specifics of the humanities disciplines. I will therefore critique the existing theorization of the cognitive and socio-cultural influences on disciplinary research communities when it either ignores the Humanities, or when it tends to group heterogeneous practices in one catch-all corner.

Despite these two types of shortcomings, the general theoretical frameworks for classifying research disciplines may offer unexpected insight in similarities between humanities disciplines and other research communities. These similarities could provide cues for addressing parallels between business developments in the analysis of scholarly publishing for the various disciplines—after all, the different businesses and organisations in academic publishing share common characteristics across the research disciplines they serve, which they do not share with other fields of publishing such as educational or the trade. Following this basic recognition of academia at large as a distinct field, and disciplines as more or less cordoned-off communities within it, the ensuing exploration will move through 'layers' of analysis: starting from the macro-level of science as a whole, it will subsequently investigate the shaping forces of disciplines in general, and then zoom in to attempt to identify forces playing on the level of the humanities disciplines in particular.

Before commencing any analysis that zooms in on disciplinary idiosyncrasies, however, it must be acknowledged that all academics share incentives that are not readily found with communicators in other fields; that science is a social system, or field with its own driving forces, that operates on a balance of capital that is distinct from others. For instance, academic authors, other than their counterparts in the creative industries, are not directly economically dependent on the capital that they can gain by trading their writings; rather, they gain symbolic capital, prestige, which may (or may not!) be converted to economic value, for example in the form of tenure. The notion that science is a distinct social system that adheres to its own specific rules, which it does not necessarily share with other social systems, was first formulated in the twentieth century. In the first half of the century, science had been growing exponentially through increased government spending and rapid technological development, especially in the applied fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Medicine (STEM), which were deemed particulary useful in the World Wars.[1] Political trends had made governments decide to allocate budgets to science, but besides funding, the system of science seemed to govern itself. External supervision of science through actively steering policies and interventions was almost absent, but scientific progress could nevertheless be clearly observed. It was in this positivistic (and optimistic) setting that sociologists first attempted to identify the forces that apparently shape science.

1. Academia as a system of norms and values

Robert Merton was the first to pursue a new frame in which to understand the system of science as it had evolved in democratic societies, and as it continued to thrive.[2] He considered it a complex social system, in which scientists interact with their research, each other, and the institutionalised system of science itself, to gain success for themselves while upholding the system as a whole, as the system made their individual success possible.[3] To methodically analyse the intricacies of the interactions in the system, Merton attempted to model the quite unique constellation of norms and values that scientists, as opposed to other participants in other social systems, would collectively subscribe to. He formulated these norms as morals, as positivist descriptions of the driving forces that could advance science optimally for and in society.[4] Merton models science as an institutionally supported system that as such actively sustains its own norms, and would react to individuals who would breach them: in his view, the system of science itself would not accept researchers who are not inclined to uphold the systemic criteria.[5] These norms should therefore, in Merton's view, be seen as applicable to all fields of science in their generality. The Mertonian norms can be seen as theorized, unspoken incentives for agents in the domain of science as a whole; the norms should be generalized rules that prescribe behaviour.

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[1] Ziman, *Real Science*, esp. ch. 3, ‘Academic science’ and ch. 4, ‘New modes of knowledge production’. See also ch. 3 of the current work for coverage of the growth of academia after World War II.

[2] Merton, and the schools of sociologists preceding and following him, quite consistently use the term ‘science’, and not academia or scholarship. It remains largely implicit, but there is no reason to assume that the fields of social sciences and humanities should not be included in this term—it might just be a consequence of the heightened interest in the material and life sciences in the first half of the twentieth century, and sociologists of science’s focus on so-called ‘strategic research sites’. Because other academic fields follow largely the same normative structure and communicative patterns, I will treat Merton’s ‘science’ as synonymous with academia in its full breadth.

[3] Norman W. Storer, ‘Introduction’, in: Robert K. Merton, *The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*, edited and introduced by Norman W. Storer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. xi-xxxi; pp. xviii-xix.

Merton's notion that there would be a normative framework governing the system of science is a distinctly positivist one, and it met with fundamental criticism on this ground, as well as with various proposals to modify or extend the set of norms itself. I will address the most important lines of criticism in the reception of the Mertonian normative structure of science, but nevertheless propose to apply it to the studies of humanities scholarship and scholarly communication. Despite the critiques from sociologists of knowledge, the Mertonian norms still form a useful starting point for observations on scholars' behaviour, especially combined with field theory's explanation of power dynamics, as both can act as theoretical frameworks for the interpretation of academia's behaviour. Moreover, the normative framework can function as a benchmark against which the various disciplines' *differences* in behaviour can be compared: the fact that some discipline relates to specific norms more strongly than others can provide insights in their specific reward mechanisms.[6] Common traits in how disciplinary communities relate to norms thus render them recognisable as such, and prompt further analysis; yet to observe specific disciplines' reactions to norms, a general analysis of their application is necessary as a backdrop. In the following exposition of the original Mertonian norms, I will therefore connect them with examples from academic practice. Both the norms of science and field theory focus on the invisible relations of power and esteem that underpin exchanges between agents in academia. The wider lens of field theory allows for inclusion of the publishers' role in science; the Mertonian norms of science are intentionally conceptual, and singularly offer insight into the incentives that drive academics themselves. This means they are formulated in detachment from actual communication practices or the technologies with which these are supported, as well as from the political and economic reality that science operates in. Nevertheless, interpretations of the norms are applicable in a socio-technologically changing context, as I will demonstrate after the initial explanation of them.[7]

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[4] Merton refers to the normative structure as the 'ethos' of science: 'The normative structure of science' (orig. 1942), in: *The Sociology of Science*, ch. 13, pp. 267–278; p. 268; Melissa S. Anderson et al., 'Extending the mertonian norms: Scientists' subscription to norms of research', *The Journal of Higher Education* 81.3 (May/June 2010), pp. 366-393; esp. p.367.

[5] Merton, 'The reward system of science', in: *The Sociology of Science*, ch. 14 (orig. 1957), pp. 286–324; esp. p. 293.

[6] Perhaps this process of norm-adherence, or 'normalization', could be further explored via the works of Michel Foucault, who introduced normalization as an instrument of disciplinary power for controlling social communities: Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trl. Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1977). However, in Foucauldian theory, normalization is used to make behaviours that fall outside regular social norms appear as normal, as in his examples of the army, or prison. This to me does not seem the case with norms in academia; I will therefore not elaborate the analysis here.

The first of the Mertonian norms is *communalism*,[8] the notion that scientific methods and findings belong to society as a whole, because they have been produced by a 'common heritage in which the equity of the individual producer is severely limited'.[9] Because of this common ownership, scientists should be inclined to share their methods and results freely. Merton argues that this is a fundamentally different principle than those in other systems in society, such as industry: if knowledge is obtained there, it is in the industry's systemic interest that it should be protected and kept close, because profit might be gained from it at the expense of competitors.[10] However, communalism in science can be explained by the framework of field theory. Participants in the system, or the agents in the field, of science do not strive for direct financial rewards in return for their intellectual contributions, but for symbolic capital in the form of recognition. Academic peers recognize and acclaim creators of valuable contributions to knowledge, and collegial recognition can gain value from the symbolic capital of the bestower: if eminent scholarly leaders appreciate a publication, this is more valuable to its author than if junior colleagues would. In any case, recognition by peers can only be accrued if new knowledge is made public: therefore, it is in the interest of academics to disseminate their findings under the audience that could appreciate it.

Science thus strives to make its progress publicly known—yet for the production of actual containers for that knowledge the academic publisher has traditionally been an essential partner. While publishers have depended on toll access to recover production costs, they should not be perceived as an adversary to the norm of communality necessarily; it is, after all, also in their benefit when their monographs and journals become available to the whole of science—as long as investments can be recouped.[11] Publishers' marketing activities, although not undertaken from a perspective of normative conformity, could even effectively be interpreted as supporting the norm of communalism.[12]

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[7] The Mertonian norms have often been represented as CUDOS, which is a mnemonic acronym, rearranging Merton's original four norms with or without Ziman's addition (so, either Communalism, Universalism, Disinterestedness, and Organised Scepticism; or Communalism, Universalism, Disinterestedness, Originality and Scepticism). Interestingly, the term 'kudos' is currently used as a sincere or sarcastic slang expression for praise; this is derived from the Greek word 'kydos', which means glory or renown. Since Merton himself has never used the acronym, the original naming of the norms can be considered unrelated to this Greek meaning.

[8] In the first publication of Merton's work (1942) as well as in Storers' edition of it (1973), this norm was dubbed communism; in later editions that contained the same text, this term was edited to *communalism* to avoid the negative connotations that were especially prevalent in the US in the Cold War.

[9] Merton, 'The normative structure of science', p. 273.

[10] It should be noted that ownership in the Mertonian framework is a relatively loosely formulated behavioural incentive, but ownership in the judicial dimension is strictly defined and practically regulated by copyright licenses. These two dimensions are detached and govern different balances of power. They should not be conflated.

[11] The Open Access-movement sometimes seems to make this mistake, as scientists promote free and unrestrained access to papers and books from the perspective of communality, but seem to overlook the fact that the creation of these papers and books, whether in print or electronically, actually requires significant investments from the publisher, too.

Secondly, the norm of *universalism* should ensure that each scientific contribution should be judged on its merit, with 'preestablished [*sic*] impersonal criteria', and not on personal or social standing of its creators.[13] Although universalism is fundamental to the system of science, as it validates the methods of science and its knowledge claims, Merton argues this value may be particularly hard to uphold in practice because the system of science operates in a larger social structure:

> When the larger culture opposes universalism, the ethos of science is subjected to serious strain. […] Particularly in times of international conflict, when the dominant definition of the situation is such as to emphasize national loyalties, the man of science is subjected to the conflicting imperatives of scientific universalism and of ethnocentric particularism.[14]

The importance of the norm of universalism can be rationalised by an illustration from practice. Uniquely, in the field of science the type of good that is produced, knowledge, is traded by the agents themselves to one another: all producers of knowledge are also, by default, consumers of knowledge. Compared to most other production industries, where otherwise uninvolved consumers buy products they cannot create themselves, science thus thrives on internal circulation. Other agents such as publishers participate as intermediaries, because they can provide the containers for the content that is exchanged and thus facilitate the trade, and make it more effective. For the researchers themselves, however, those containers are only of secondary importance compared to the knowledge they distribute.

Yet individual academics cannot exchange all their knowledge contributions at any point of interaction: for instance when applying for a position, the products of their knowledge contributions become proxies, tokens for the knowledge produced. The books and articles they have authored and published become symbolic capital, on which prestige is based. It is therefore in individual researcher's interest to demonstrate that their symbolic capital is rightfully accrued, based on a legitimate exchange of intellectual capital on its own merit, selected by publishers for dissemination because of its intrinsic and universal value. Publishers play a supportive role in upholding this norm: through acquisition and review procedures, they select quality knowledge contributions to become formal publications, regardless of their author—contrarily, publishers even scout new talent in academia.[15]

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[12] This is certainly not the interpretation of the Open Science-movement, which argues that all communication (including publications) should be available for all parties—academia, professionals, citizens, and industry alike. The Mertonian norms, however, govern the system of science only; knowledge dissemination beyond academic peers is not relevant from a mertonian perspective. It is to publishing in general, and will be discussed in ch. 4.

[13] Merton, 'The normative structure of science', p. 270.

[14] Ibid., p. 271. When this paper first appeared, this observation was particularly relevant in light of the ongoing World War II; in later revisions, Merton also emphasized its importance against the backdrop of the Cold War. Current diversity and equality policies in science still depart from the same principle.

Disinterestedness, thirdly, is the ideal that scientists are involved in their work only out of professional curiosity, and refrain from selfish reasons to engage in a field of enquiry, such as vanity or personal advantage. This should prevent science from being abused for self-aggrandizement or pursued for economic enrichment. Other than his contemporaries, Merton does not attribute upholding of the norm of disinterestedness to the personal qualities of academics, but argues instead that the strong systemic culture of accountability and peer review makes it difficult for a scientist to get away with abuse of expert authority or with pseudo-science.[16] Although Merton's claim that fraud is virtually absent in the annals of science has not held completely true, his explanation does match the proportionally low number of fraudulent cases in academia, as well as the severe repercussions set up against academic fraud in current employment and publishing policies.

With the increased pressure to publish and competition for coveted positions in academia, the norm of disinterestedness hangs in a particularly vulnerable balance in scholarly publishing. Sure, academics do not receive direct remuneration for their knowledge contributions,[17] but an impressive publication list is necessary to obtain a permanent position in academia—because it contributes to personal prestige. Because such a list has become so important, the involvement of peers in the publishing process has come under increased suspicion: peer review is nowadays simultaneously seen as indispensable[18] and deeply problematic because of the reviewers' real or perceived lack of disinterestedness, because disciplinarily close peers are also the author's direct competitors. It is the publisher's role to organise the review process to be as disinterested as possible and to be perceived as such: for instance by guaranteeing blind or double-blind review procedures, by assigning multiple reviewers to a text, and by having editors review the reviews before their decision-to-publish—and by explicitly mentioning their policy. The publisher is positioned outside (but adjacent to) the system of science and therefore operates under a different logic, yet is a trustworthy ally in upholding disinterestedness despite this, or perhaps because of it.

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[15] The fact that publishers also reject submissions does not constitute a breach with the norm of universalism, as their selectivity is not induced by structurally restrictive forces like religious or political motives, but by a business logic that selects texts based on quality.

[16] Merton, 'The normative structure of science', pp. 276–277.

[17] A notable exception are certain national policies, most importantly in China, that allot financial bonuses to individual academics for publishing in high-impact science journals. These have been partly cancelled by 2020, and have never been applied in the context of the current study focusing on European and American publications in the humanities. See: 'The Truth about China's Cash-for-Publication Policy', *MIT Technology Review* (12 July 2017), n.pag.; Smitri Mallapaty, 'China bans cash rewards for publishing papers', *Nature* 579, 18 (28 February 2020).

[18] Diane Harley et al., 'The influence of academic values on scholarly publication and communication practices', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 10.2 (Spring 2007), pp. 204–212; pp. 209–210; Diane Harley & Sophia Krzys-Acord, *Peer Review in Academic Promotion and Publishing: Its Meaning, Locus, and Future* (Berkeley [CA]: Center for Studies in Higher Education, 3 April 2011).

Finally, the norm of *organised scepticism* represents science's method as well as its relationship to the other systems of society, such as organised religions or state governments. Science engages in logical, rational, argumentative scrutiny of phenomena and, in principle, could take any natural, social or cultural phenomenon as its topic —unless it is limited therein by other, more powerful institutions. In Bourdieusian terms, the organised scepticism with which science can analyse particular agents, such as government bodies or business corporations, might challenge their positions of power in their respective playing fields. This might render such agents inclined to exert control over the system of science; all academics, universities, publishers and other agents active in that field should therefore support organised scepticism more strongly, to maintain the independence of their field as a whole (and thus their existence).

Merton's original view was positivist: his norms model ideal behaviour, an optimal structure for a well-working system of science in society. This is an optimistic research goal in itself, which may have been influenced by the fact that at the time of construction of the norms (during the Second World War) and their wide adoption in the 1950s, the academy was still growing exponentially.[19] Perhaps not coincidentally, then, some critical reflections on the Mertonian norms appeared when growth slowed down significantly in the 1970s: this was the first time academics were confronted with scarcity and the associated increasingly intense competition.[20] Three main lines of criticism on the Mertonian norms can be distinguished.

Firstly, some sociologists of science argue not against the theory that norms may drive the system of science, but against the particular ones that Merton identifies. In his observations of scientists working on the prestigious Apollo Moon project, Ian Mitroff noticed that they did not always strive to live up to the Mertonian norms. He supports his observations by quotes from interviews with more than forty scientists, who agreed with his observations, rationalised their own practices, and explained why they engaged in certain obstructive behaviour, even though they were aware of a normative framework that would require them to do otherwise.[21] To Mitroff, this points out that there is a set of counternorms, competing with Merton's framework: solitariness opposing communalism, particularism opposing universalism, interestedness instead of disinterestedness, and organised dogmatism replacing scepticism.

In Mitroff's theory, the conflict and tension between the Mertonian ideals and their counterparts characterise the dynamics in a specific scientific disciplines. For instance, in research projects where discoveries are made that have the potential to be turned into immediate economic benefit, scientists offer a rationale for being secretive and protecting their discoveries with patents.[22] This goes against the Mertonian norm of communalism, and one could argue that this renders the Mertonian normative system obsolete in a new reality.[23] However, secrecy is not, or not always, a systemically undermining act: by protecting a discovery for a period of time, scientists are also effectively avoiding potential priority disputes, which may interrupt and even disrupt research processes. The stronger knowledge contribution that results from a longer time of undisturbed development then benefits science as a whole.[24] The particular balance struck between solitariness and communalism, then, characterises each discipline in the system of science; the occurrence of counternormative behaviour does not necessarily undermine the system at large. In fact, friction between norms and counternorms exists in most disciplines: in the Humanities, it is for instance not uncommon to refrain from publishing shorter, and thus quicker texts on a topic one is also writing a monograph about—also a manifestation of the tension between communalism and solitariness.

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[19] Ziman, *Real Science*, ch. 4; see also ch. 3 of the current work.

[20] Ziman, *Real Science*, ch. 4.

[21] Ian I. Mitroff, 'Norms and counter-norms in a select group of the Apollo Moon scientists', *American Sociological Review* 39.4 (1974), pp. 579–595; pp. 587–591.

[22] Ibid., p. 592.

Over the course of the years, Merton himself had come to see science struggle with countering forces against his original norms. Nevertheless, he argues that his positivist norms remain dominant, and that any countering influences remain subsidiary in daily science practice, although scientists' attitudes towards the norms may be ambivalent.[25] He emphasizes the importance of establishing whether the observed behaviour adhering to the subsidiary norms is structural or incidental:

> [We must] consider, first, how potentially contradictory norms develop in every social institution; next, how in the institution of science conflicting norms generate marked ambivalence in the lives of scientists; and finally, how this ambivalence affects the actual, as distinct from the supposed, relations between men of science.[26]

Merton thus acknowledges that there could be other countering forces influencing science practices which in general support his original norms, although he leaves the implicit challenge to establish their equal influence in the daily practice of scientists. Mitroff does ultimately seek to harmonise his observations with Merton's norms and the notion of ambivalence, but instead of accepting the original Mertonian norms as dominant and the counternorms as subsidiary, he proposes that the degree of ambivalence observed in scientists' behaviour and attitudes may vary per discipline and per situation.[27] He therefore recommends further analysis of the interplay of norms and counternorms in specific disciplinary communities.

This tentative theory provides a justification for the discussion of the norms of science in general in the current research project that focuses on the particularities of humanities researchers' communication. Mitroff's suggestion to be attentive to disciplinary work practices, firstly, may open up room for an objective analysis of the differences between humanities scholars and their peers in other fields of academia. Mitroff argues that patterns of normative ambivalence in specific disciplines are not necessarily 'less scientific', but they may be a reaction to different research practices. For instance, a multiplicity of valid peer review practices exists in the Humanities, whereas processes are more formally streamlined in other disciplines. Whereas the variety of practices in the Humanities is at times denounced as un-scientific, it is a consequence of the interpretative and heterogeneous character of humanities research, as Mitroff rightfully suggests.[28] Secondly, the attention Mitroff draws to situational differences may help explain and justify potentially or perceived counternormative behaviour.[29] The fact that humanities disciplines have reacted differently from sciences to the advent of the digital medium, for instance, does not mean that they would somehow undermine or leave the system of science as a whole.

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[23] This view is held by John Ziman, who, in *Real Science*, argues that science has entered a new stage in collaborations with industry.

[24] Mitroff, 'Norms and counter-norms in a select group of the Apollo Moon scientists', p. 593.

[25] Robert K. Merton & Elinor Barber, 'Sociological ambivalence', in: E.A. Tiryakian (ed.) *Sociological Theory, Values, and Sociocultural Change* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1963), pp. 91–120

[26] Robert K. Merton, 'The ambivalence of scientists', B*ulletin of the Johns Hopkins Hospital* 112 (February 1963), pp. 77–97; p. 80.

[27] Mitroff, 'Norms and counter-norms in a select group of Apollo Moon scientists', p. 593.

Another line of criticism is set up by Michael Mulkay, who 'offers an alternative interpretation of [Mitroff's] data' to come to a more fundamental rebuttal of the theory of normative frameworks governing science.[30] Mitroff had concluded that many scientific practices are, empirically, not in line with the Mertonian norms, but show counter-incentives; he had also reported how scientists describe and defend their own behaviour, whether that is normative or counternormative. However, from researchers' 'verbal formulations' of Mertonian or other ideals, Mulkay argues, it cannot simply be concluded that these ideals are systemic, institutional norms of science; especially not since in sociology, norms 'are to be regarded as institutionalised when they are positively linked to the distribution of rewards'.[31] And in science, rewards (prestige, symbolic capital) are not given for desirable behaviour, but for knowledge claims through formal publications, that indeed conform quite well to certain established criteria, but in his view do not reflect any of the Mertonian norms or counternorms. Therefore, Mulkay argues that any indications of, or references to normative frameworks by scientists do not indicate that they conform to such norms; rather, they should be interpreted as a rhetoric instead of an ideology. Scientists use this rhetoric to explain and justify their practices to outsiders to further the systemic interest of science in relationship to other social systems, Mulkay argues.[32]

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[28] The specific characteristics of research in the humanities disciplines will be extensively discussed in sections 4 and 5 of the current chapter.

[29] Mitroff thus suggests that patterns of ambivalence, and counternormative behaviour, should be considered a natural dynamic in any normative framework. This goes against the Foucauldian interpretation of 'norms' and 'normalisation', which argues that normative frameworks tend to homogenise behaviour.

[30] Michael J. Mulkay, 'Norms and ideology in science', *Sociology of Science Information* 15.4/5 (1974), pp. 637–656; p. 639.

[31] Ibid., 'Norms and ideology in science', p. 641.

[32] Ibid., pp. 646, 653-654. Mulkay presents three case studies (by Daniels, Greenberg and Tobey) in support of his argument, by demonstrating how ideological rhetoric has furthered the collective interest of science especially viz. national governments, as funders; pp. 648–652.

In agreement with most of the current sociologists of science, I think Mulkay's resolute rejection of a normative framework as an ideology to moralise academics is too radical. However, his suggestion of perceiving such a normative framework as a rhetorical instrument, an 'intentional presentation of science to outsiders',[33] is a helpful one for this research project for two reasons. Firstly, it draws attention to the processes and results of scholarly communication, and scholarly publishing in particular. Contrary to Mulkay's claim that these bear no traces of norms and values, I would argue that they are embodiments of disciplinary practice and therefore do carry values and norms—just not explicitly. Since publications have grown to be key in science's internal reward mechanisms, it is highly plausible that besides actual knowledge claims they contain implicit references to social norms or expected behaviour, perhaps even of standards that reflect 'good practices' in the particular discipline of science or scholarship that has produced them. For example, the disciplinary conventions for listing co-authors of a publication could be argued to reflect specific disciplines' interpretation of disinterestedness; the preferred peer-review system in a scholarly discipline suggests attitudes towards universalism. Even if the ideals of science cannot always be observed in research practices, publications that are a result of those practices can be analysed as proxies, reflections of such norms. And since publishers are key agents in the production of publication, this line of argumentation opens a route for exploring the publisher's role as a close ally to the system of science, upholding its norms both internally and possibly to the wider public.

Moreover, Mulkay's conceptualisation of the norms as a rhetorical instrument points out that science may be a self-regulating social system, yet it is not a solitary one. Science stands in relation to other social systems: it is tightly bound up with higher education, which is organised for a large part at the same institutions and provided by the same people as research; it is dependent on national governments' laws and regulations, as well as funding; and it is therefore susceptible to the public opinion. This underscores the importance of reputation-building, not only by individual researchers in the internal system's dynamics, but also collectively, for the purpose of maintaining a positive perception of academia by others. Here, too, the role of the publisher is crucially bound up with the very visible products of science and scholarship in the form of books and authors.

Returning to the assessment of Merton's critics, the majority view in current reappraisal realistically concedes that the normative framework, with its accepted norms and counternorms, reflects ideal rather than actual practice among researchers: [i]ndeed, norms only affirm ideals; they do not describe realities. It is possible to salvage Merton's delineation of the norms of science, but only as a prescription of how scientists should behave ideally.'[34] It also acknowledges that a rhetoric strategy in defence of the intrinsic values of science could be based on the normative framework. The issue of where instances of adherence to the norms of science should be observed has been reduced to a moot point; the current sociology of science accepts that it presents itself in research practice, in communication, and in publications, because these are accepted as inextricably related. Rather, the current sociology of science reviews the pressures on the system of science in its relationship with other social systems that may affect it, such as national policy, and reframes the norms of science as a reflection of the negotiations of science, in legitimising and justifying itself towards society at large.

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[33] Anderson et al., 'Extending the mertonian norms', p. 369.

[34] Ziman, *Real Science*, p. 31.

The dynamics between social systems had not been the focus of research, as from the time Merton formulated his norms until the 1970s, science as well as the government budgets allocated to it had seemed to grow incessantly. However, growth did slow down significantly, and since then academics have been confronted with scarcity, and consequentially increasingly intense competition.[35] From the 1990s, New Public Management's processes of collectivisation, increasing bureaucratisation and greater emphasis on the utility of research have led to what John Ziman dubs the 'post-academic' system of science: in this new paradigm, scientists have become more vulnerable to external pressures. As a consequence, any internalised norms may be jeopardized systemically; both as ideals to live up to *and* as effective legitimisations of science and scholarship. A shifting position of science as a system versus other systems, for instance in the current increasing dependency on project funding, may therefore call for new norms to be observed by scientists in their daily practice and to be propagated internally as well as to outsiders.

As an example of his theory of shifting normative frameworks in science, and in order to give more attention to the mechanisms through which individual scientists contribute to the evolutionary development of science as a whole, John Ziman introduces *originality* as an additional norm in post-academic science.[36] Whereas organised scepticism acts as a systemic 'brake' because it results in heavy debate and detailed reviews of new results, he argues originality is the 'motor': since society has set up reward structures for new discoveries, scientists strive more singularly for highly original research results, because these can earn them prestige. This quest for original results is an important driver in the development of new, previously unexplored problem areas and the subsequent specialisation of scientists in these new areas.[37] Similarly, philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas proposes to add *individual honesty* to the list, as a moral counterweight to commercialisation of science.[38]

Renewed interest in the values that drive academic life comes from increasingly interventionist science policy as well as accompanying debates about academic freedom.[39] It is important to note that current enquiries into normative adherence are set up with empirical experiments, whereas Merton and contemporaries came to their sets of norms through thick descriptions and interpretations; this means that current quantitative indications of support for norms can not be compared to earlier normative patterns since statistics of those were simply not available. For instance, Bruce Macfarlane and Ming Cheng use a web-based survey to elicit academics' responses to value-statements, and conclude that especially the norm of communalism still enjoys broad support across academic disciplines, whereas disinterestedness is met with more ambivalence.[40] However, their research is a quantitative check, rather than a systemic review of the normative framework; it is telling that organised scepticism is left out of the survey, because the authors could not come up with 'value statements that adequately reflected positive and negative positions with respect to organised skepticism'.[41]

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[35] Ziman, *Real Science*, ch. 4.

[36] Ibid., ch. 2.

[37] Ibid., ch. 8.

[38] Others have proposed other counternorms as well, in principles such as autonomy or independence, rationality, and openness. For a discussion, including Habermas' suggestion, see: Anderson et al., 'Extending the mertonian norms', pp. 369–370.

[39] Bruce Macfarlane & Ming Cheng, 'Communism, universalism and disinterestedness: Re-examining contemporary support among academics for Merton's scientific norms', *Journal of Academic Ethics* 6 (2008), pp. 67–78; pp. 67, 76.

Melissa Anderson et al. attempted to test both counternorms and alternative norms, by measuring scientists' commitment to them through questionnaires and assessing these in interviews. Ziman's *originality* was, unfortunately, not tested, but Anderson et al. report that the Mertonian norms, although not explicitly known to the test subjects, were consistently supported as ideal behaviour for scientists by over 75% of respondents, whereas Mitroff's corresponding counternorms were not widely supported: less than 25% of the test subjects thought these represented good behaviour that scientists should display.[42] Anderson et al. furthermore identify two other pairs of norms and counternorms that displayed a similar pattern of support: *governance*, the ideal that scientists themselves should have control over science, instead of administrators or managers, which was widely supported (*administration* being formulated as the minority's counternorm); and the norm of *quality* as opposed to *quantity* of scientific work as the primary basis for value judgements, which over 90% of test subjects supported.[43]

The adherence to these new norms here probably reflects researchers' ideological standpoints on their profession, rather than actual practice at universities. Yet it should in my opinion be interpreted from the realist argument that norms of science shift according to the social position of the system of science as a whole: after all, at the time Merton construed his original four norms, self-governance of scientists was hardly challenged, researchers experienced very little pressure to publish in quantity, and national research audits did not yet exist—and therefore there was no need to formulate any norms on professional governance and quality. The fact that researchers do come up with those norms now, demonstrates that the notion of a normative framework is not rejected.

The previous paragraphs provide a brief overview of the extensive body of literature from the sociology of science, which has by now come to the agreement that a normative framework indeed seems to underpin science as a system, but that the precise norms to which scientists adhere may vary over time, and depend on the disciplinary community as well as externally imposed requirements (such as the pressure to publish). Moreover, there might be discrepancies between the norms and values that scientists report to support, and actual practice. It would not suit the current research to delve deeper into theory; instead, a brief recapitulation of the most formative argumentation can point out how the analysis of science as a system belongs at the basis of a study of communication and publication practices in the Humanities in the digital age.

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[40] Macfarlane & Cheng, 'Communism, universalism and disinterestedness', p. 77.

[41] Ibid., p. 70.

[42] Anderson et al., 'Extending the mertonian norms', pp. 386–387.

[43] Ibid., pp. 378–381.

Firstly, Merton's original framing is still useful, of science as a closed-off, institutionalised system that has its own rewards structure and normative framework (although the functioning of that normative framework remains disputed). The relationships between science and other social systems, such as business and policy, are never fixed—even though they may *seem* stable, from singular or temporary observations; it is to be expected that any major socio-technical change will also impact science, as well as the relationship between science and society. This emphasizes the interest of investigating the rise of digital communication and publication technologies, as the major sociotechnical development of the past decades.

Secondly, Mulkay's work on the discrepancy between professed norms of science and actual research practices has drawn renewed attention to the internal reward mechanism of science: publications. If norms are considered to become institutionalised by internal reward structures,[44] then, reversely, the reward-earning products of science must at least embody implicit reflections of these norms, or values inherent to the communities of practice that produce them. In an extension of Mulkay's argument, shifting norms would thus likely leave indications of their shift in publications. And, following the argument that publications are an important venue for the rhetorical support of the norms of science, it seems likely that expressions of those norms would change when the possibilities for these expressions are altered. This has happened significantly since the introduction of the digital medium, and especially the World Wide Web, in academic communication and publishing.

The definition of science as a social system explains why academic publishing displays universal characteristics that are not found in other fields of publishing; however, since academic publishing is primarily discipline-based, not all of its characteristics can be assumed as universal, or as automatically relevant for all academic disciplines. Expressions of norms in publications, for example in referencing styles or applying a fixed structure to journal articles, can be interpreted as rhetorical strategies to advocate specific interests (cf. Mulkay), or as reflections of intrinsic values adhered to in that community of practice. In my opinion, either interpretation can be valid and they are not mutually exclusive: rather, I suppose a mix of internalised disciplinary discussions of norms feature in publications, alongside with a degree of 'image-building' for the outside world, dependent on the amount of pressure that is actually perceived from wider society. For instance, the continuing adherence to monographs reflects the Humanities' internal disciplinary esteem for sustained argumentation as well as their relative indifference to the speed at which knowledge reaches the community, despite funders' increasing emphasis on quick results. However, if researchers are subjected to research evaluation frameworks, they report to adjust their publication behaviour towards such evaluations, despite tensions with their academic interests and norms in their discipline.[45]

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[44] Merton, 'The reward system of science', p. 293; Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organisation of the Sciences*, p. 13.

In any case, communication and publication practices are expected to display varying patterns of ambivalence in adhering to norms and counternorms. Interestingly, precisely their pattern of ambivalence defines specific disciplines in relationship to each other, and to outside influences. Moreover, the norms and counternorms themselves might be defined differently between disciplines, dependent on their particular research context.[46] Even though research shows that most normative behaviour in science is latent, it can be assumed that most scientists are aware of conventions in their specific field (whether these are dubbed normative or counternormative). The fact that newcomers in academic disciplines are implicitly—and sometimes also explicitly—instructed to conform to certain practices and habits also supports the existence of a normative structure. Altogether, this merits the following analysis of the norms of science and the characteristics of publications, as its reward mechanisms, in light of the habits of specific disciplines.

2. Varying interpretations of the norms in disciplines

Depending on the ulterior goals of taking a scholarly discipline as the unit of analysis, this term has been defined in varying ways. In his defence of the unlimited and ungoverned development of intellectual enquiry, Stefan Collini portrays disciplines as scholarly traditions that have started as instrumental courses to other knowledge pursuits, but later moved on to establish themselves as independent domains and departments.[47] This organisational approach supports Collini's rhetorical goal, but it does not sufficiently explain how this establishing process works, nor does it set criteria according to which a discipline would qualify as independent. Perhaps the implicit answer to these questions points out the observer's bias in such a type of organisational definition: only if outsiders see a discipline as a distinguishable unit, it has become one.

Richard Whitley similarly views academic disciplines as units that combine traditions and methods of intellectual production and validation with professional employment at universities.[48] Since the end of the nineteenth century, he argues, knowledge production in science has been regarded as a craft; its professionals should come equipped with certain intellectual capacities, but continue to gain essential procedural and practical skills through on-the-job training and experience.[49] Through providing employment, universities and other research institutes have become hubs for skills transfers between academics. Moreover, the knowledge institutions have joined the pursuit of prestige since fostering communities of researchers that share and exchange professional expertise, because the more esteemed a disciplinary community at a particular university is, the easier it becomes for that university to attract other excellent professionals.

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[45] Jenny Fry, Charles Oppenheim, Claire Creaser, William Johnson, Mark Summers, Sonya White, Geoff Butters, Jenny Craven, Jill Griffiths & Dick Hartley, *Communicating Knowledge: How and Why UK Researchers Publish and Disseminate their Findings* (London: Research Information Network, 2009), pp. 13–14.

[46] Joshua Guetzkow, Michèle Lamont & Grégoire Mallard, 'What is originality in the humanities and social sciences?', *American Sociological Review* 69.2 (April 2004), pp. 190–212. This article investigates social scientist and humanist peer reviewers' definitions of originality, and concludes that the standard definitions, coming from the natural sciences, are inadequate, mainly because they overlook alternative relevant forms of it.

[47] Stefan Collini, *What Are Universities for?* (London: Penguin, 2012); Collini describes the development of university departments of Classics as an example, pp. 61–62.

[48] The intellectual production and validation alone he calls 'fields'. Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organisation of the Sciences*, pp. 7–9.

Whitley thus uses the term 'discipline' exclusively in the context of joint intellectual and professional communities, perhaps because his analytical emphasis on the organisational structures in science and scholarship.[50] Despite his emphasis on institutions as employers, however, he acknowledges that temporary employment status is less important to academics than is their permanent position on the labour market at large.[51] This can be explained by the crucial role for prestige in academia: after all, that is not awarded by the institutions, but by certifying academic professionals at the top of their disciplines. In the current analysis, 'disciplines' will denote communities of researchers who share an intellectual pursuit, similar both in subject and in method, through transferring skills and experiences. Members of such communities are usually employed at an institution like a university, but disciplinary professionals are distributed over many such institutes and may change employment without effects for their position in the discipline, because disciplinary certification of their work determines their reputation much more strongly than their employment status.

The limitations of positioning a discipline as inextricably linked to universities or research institutes bring Karin Knorr-Cetina to argue against the use of the term 'discipline' altogether. She much prefers the term 'epistemic cultures', which she subsequently defines as 'amalgams of arrangements and mechanisms [...] which, in a given field, make up *how we know what we know*'.[52] In her conceptual outlook, these amalgams are not necessarily situated at specific institutions or professional organisations; many practices make up one culture, precisely because its insiders see similarities in context and systemic processes. To Knorr-Cetina, and in sociology in general, cultural formation is the consequence of participants who 'orient themselves inward and on previous system-states'.[53] In this sense, each scholarly discipline is a prime example of a specified culture of a specific type, centred on a shared epistemic goal: scholars engage with a specific body of knowledge and through that with contemporary peers or past predecessors who are interested in the same knowledge pursuit. The engagement with others is reached through (written) communication on the epistemic subject.

This insiderism in epistemic cultures and the specificity of disciplinary communication practices are important concepts in Knorr-Cetina's sociocognitive theory of epistemic cultures. However, the observation of these practices and their context that Knorr-Cetina propagates, perceives publications and other communicative forms as (just) one type of 'data' with which a specific epistemic culture can be reconstructed. This one-way interpretation does not do full justice to the complexity in the exchange that takes place through disciplinary communication practices. Berkenkotter and Huckin reconsider it from a dialogical perspective, following literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, and argue that publications and other forms of communications do not only reflect the current disciplinary culture, but also affect it, because they are part of an ongoing dialogue between scholars in the discipline.[54] This dialogue is not only epistemic; it also has phenomenological elements, reflecting the ideas and understandings that practitioners have about their discipline. The interplay between the epistemological and the social is a structural duality: cultures are not only, as knowledge practice studies also posit, partly constituted by communications through text, but moreover they are also continuously reproduced through texts.[55] This dynamism causes the cultures as well as their communication products to evolve over time, in an organic response to users' needs. As Carol Berkenkotter and Thomas N. Huckin argue, communication patterns in specific disciplinary communities of scholars are the result of the contemporary, and inevitably temporary, conventions in these communities.[56] These texts therefore can function as windows into the functioning of communities, and the knowledge on the communities thus obtained can subsequently be used for insights in emergent communication patterns. Following this analysis, the definition of a scholarly discipline, then, should include both epistemic and social characteristics.

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[49] Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organisation of the Sciences*, pp. 15-17.

[50] Ibid., pp. 7-8. Whitley uses the term 'science' to refer to all forms of knowledge production, not just the natural sciences. I will use both terms, sicence and scholarship, to distinguish STEM fields and SSH fields, because this distinction is crucial in the current project.

[51] Ibid., p. 16.

[52] Knorr-Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures*, p. 1. Original italics.

[53] Ibid., *Epistemic Cultures*, p. 2.

If disciplines are held together by their scholarly insiders who orient themselves by one another and by the disciplinary peers that have gone before, then surely individual scholars must have incentives to retain their disciplinary orientation in the pursuit of success, or in Bourdieusian terms, to stay in their disciplinary arena in their struggle for power through capital. Since such closed-off systems experience internal shifting forces, it then follows that some behavioural strategies will be more successful than others in each specific field: a common set of criteria, or norms, for what constitutes quality scholarship. Based on these criteria, that often remain implicit, disciplinary practitioners can recognize good work by peers. Before continuing with the identification of specific norms and characteristics of academic disciplines, two further aspects of disciplines as conceptual units must be emphasised.

Firstly: although scholars and scientists themselves can usually clearly distinguish their own discipline from others, the boundaries between these disciplines are always (and necessarily) porous. This is an inescapable effect of the dialogic properties of disciplinary communication: scholars orient themselves on peers and earlier scholarship, but they may not all choose the same peers and forbears to identify themselves with, out of methodological differences or simply because research branches too widely to cite all predecessors. This leads to movement in the disciplines, eventually causing some to differentiate, and others to extend more towards previously unconnected disciplines with which similarities are found.[57] Such movement can gain an impetus when disciplinary communities face a disruptive force, when a new discovery leads to a paradigm-shift, for instance. In the Humanities, the implementation of the digital medium in research goals and methods may be considered such a disruption that led to the secession of the Digital Humanities in a process of boundary-shifting and reorientation that has taken decades.[58]

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[54] Carol Berkenkotter & Thomas N. Huckin, *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication: Cognition/Culture/Power* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995), pp. 2–3.

[55] Ibid., pp. 79–80; Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, pp. 23–24.

[56] Berkenkotter & Huckin, *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*, p.29.

Theoretically, these diversifying currents could also be used on purpose by scholars, to 'move' between disciplines. For practical reasons such as methodological differences and lack of credibility, however, such moves are relatively rare.[59] Supporting the countering current of unification is, on the other hand, quite common: every scholar sustains the norms of his field through the act of communicating in established patterns and forms. Moreover, junior scholars need to prove that they understand the discipline's common norms and can put its accepted rules in practice. Berkenkotter and Huckin identify the diversifying and unifying, or centrifugal and centripetal, tendencies as two continuous cultural forces.[60] Beyond these, I would argue that there is a third crucial force: the hierarchy inherent to every academic field. It distinguishes established, influential incumbents from new voices who carry relatively little weight; weight they can only gain if they are approved—and are thus bestowed capital—by the existing powers. Academic hierarchy should therefore be considered an important conservative and conserving force.

3. Describing the disciplines' formative practice

In pursuit of the identification of parameter settings that might be specific for the humanities disciplines, some identified parameters that have been shown to be relevant for disciplinary unification may serve as a starting point. These can be drawn from knowledge practice studies that have resulted in descriptive analyses of ethnographically observed research practices in specific disciplines. This type of research aims to observe practices in a particular science discipline, or (contrasting) disciplines, to distil formative aspects that are apparently driving researchers' behaviour in that discipline. Such aspects might come from methodology, social hierarchy, and communicative behaviour, to name just a few. These aspects can then be used as parameter settings in a model of disciplinary formation and unity. The outcomes of knowledge practice studies in particular disciplines are very helpful as cues that point to similarly formative aspects in humanities research practices, even if these might operate from different parameter settings: the *absence* of an aspect that is demonstrated to be formative in a particular scientific discipline may be interpreted as an equally influential setting in another. In other words: the fact that the Humanities *do not share* some of the research practices of other disciplines is at least partly caused by underlying structural differences.

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[57] Becher and Trowler dub these processes 'fission and fusion'; Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, ch. 8.

[58] In the Digital Humanities handbook *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), several chapters recapitulate the genesis of the disciplinary community: Matthew Kirschenbaum, 'What is Digital Humanities and what's it doing in English departments?', pp. 3–11; Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 'The Humanities, done digitally', pp. 12–15. Lisa Spiro also describes the search for new values and norms for the emerging discipline: 'This is why we fight: Defining the values of the Digital Humanities', pp. 16–36.

[59] Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, ch. 7.

[60] Berkenkotter & Huckin, *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*, ch. 1.

Following the same logic in the introduction to her influential study of epistemic cultures, Karin Knorr-Cetina explains that she contrasts two disciplines, high-energy physics and molecular biology, because highlighting the differences between them sheds a clearer light on their essential features than the isolated description of these features would.[61] Through descriptions of laboratory practices, she proceeds to identify different approaches of problem formulation, methodology, experimental strategies and disciplinary organisation, which result in two parameter settings that vary between these disciplines: individualism versus collectivism in knowledge pursuing endeavours, and empiricism versus semiology in research methodology. She portrays high-energy physics as typically collectivist and semiotic and molecular biology as individualist and empirical, and argues that these parameters can be directly derived from the epistemic objects of the disciplines.

Although the close-description analysis of these two disciplines under investigation is very convincing, it is difficult to extend their application towards other 'epistemic cultures', precisely because this framework has been constructed in close description of the research practices. The binary classifications used here do not cover more than the two disciplines under scrutiny, and they are indeed presented as binary parameters and not as continuous scales that would allow mapping other disciplines easily. Knorr-Cetina herself argues that her analysis is interpretative and hermeneutic; that it attributes meaning to observations, but that it therefore cannot uncover a 'hidden layer' of underlying, structural frameworks that could be extrapolated.[62] Although she does not mention this, however, it is implied that the general establishment of research goals and methods as distinctive, formative characteristics of particular disciplines, however, *can* be extrapolated to the analysis of other disciplines as well.

Other conceptual approaches have aimed to construe a model in which all academic disciplines are represented. Such approaches does not refute knowledge practice studies, but instead aim at providing a wider theoretical cadre in which observed practices can be fitted, an overview of the optional settings for all relevant parameters to map the total realm of science. Becher and Trowler continuously compare their attempt at arriving at such a model with mapping the academic 'land', in their equally metaphorically titled study *Academic Tribes and Territories*: '[the academic land] exists without an observer, but the landscape does not; the way that the land is perceived and responded to, is human projection'.[63] They thus acknowledge that all structuring attempts are inherently simplifications of a much more complex reality. They also concede that even formative characteristics are not universally present in a discipline, but that they are predominant, supported by the majority. This is a notable admission, especially in the analysis of very heterogeneous disciplines as found in the Humanities, as this may mean that even formative characteristics may escape observations.

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[61] Knorr-Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures*, p.7.

[62] Ibid., *Epistemic Cultures*, p. 248.

[63] Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, p. 16.

Becher and Trowler argue that all academic disciplines and specialisms are positioned in an epistemological dimension as well as a social one, which can both be reconstructed based on external observations and via the phenomenological approach of trying to portray what disciplinary agents themselves think of their discipline, 'accounts [...] of those who see disciplinary knowledge as reflecting real-world differences in subject matter'.[64] Confirming older observations and phenomenological data, Becher and Trowler arrive a classification of disciplines in the epistemological dimension, of 'hard' versus 'soft' disciplines on one axis, and 'pure' versus 'applied' knowledge on the other. This terminology, I think, is rather infelicitous as it is rife with connotations that have always existed, but have become especially burdened over the past decade of government budget cuts and valorisation policies. However, the method of positioning academic disciplines in a multi-dimensional model remains useful for the current project. In the following discussion of that model, I will adopt Becher and Trowler's original adjectives for maximum clarity, despite their shortcomings.

Becher and Trowler's division between pure and applied research is based on the degree of concern with practical applications of research results, and the extent to which these concerns drive the formulation of research questions.[65] Applied research is geared towards producing knowledge that can be used directly outside academic contexts, such as in professional law practice or in pharmacies. Pure research is driven by academic curiosity, without considering any directly practical application. The hard-soft scale, secondly, is a purely cognitive one, assessing the characteristics of knowledge without any societal context: hard research, in this model, centres on well-defined areas of research, in which progress is made with restricted, well-defined theories and methods. Knowledge in 'hard' disciplines is substitutive, which means new results overthrow and surpass older ones. Soft research on the other hand brings about cumulative knowledge, where new answers to research questions complement older ones, and form further or different explorations of a broad research territory. Theories and methods are relatively unspecified in soft fields, as definitions tend to be loose and multi-interpretable, and results are qualitative.[66]

Of the twelve disciplines Becher and Trowler take as points of reference in their model, two are traditionally classified as Humanities: history, and the rather aggregated 'modern languages'.[67] Becher and Trowler themselves only describe the positions of these referential disciplines in text, but for clarity I have visualised their classification in the epistemological dimension in a graph (Figure 1). Both humanities disciplines are categorized epistemologically in the ‘soft-pure’ quadrant of the graph: according to Becher and Trowler, knowledge pursuit in these disciplines is fundamentally based on ‘understanding and interpretation, instead of discovery and explanation’, and contributions in these disciplines are ‘reiterative, holistic; concerned with particulars and qualities; personal, value-laden’.[68]

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[64] Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, p. 24.

[65] Ibid., pp. 33-34.

[66] Ibid., p. 184.

[67] The other disciplines they include as reference points are: physics, mathematics, chemistry, mechanical engineering, biology, pharmacy, economy, geography, sociology, and law; arguably, some of these are also amalgamates of separate disciplines, comparable to the collected 'modern languages'.

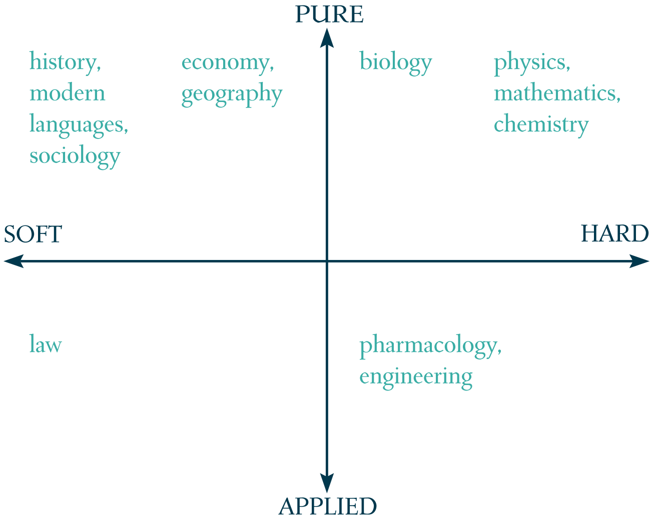

Figure 1: Visualisation of the epistemic dimension of Becher and Trowler’s model for the classification of research disciplines.

Research evidently has epistemic goals, but it is also an inherently social activity, as conceded in the discussions of norms and values underpinning scientific exchanges. Becher and Trowler similarly divide this social dimension over two continuous axes, labelled with, unfortunately, equally connotative terminology. On the first axis, they distinguish between ‘urban’ versus ‘rural’ research communities. This distinction is based on differences in the nature and scale of engagement, relationships between disciplinary peers, and distribution of resources. Urban communities should be seen as densely populated, with many researchers working on the same problem in a narrow research area. These researchers focus on few salient topics and aim for quick, short-range solutions for discrete problems; their communication is thus quick and intense. In rural communities, on the other hand, the ‘people-to-problem ratio’ is much lower; researchers are thinly spread over a broad range of themes, and can spend years puzzling on not so clearly defined problems.[69]

On the second axis in the social dimension, Becher and Trowler assess the degree of social conformity in disciplines: convergent disciplines maintain reasonably uniform standards and procedures for research, which are controlled by the disciplinary

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[68] Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, p. 36.

[69] Ibid., p. 106.

'intellectual elite', whereas in divergent disciplines, there is relatively high tolerance for intellectual deviance of individual researchers. The social dimension of their model is visualised in figure 2: note that the reference disciplines from the Humanities are both classified as 'rural', although they display differing degrees of convergence.[70]

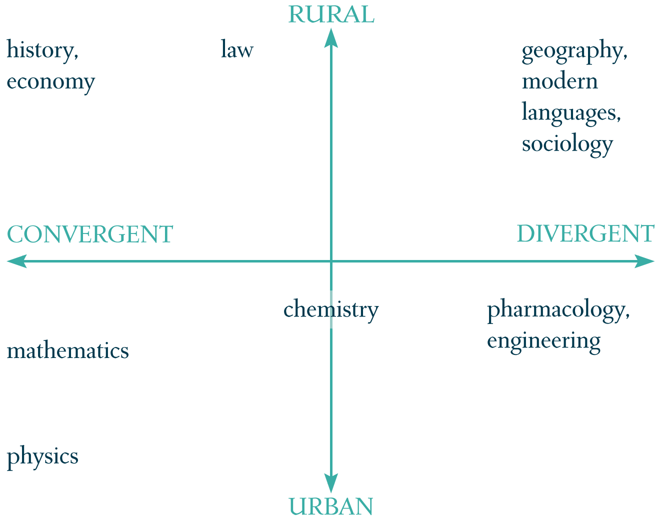

Figure 2: Visualisation of the social dimension of Becher and Trowler's model for the classification of research disciplines.

This classification is based on social configurations in the organisation of science, but it is helpful keeping in mind that the social structure within disciplines can never be seen as fully separate from the epistemic processes underlying it. The epistemic object influences the methods of research in the fields oriented on that object, and research methods significantly shape the social relationships between academics active in these fields. Social relationships could be observed in live practices, but they also show in the communication patterns between academics, and perhaps most strongly codified in formal publications.

If, for example, many researchers are working on the same problem with relatively established methods dictated by that problem (in an epistemically hard discipline), they do not have to provide this context in their communications with disciplinary peers, because these will be all too well aware of it. If in such an epistemological setting the problem area can be considered crowded (socially urban), communication will quickly get hyper-specialised: reports on new knowledge findings need little context and communications are sequentially focused on speed and primacy. If, on the other hand, the research area is broad and can be explored with various methods (epistemically soft), a researcher communicating his explorations needs to provide the specific context of his endeavour together with the results themselves, in order for more 'remote' peers to understand the scope of his work and accept it as a legitimate contribution. Especially if there are not many competitors working on the same epistemological phenomenon (socially rural), this creates room for lengthier communications that do not need to appear as frequently.

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[70] Becher and Trowler do not specifically mention how they arrive at their classification of convergence; it can therefore only be assumed that it is derived from the interviews and observations that underpin the whole work. I would argue, however, that convergence in the Humanities could only be reconstructed by also reading and contextualising the literature produced by the disciplines, through which significant pressure may be exerted—a discourse virtually impenetrable to outside observations.

Importantly, the social dimension of disciplinary research behaviour is situated in the culture itself; it is most often not explicitly taught or even mentioned, but transmitted through imitation by and acculturation of younger researchers, who are directly advised and indirectly influenced by their seniors, as these are more advanced in the discipline. This slow acculturation should be seen as a conservative force in disciplinary formation, because juniors entering a discipline will naturally be inclined to orient their own strategy on its successful incumbents.[71] This conservative tendency renders disciplinary communities usually rather stable. This stability of epistemic and social practices in research disciplines points to commonly adopted sets of values in each of them: the definition of what constitutes a valid or good contribution to research has come to vary per field over the course of time, but is at any one moment relatively broadly accepted in each discipline. Returning to the normative view on the system of science, we could think of these specific, stable research community values as disciplinary interpretations of the systemic norms of science; the patterns of ambivalence as expected by Merton and Mitroff. As a next step, the disciplinary interpretations that are specific to humanities disciplines can be outlined.

4. Disciplinary practices specific to the Humanities

Upon commencing the analysis of typical humanities disciplinary characteristics, it is good to emphasize again that this broad term is a blanket, covering a heterogeneous variety of disciplines and specialisms. The current use of the terms stems from the 1940s, when it was used in response to the aggressive promotion of the natural sciences in the war-climate.[72] In 1959, C.P. Snow gave his now-(in)famous lecture on the 'two cultures', in which he juxtaposed sciences and the humanities.[73] By 1970, this use of the labels had become uncontroversial and their organisational use has spread since then. Its current shape is the division in discourse between Science, Technology, Engineering and Medicine (STEM) on the one hand, and Social Sciences and Humanities, Arts and Law (SSH, A&L) on the other, which is used in scientometrics, science policy and also in academic publishing. However, the risk of applying this classification in its broad-sweep form is that the reasoning behind it is easily forgotten. As argued above, certain epistemic characteristics combined with social processes shape disciplinary cultures.

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[71] This similar to what Knorr-Cetina means with 'inward' orientation.

[72] Before then, the term 'Humanities' denoted the Classics specifically; the collection of disciplines and specialisms now named 'Humanities' were until the twentieth century often called 'Letters'. See Collini, *What are universities for?*, p. 61.

[73] Snow, *The Two Cultures*.

Consequently, similar epistemic and social parameters will result in similar disciplinary cultural practices. Moving beyond the dichotomy of the two cultures, and also striving to abandon connotative terminology, I will now attempt to define the parameters that are similar for most humanities disciplines. The generalisation of the comparable disciplines, and occasionally the contrasting with disciplines from other domains of academia, serves only to clarify the descriptions of at times abstract characteristics. This is not to argue for or against defining the heterogeneous variety of humanities disciplines in sub-classifications or other types of groups or scholarly communities, but only to pose that humanities research collectives behave more like one another than like other academic fields.

In a cognitive frame, humanities disciplines can be tentatively described as having a particular aspect of the human experience as their epistemic object. This object can inherently only let itself be understood through testimonies of that experience; these man-made testimonies (and not the experience itself) are the sources humanities researchers study—accounts, documents, literature, artworks, etc. The epistemic object itself cannot be known, and therefore research on it must be based on indirect evidence. I believe this type of search for knowledge to be highly similar to what Knorr-Cetina observes in high-energy physics and describes as 'semiotic': new discoveries of properties of the epistemic object are not made by empirical experimentation, but by exploration and interpretation from a new angle.[74] The position from which the researcher engages with the object of research has implications for the type of knowledge he can hope to find: one can study Shakespeare's plays from a perspective of rhetoric or aesthetics and shed light on different, but equally valid properties of it.

In comparison to the 'semiotic' science discipline of astronomy, humanities' epistemology is further compounded by the fact that the human experience is not only the object of research—which can be approached only indirectly through man-made artefacts such as texts and imagery—but also an important factor in the research methods that are available. Not only does the continued human experience change every day and leaves a never-ending stream of sources as its witness, it also constantly gives rise to new perspectives on existing sources of prior or concurrent experience. There are various sources of change, but new technological developments are particularly formative in this regard: they affect and alter the cultures that receive them, shape the artefacts that these cultures produce, and, through scholarly innovation, produce new instruments new instruments with which those artefacts may be studied. This is a reiterative cycle of subjectivity that shapes the context, objects and methods of the Humanities; the knowledge that can be gained through it is thus essentially interpretative. It provides new understandings and insights that may occasionally replace existing ones, but more often will complement them, because earlier insights about earlier iterations of context, object and method are not rendered less legitimate by innovation.[75]

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[74] Note that Knorr-Cetina's definition of semiotic is not at all the same as Saussurean semiotics! She uses the term rather literally, as 'sign-interpreting', versus directly empirical. I will adopt her term, but use single quotation marks to contrast it with the perhaps wider-known Saussurean meaning.

[75] The emergence of Digital Humanities as a new discipline from the traditional humanities fields is illustrative of this complementary working. Initially started from pioneering efforts with new instruments

The fact that new interpretations of source materials in themselves constitute novel research results is what prompted Knorr-Cetina to contrast 'semiotic' research with empirical disciplines. A further ramification of this difference, however, plays into the type of argument that needs to be made in the validation of research. In sciences with an empirical approach, only the validity of a used method needs to be assured. In semiotic disciplines, the quality of an applied perspective needs to be justified, even before one can argue on the quality of the methods used within the context of that perspective. Reversely, the formulation of a novel interpretative perspective can constitute an influential research result in itself, even without its specific application into methods and on a particular epistemic object. An example of such influential new perspective can be found in the advocacy for 'distant reading', i.e. quantitative, automated analysis of large text corpora, that may complement traditional 'close reading' of a limited number of texts in literary analysis.[76] This perspective has become determinative in the establishment of Digital Humanities as a specific discipline, which has since brought forth many specific methods and instruments to apply to a wide range of objects.

The Humanities thus have an epistemic object that cannot be known directly, but that can be approached from different interpretative directions that are not, or not all, mutually exclusive. Each researcher thus needs to justify his interpretative perspective on an object, and the selected methods within that interpretation. This justification is inherently qualitative, as the object of research cannot be expressed quantitatively. The obtainable knowledge claims in the humanities domain may be quantitative, but even if they are, their relevance and solidity need to be argued *qualitatively*, to be accepted as valid contributions to knowledge. If, for example, one makes word-frequency lists for Shakespeare's oeuvre to account for a feminine voice in it, the method of research is quantitative. However, the results are only seen as a valid contribution to knowledge when these quantitative results are accepted as relevant, valid affirmations from an underlying qualitative assumption; in this case perhaps the semiologist conviction that particular vocabulary distribution patterns may point to an author's gender-expression.

The epistemic object of research influences the social dimension of humanities research as well. The human experience can only be known through subjective signs of it; the study of these signs can only be pursued by individuals with their own, unique mind set for perspective. Each interpretation of each clue is necessarily different from other interpretations by others; an important aspect of the research results consists of explaining one's particular interpretation, and to convince others that

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(quantitative, automated approaches to digitized texts), the discipline evolved to connect new insights about technology and create new types of communications and publications. For an introduction to the history of DH as well as its communities' efforts to redesign their epistemology, see Spiro, 'This is why we fight'. In general, there are extensive handbooks to the DH: Gold, *Debates in the Digital Humanities*; Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens & John Unsworth (eds.), *A New Companion to Digital Humanities* (2nd ed.) (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016).

[76] For an introductory work to this method by its creator and staunchest advocate: Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading* (London: Verso, 2013). Note, however, that Moretti proposes that distant reading and quantitative approaches should *supplant* traditional, qualitative methods (p.48). Such propositions are not uncommon among the originators of new perspectives, yet complete replacement of perspectives almost never actually happens in the Humanities.

this one interpretation is valid. This makes humanities scholarship an inevitably individualist pursuit.

Lastly, the Humanities have a very wide scope of research topics, as all aspects of the human experience are considered as worth knowing; yet at the same time, the differences between cultures render topics not universally relevant. Therefore, the selection of one particular research problem should always be contextualised to explain its relation to specific cultures and with other humanities knowledge. On the other hand, there is no immediate research frontier of unsolved problems or limits to be broken, so humanities researchers spread widely over all and any possible topics and contexts of interest.

This typical positioning of humanities research in the social and epistemic dimensions shapes the behaviour of the scholars working in these fields, in ways that differ from other researchers—with other epistemic objects, other cognitive methods and other social environments. Humanities scholars, like all academics, aim to contribute to knowledge, but their norms of what counts as a valid contribution, or good scholarship, are implicitly affected by their research object and methods. To get a clearer perspective on the driving forces that steer humanities researchers, I will outline these against the by now familiar framework of the Mertonian norms and counternorms. With this, I do not argue that any specific pattern of adherence to norms or counternorms would be desirable for any academic discipline; rather, norms or counternorms to which the majority of academics in a discipline subscribe can be used as anchors for the understanding of the behaviour of that specific discipline—in this case, of humanities scholars in particular.

As explained above, the Humanities centre on collecting knowledge on the human experience; knowledge which can only be gained through qualitative interpretative perspectives with various methods and instruments. The validity of different co-existing methods and interpretative perspectives, and even the validity of allowing differing perspectives to complement each other in a knowledge pursuit, demonstrates that humanities research is inherently subjective and partly based on individual scholars' preferences. Whereas this would be problematic in other, empirical fields of science, in humanities research subjectivity is acknowledged, and accepted as a legitimate aspect of valid and valuable research—as long as the scholar is aware of his own enculturated subjectivity and explains it to his peers. Such subjectivity or preferences in the choice of research topics and the methods to explore them with can stem from a social, cultural or linguistic background, for instance growing up in a specific language community or sub-culture, or even from the acquired, and then motivated choice of one method over others, e.g. the preference for a structuralist perspective, or for distant reading.

This acknowledgement of researchers' inherent subjectivity creates a tension with the Mertonian norm of universalism. Under this norm, all research should be judged on its own merits, without taking the researcher into account. Yet, in humanities research, the individual disposition of the researcher is a fundamental influence on scholarship. How can one make original contributions from individual interpretations that nevertheless can be appreciated universally? This tension can only be relieved by making the result of the research self-explanatory. Only if an author acknowledges, explains and accounts for the subjectivity of the scholarly perspective in a research publication can peers understand it and appreciate it as a formative aspect of the new, original knowledge that is under scrutiny. Humanities scholars thus strive for universalism in widely understandable research results, but they need the tools of explanation to accomplish it (and even then, universalism necessarily remains limited).

According to John Ziman, subjectivity in research violates the Mertonian norm of disinterestedness, which prescribes that researchers should only cognitively engage with the object of their research, but should not invest personally or emotionally in it.[77] Moreover, even though he acknowledges that 'perception is always an active construction', Ziman also argues that subjective or personal research goes against the norm of communalism, as 'communities [of researchers] must hold the same subjective sets of beliefs and convictions'.[78] Such strict interpretation of the normative framework ignores the regular occurrence of tension between norms and counternorms. As has been discussed in section 1 of this chapter, this tension does not render the normative framework obsolete: even in disciplines that protect knowledge production by patents, researchers are aware of contrary interests between them and the community at large. Humanities researchers are equally aware of frictions between their methods and the community, and apply high standards to their work to convince peers of that awareness.

Firstly, and strictly logically, subjectivity in humanities research is always a result of personal engagement with an epistemic object through individual interpretation. Humanities research thus cannot be completely disinterested. Yet that does not mean that humanities researchers accept any personal interpretation on a whim: instead of abandoning the norm of disinterestedness, humanities research translates it into a heavier burden on the trustworthiness of the researcher. Total disinterestedness is logically impossible to attain, but individual scholars needs to be explicit about their subjectivity, by attesting their involvements, interests and interpretative framework; their dispositions. Only if a researcher's disposition is satisfactorily acknowledged can the research be considered valid and valuable. Procedural replication of the research from one individual's perception will not be possible in the Humanities. Therefore peers must be explicitly enabled to verify the interpretative framework and follow the argumentative steps to assess the quality of a scholarly publication.

The subjectivity present in humanities research also affects the humanities' internalization of the norm of organised scepticism. Humanities' organised scepticism does not expect to find consensus, since its research questions are not geared towards a final and finite understanding of a phenomenon, but on different legitimate interpretations of it. Instead, peers' organised scepticism often aims to define the boundaries of valid interpretations: research is grouped into intersubjective perspectives, or 'schools of thought', that often stem from a particular interpretation which is shared and appreciated, but may also be disparaged by other, similar schools of thought. In empirical science, the usage of a deviant perspective (paradigm) can render the experiment's outcome valueless. In the humanities fields, different perspectives can and do co-exist; and although some of them are incompatible, scholars can evaluate the quality of interpretation and argumentation on a research question that is developed within a perspective they do themselves not adhere to. No less than this is expected from peer reviewers in these disciplines.

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[77] Ziman, *Real Science*, pp. 166–170.

[78] Ibid., p. 105.

Researchers in the Humanities certainly uphold a Mertonian normative framework, but the way that scholarship supports it is disciplinarily distinct. Rather than variance in patterns of adherence to the norms, as suggested by Merton's early critics, this is caused by a discipline-specific interpretation of some norms. Humanities scholarship has over the course of centuries organically developed a specific ('soft-pure') epistemology with room for varying perspectives and interpretative methods which need to be accounted for. Similarly, the 'rural' social dimension of the Humanities has caused it to maintain a predilection for individual contributions that get time to mature, because there is little direct competition between knowledge findings.[79] Now that it has been established how epistemic and social characteristics of the humanities disciplines relate to their upholding the normative framework of science, the concluding step in this chapter is to explore how the combination of characteristics and norms is expressed in the humanities disciplinary communication and publication practices.

5. The effect of disciplinary practices on scholarly communication in the Humanities

Two types of sources could be used in the study of humanities disciplinary communication and publication practices: reflections by humanities researchers on the one hand, and reports (qualitative and quantitative) about their behaviour on the other. The former type of source is often deeply embedded in long-standing debates within specialisms, which surface only in peer literature. Its particulars are therefore—with some notable exceptions—extremely hard to comprehend by relative outsiders.[80] Of the latter type of source, no particularly prolific research tradition exists that highlights the specifics of humanities communication and publication practices. Sustained ethnographic studies into humanities disciplinary practices are very rare, as are those comparing the Humanities with other branches of science—although a vast body of such literature exists describing and comparing science disciplines.[81] Mixed-method studies using in-depth interviews as well as survey data more frequently span the breadth of academia, yet in these the Humanities often seem to play a secondary role as the selected number of humanities disciplines is much smaller than the number of science fields.[82] This may be caused by the prominence of STEM research in socio-political discourse about academia.

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[79] This is not at all to say that there is little competition among humanities scholars—just that this competition does not take the form of establishing primacy, which is important in STEM fields.

[80] The Digital Humanities form a welcome contrast in this regard, as its literature is very explicitly reflexive. See: Matthew Kirschenbaum, 'What is Digital Humanities and what's it doing in English departments?', in: Matthew K. Gold (ed.), *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 3–11.

[81] For instance the study cited above: Knorr-Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures*; for a list of studies in a similar vein, see: Mario Biagioli, 'Postdisciplinary Liaisons: Science Studies and the Humanities', *Critical Enquiry* 35.4 (2009), pp. 816–833; p. 829, fn. 32.

[82] This is the case in Becher & Trowler's conceptual analysis: *Academic Tribes and Territories*. A similar limited selection can be observed in: Fry et al., *Communicating Knowledge*; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, to name just two influential examples.

Science and technology studies, on their part, attribute the underrepresentation of the Humanities in their bibliometric analyses to the absence of useful data.[83] Yet rather than a cause, this is probably an effect of the same bias.

Despite these limitations, an eclectic review of the available sources helps distil the main communication and publication practices for the humanities as a group of disciplines. They are heterogeneous, and findings for one particular discipline cannot always be extrapolated to others. However, the Humanities' similar epistemic objects and research perspectives nevertheless renders them more alike each other than like science disciplines in many ways. The following, concluding section of this chapter should not be interpreted as an exhaustive list of properties, but rather as an exploration of the characteristics of humanities disciplinary research and communication practices for the purpose of understanding their often idiosyncratic preferences in academic publishing.

Although not the entire research process consists of writing, writing is inextricably linked to the development of ideas, and written texts are therefore embodiments of research contributions. New ideas are not just *represented* in writing, but they *manifest themselves through* the writing process; the text becomes an extension of the researcher's cognition, and if ideas would not be put to text the thinking process would not be the same.[84] This concept of 'active externalism' is essentially applicable to all academic fields. Yet in empirical science the research process comprises many different activities—such as preparing test subjects, calibrating equipment, statistical processing of data results—which, following the reasoning of active externalism, all then partly shape the cognitive outcome. In such fields, which make up the majority of the STEM disciplines, drafting a publication can even be argued to be just the final reporting on earlier empirical activities: the last and cognitively not most formative step in the research process, which is only of comparatively little influence on the final result. In most humanities disciplines (as well as in theoretical science fields), however, research consists of very few activities beyond thinking and writing—only reading of primary and secondary sources qualifies. In such disciplines, writing is crucial for cognitive processing; and the written embodiments of cognitive processing that will ultimately get published are closely linked to the minds of their creators.

Because published texts are acknowledged as the accounts of research progress throughout academia, researchers in all fields need to develop specific communicative skills for writing them. In their extensive study on this practice, Berkenkotter and

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[83] Thed van Leeuwen, 'Bibliometric research evaluations, Web of Science and the Social Sciences and Humanities: A problematic relationship?', *Bibliometrie: Praxis und Forschung* 2 (2013), pp. 1–18, esp. pp. 1, 17–18; Anton Nederhof, 'Bibliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and Humanities: A Review', *Scientometrics* 66.1 (2006), pp. 81–100; esp. pp. 82–83.

[84] This notion, that cognition does not only take place in the human mind, but extends to aids and artefacts such as notebooks, labels, registers, catalogues etc., is explored by Andy Clark and David Chalmers in their conceptualisation of 'active externalism': Andy Clark & David J. Chalmers, 'The extended mind', *Analysis* 58 (1998), pp. 10–23. The concept is developed in: Andy Clark, *Supersizing the Mind: Embodiment, Action, and Cognitive Extension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For a similar line of reasoning, see also: Wojchiech Sady, 'Quanta appeared not in Max Planck's mind', *Pragmatics and Cognition* 21.3 (2013), pp. 521–529—although Sady does not refer to the concept by Clark & Chalmers.

Huckin distinguish between declarative competence, i.e. the ability to express what has been researched, and procedural competence, i.e. describing how the research has been executed, in style and jargon that is specific to each discipline and reflects shared practices.[85] These two types of competences are important, as they allow researchers to communicate on a level with their peers, using, for instance, appropriate terminology, a specific content structure, and expected referencing style. However, as established, the textual manifestation of interpretative research is constructed exclusively through reading and thinking. Humanities research is therefore still perceived as an inherently individual activity. Moreover, shared research practices through which skills are transferred are largely absent; instead, scholars acquire skills by being exposed to existing research (in writing) in a slow process of acculturation rather than implementation of methodology.[86] I would therefore argue that humanities researchers need to develop a third type of textual competence: their autonomous voice, in which they relate their perspectives to their disciplinary culture by generating their ideas in text. The standards for technical and procedural competence may be less important in comparison: for instance, genre conventions for structure and style of humanities publications are much less strict than observed in other fields.[87] Variability in expression and an individual authorial style are allowed and even appreciated, as long as authors conform to 'broadly defined styles of reasoning and argumentation'.[88] Instead, humanities publications are judged on quality—there is not one successful form, but peers will recognize a valuable contribution when they encounter it.

Analyses demonstrate that single authorship is still the norm in many humanities disciplines.[89] This may be interpreted as another effect of both the highly individual humanities research process, and the esteem attached to an autonomous, individual and idiosyncratic textual competence. Traditional reading, thinking and writing is not easily turned into a team effort: collaborative publications may be on the rise, but predominantly in specific fields such as the Digital Humanities that add extra research activities (e.g. code compiling, data cleaning) to their disciplinary processes.[90] Besides, the number of shorter publications, i.e. articles, with multiple authors is growing, but a same trend is not observed in monographs.[91] This may point to the fact that the individual voice of the author continues to be highly appreciated in sustained argument—and vice versa, that authors are still attached to writing solo, as a cognitive instrument to shape their sustained argument with. Humanities monograph culture is then not caused by disciplinary conservatism, simply resisting communication innovations. Instead, disciplinary adherence to traditional publication types can be understood as a result of traditional links between writing and cognitive processing, which are slow to adapt because its development in junior scholars is rooted in exposition to the works of disciplinary peers.

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[85] Berkenkotter & Huckin, *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*, pp. 122–128.

[86] Fry et al., *Communicating Knowledge*, p. 6; Constantinos Dallas, 'Humanistic research, information resources and electronic communication', in: *Proceedings of the Academia Europeana Conference 'Electronic Communication and Research in Europe'* (Luxembourg: European Commission, 1999), pp. 209–239; p. 210.

[87] Berkenkotter & Huckin, *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*, pp. 22–23; Dallas, 'Humanitistic research, information resources and electronic communication', pp. 209–210.

[88] Dallas, 'Humanistic research, information resources and electronic communication' ,pp. 209–211, 216.

[89] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. iv.; Dallas, 'Humanistic research, information resources, and electronic communication', p. 210; Nederhof, 'Bibliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and Humanities', p. 88.

[90] Nederhof, 'Bibliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and Humanities', p.88; Truyken B. Ossenblok, Frederik T. Verleysen & Tim C. Engels, 'Co-authoring of journal articles and book chapters in the social sciences and humanities (2000-2010)', *JASIST* 65.5 (2014), pp. 882–897.

Next to the adherence to the monograph for long-sustained argumentation in the Humanities, journal articles themselves are also generally longer than in the science fields.[92] Mary Waltham found an average length of nineteen pages for humanities journal articles, significantly longer than the average twelve pages in the STEM counterparts. Interestingly, she also observed that article length was shorter for SSH disciplines resembling the STEM fields in quantitative perspective or empirical method.[93] This relative lengthiness of humanities publications thus seems related to the social and epistemic characteristics of their research practices (see section 1.4). The 'soft, pure, rural' Humanities do not converge on a research front, but explore a wide range of epistemic objects with a variety of not-clearly defined methods.[94] This implies that even when writing for peers, scholars will have to contextualise their epistemic object and their research perspective; such descriptions will command considerable length in publications whereas quick references (to well-defined problems and tried methods to tackle them) suffice in many of the STEM fields.[95]

The same soft, pure, and rural characteristics of humanities research render speed of publication not of paramount importance. A reason for this is found in the cumulative nature of humanities knowledge contributions: newer findings do not substitute earlier ones, but get added to the extended discourse in the discipline. This means scholars do not have to compete with their peers on primacy in solving a current problem, which gives them more time for 'the lengthy incubation of arguments'.[96] It also means that humanities research stays relevant for a longer period of time, because new contributions do not render older ones obsolete. In the case of monographs, especially, relevance can last for decades. This is demonstrated in citation patterns: not only do humanities scholars cite older sources than their STEM colleagues, but they also cite a wider range of publications, which imply that a broad variety of contributions remains relevant.[97] Publication processes overall take longer in the Humanities.[98] While this should be partly attributed to the fact that the idiosyncratic character of humanities publications renders efficient processing in economies of scale unpractical—as will be discussed extensively in chapter 3 of the current work—it is without doubt also due to the fact that humanities scholars themselves tend to value other services by publishers over speed.[99]

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[91] Nederhof, 'Bibliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and Humanities', p.88; Ossenblok, Verleysen & Engels, 'Co-authoring of journal articles and book chapters in the social sciences and humanities (2000–2010)'.

[92] Mary Waltham, 'The future of scholarly journal publishing among Social Science and Humanities associations: Report on a study funded by a Planning Grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 41.3 (2010), pp. 257–324; p. 259. Mary Waltham, 'Humanities and social sciences journals: A pilot study of eight US associations', *Learned Publishing* 23.2 (2010), pp. 136–143, p. 138.

[93] Waltham, 'The future of scholarly journal publishing among Social Science and Humanities associations': p. 259.

[94] Terminology from Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, which is amply discussed in section 1.3 of the current work.

[95] Dallas, 'Humanistic research, information resources and electronic communication', pp. 209–211.

[96] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 392.

The fundamental functioning of writing as an instrument for cognition in the extended mind; the necessity to contextualise all 'soft, rural' research; and the cumulative nature of humanities knowledge: these three specific disciplinary characteristics of the Humanities combined explain the still-central position of the monograph in humanities scholarship. Although other text types, such as journal articles and chapters in edited volumes, have always complemented it, the monograph remains relevant. Therefore, no shift away from book publishing is observed.[100] The importance of monographs shows in citation patterns: despite the quicker publication cycles of journals and the large total number of articles, two-thirds of indexed citations in the Humanities go to books.[101] Monographs' relative weight is also underscored by the relevance of book reviews, which account for a substantive part of all humanities journal contents.[102] Although book reviews are not frequently cited, scholars indicate that they find them very important in keeping up with the latest developments in their field.[103] The monograph, then, is still perceived as embodiment of those important developments in the disciplines.

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[97] Nederhof, 'Bibliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and the Humanities', pp. 86-88; Fry et al., *Communicating Knowledge*, pp. 5, 29-32; Van Leeuwen, 'Bibliometric research evaluations, Web of Science, and the Social Sciences and Humanities', p. 2.

[98] Waltham, 'Humanities and social sciences journals', p. 138.

[99] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, pp. xiv, 10; Christine Wolff, Alisa B. Rod & Roger C. Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics 2015* (Ithaka S+R | Jisc | RLUK, 15 June 2016), pp. 52–53; Fry et at., *Communicating Knowledge*, pp. 19–20, esp. tables 3–4.

[100] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, pp. xiii-xiv; Fry et al, *Communicating Knowledge*, pp. 5, 19–20; Engels, Ossenblok & Spruyt, 'Changing publication patterns in the Social Sciences and Humanities (2000-2009)', pp. 386–387, 389.

[101] Nederhof, 'Bibliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and the Humanities', pp. 84–85. It must be noted that the citation bases have severe limitations in indexing Humanities literature; these have been addressed in recent years, but coverage is still far poorer than for the STEM fields. See: Van Leeuwen, 'Bibliometric research evaluations, Web of Science and the Social Sciences and Humanities; A.A.M. Prins, R. Costas, T.N. van Leeuwen & P.F. Wouters, 'Using Google Scholar in research evaluation of Humanities and Social Science programs: A comparison with Web of Science data', *Research Evaluation* 25.3 (2016), pp. 264–270; Thed van Leeuwen, Erik van Wijk & Paul Wouters, 'Bibliometric analysis of output and impact based on CRIS data: A case study on the registered output of a Dutch university', *Scientometrics* 106 (2016), pp. 1–16.

[102] Alesia Zuccala & Thed van Leeuwen, 'Book reviews in Humanities research evaluations', J*ournal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 62.10 (2011), pp. 1979–1991; pp. 1981–1982, esp. fig. 3. Zuccala and Van Leeuwen even found that the number of published book reviews outscores the total number of articles, but I attribute this to limitations of the database they use (Web of Science – Arts & Humanities Citation Index 1981-2009).

Lastly, the epistemic object of the Humanities, the human experience, accounts for a specific regional or national focus in publication practices. After all, Humanities study the human experience and human ideas in a particular cultural context; dependent on the peculiarities of that context, the object may have limited transnational relevance, or may only acquire that through generalisation and extrapolation. For instance, the experiences of pupils going to religious schools are only significant in national systems that actually have such schools; similarly, a study of the language and style used in pamphlets by a nationalist political party is predominantly topical in the national or linguistic community. Moreover, compared to the STEM fields where teams worldwide primarily focus on an internationally shared research frontier, humanities research is often more directly linked to society: it aims, more than other disciplines, to educate others than direct peers—for instance students, or professionals outside academia.[104] This causes humanities scholarly publications to also appear in regional or national journals, monographs and reports; these are frequently written in national languages, i.e. other than English.[105] The proportion of publications in English is rising overall in the Humanities, and this trend is accelerating due to bibliometric research evaluation.[106] Nevertheless, national languages remain demonstrably most important in the research fields that have the strongest national context: for instance law and criminology, history, and literature.[107]

The present chapter has demonstrated that research practices shape publication practices of different academic disciplines. The particular practices in the Humanities disciplines result in publication cultures that centralize the monograph; continue to favour long, linear arguments; and emphasize their relevance in local or national settings by publishing in other languages than English, to name just a few of the characteristics outlined above. The notion that publication practices vary between disciplines is crucial for the further development of the current project, as it aims to analyse the specific position of the academic publisher servicing the Humanities. The particularities of their publication practices and preferences imply that humanities researchers will require specific services by publishers.

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[103] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, p. 20; Christine Wolff, Alisa B. Rod & Roger C. Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015* (Ithaka S+R, 2016), p. 16.

[104] Dallas, 'Humanistic research, information resources and electronic communication', p. 211.

[105] Nederhof, 'Bbliometric monitoring of research performance in the Social Sciences and Humanities', pp. 83–84.

[106] Björn Hammarfelt & Sarah de Rijcke, 'Accountability in context: effects of research evaluation systems on publication practices, disciplinary norms, and individual working routines in the faculty of Arts at Uppsala University', *Research Evaluation* 24.1 (2015), pp. 63–77; Truyken L.B. Ossenblok, Tim C.E. Engels & Gunnar Sivertsen. 'The representation of the social sciences and humanities in the Web of Science: A comparison of publication patterns and incentive structures in Flanders and Norway (2005–9)', *Research Evaluation* 21.4 (2012), pp. 280–290; Charles Mathies, Jussi Kivistö & Matthew Birnbaum, 'Following the money? Performance-based funding and the changing publication patterns of Finnish academics', *Higher Education* (2019), n.pag; esp. tables 5–6.

[107] Tim C.E. Engels, Truyken B. Ossenblok & Eric H.J. Spruyt, 'Changing publication patterns in the Social Sciences and the Humanities', *Scientometrics* 93 (2012), pp. 373–390; p. 386 esp. fig. 5.

Beyond just listing the specific characteristics of humanities research and publication practices as facts, the previous analysis has also sought to root the disciplinary characteristics in a theoretical framework. This is especially necessary because a mere description of practices is at risk of being interpreted as a value statement: the comparison between STEM fields and the Humanities all too often results in portraits of the latter communities as conservative bibliophiles despite progressing developments in research and publishing. This is not correct, as theorists and knowledge practice analysts from the sociology of science broadly agree: the differences in communication and publication practices between disciplines derive from different epistemic and social circumstances in which researchers work. The Humanities are currently classified as epistemically soft, socially rural disciplines, and as such their circumstances vary from the STEM fields, which are in general epistemically hard and socially urban.

Moreover, the classification of research disciplines in Becher and Trowler's epistemic and social dimensions adds a framework for understanding how research practices may change. If any of the epistemic parameters shifts, this implies that researchers will relate differently to their subject. Although Becher and Trowler mention, but do not analyse the link between research and publication practices, other theories suggest that the latter would shift too. Such a movement may be observed in the rise of the Digital Humanities, as part of its epistemology has come to centre on 'hard' questions. The development of increasingly sophisticated software for text-processing has substitutive traits, as older technologies are often declared obsolete and being replaced. Researchers therefore work in shorter cycles of development and have a need to stay updated through the most recent literature. In this case, texts on an epistemologically 'harder' topic may become shorter on average, and the need for rapid publication would become more pressing—trends that one would expect in DH publishing. The precise relationship between disciplinary characteristics and publication practices merits further exploration in the subsequent chapters of the current project, yet this chapter has argued that such a relationship indeed exists.

The internal workings of research disciplines are thus formative to their daily practices. However, academic communities do not exist in isolation: external parties also influence the context in which research takes place. Governments directly control universities through education policies and research agendas; funders have financial leverage as astute instruments to further their own goals; and society at large holds (changing) opinions on the role and position of research in society. Academia reacts to all such external influences from its own perspective of reference: the Mertonian normative framework that underpins the system of academia and sets it apart from other systems. Even if, as is currently held, this CUDOS-framework only works prescriptively—as a formulation of ideals to aspire to—it offers academia professional behavioural codes as well as a strategy for presenting itself to other parties. For instance: if governments and funders would want to steer research towards potentially profitable areas, it is logical that academia would react in defence of the breadth of topics, as prescribed by the norm of disinterestedness.[108] Academic activism for Open Access can similarly be explained as advocacy for the norm of universalism, against publishers who for economic reasons restrict access through subscriptions.

This last example returns to the academic publisher as the main subject of the current project. Academic publishers may be regarded as outsiders to the system of science in some circumstances; especially if researchers, as the core agents in that system, think that publishers hinder upholding of the Mertonian norms, for instance by their drive for economic profitability. However, despite occasional tensions in interests, scholarly publishing should in general be considered as part of the system of science: in a tight symbiosis, academic publishing has over the course of centuries internalised the Mertonian norms, and serves specific functions in upholding them. For example: researchers would never have been able to disseminate their contributions to their peers as effectively without publishing, as the norm of communalism advocates; and peer review can be regarded a manifestation of organised scepticism. Academic publishers thus straddle academic culture and a capitalist economic reality. It is to an analysis of this fundamentally dualistic position that the next chapter will turn.

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[108] Examples of such government interventions feature in chapter 3; even more have been planned and are currently planned. Becher and Trowler cite from their interview with a physicist who expresses that as a citizen, his political view is that the government may legitimately intervene in knowledge development, but as a scientist, he objects against any outside interference with the system of science's self-regulation—the Mertonian norms in practice: Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, p. 201.

2

A conceptual analysis of scholarly publishing

Given the perception of scholarly publishing as the gold standard for knowledge dissemination in academia, a conceptual analysis of its roles and activities is warranted. Publishers are active as producers of cultural goods in the material, commercial economy, working towards the clearly discernible, practical goal of disseminating ideas in textual form from authors to readers. This one clear objective of publishing has been widely studied.[1] As extensively analysed in such studies, the publisher responds largely to market logic of supply and demand, and pivots predominantly between two markets: that of manuscripts to be acquired from authors, and that of publications to be sold to readers. Yet most of these analyses are based on general trade publishing—and though aspects of the markets they operate on are similar, others are fundamentally different from scholarly publishing. In general, I use the term 'market' to denote any process in which material or immaterial goods or services are exchanged for a transaction rate that is based on reaching an equilibrium between supply and demand. Such an equilibrium can be reached through scarcity (of products to exchange, or of engaging parties) and through negotiations between agents; ensuing exchanges may involve financial transactions, but do not have to—and most of the exchanges between publishers and academic authors do not.

In the conceptual analysis of academic publishing, it should be noted, firstly, that its markets are not free: academic readers are, in varying degrees, dependent on the 'consumption' of scholarly literature for their own work, and thus their demand for texts is much less flexible than that of general readers. Moreover, this market is an indirect one: instead of individual readers buying the texts they demand, institutions or, increasingly, conglomerates of institutions negotiate deals on the products they add to their collections, where they can be consulted by scholars. The commercial market for products (books and articles) is not central in this research project, but the fact that this market consists of an indirect and captive audience undoubtedly affects the publishers' activities in their negotiations with authors, too.

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[1] Bhaskar, *The Content Machine*; Campbell, Pentz & Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing*; Clark & Phillips, *Inside Book Publishing*; Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing*; John B. Thompson, *Merchants of Culture: The Business of Publishing in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010); Albert Greco, *The Book Publishing Industry* (3d edn, New York: Routledge, 2013). See also the introduction to the current work.

Secondly, the commercial incentive commonly associated with the market is just one of the relevant dimensions in the negotiations between publishers and authors or editors of prospective publications. Publishers seek to exploit copyrights aiming for business profit, but scholarly authors do not usually receive financial compensation for letting them. In fact, the lack of monetary transactions might be one reason why this aspect of academic publishing is often not recognised as a market at all, and overlooked in analyses of the role of the scholarly publisher; especially since it is usually combined with the outsourcing of the selection process to academic editors, instead of employees of the publishing firm.[2] Moreover, suppliers of manuscripts to this market are not free, either, since their scholarly career largely depends on their successful negotiations here: they must publish, and publish in the best available outlet, or perish. These indirect pressures point to the existence of mechanisms outside the practical and financial dimensions of publishing (I will return to these mechanisms at length).

Lastly, any analysis of academic publishing must take into account that the commercial publishing operation functions in the not-for-profit, government-funded realm of academia at large. This means that many important parties that publishers interact with, such as scholars, university libraries, and research institutions, depend on structural subsidies by national and international governments. Besides, the capitalist market logic of profitability does not apply to all publishing enterprises themselves, either: a significant number of university presses, and therefore a significant market share in some academic disciplines—such as the Humanities—gets direct financial support from their parent institution, unlike firms in general publishing.

More fundamentally, the studies of scholarly publishing that do take the differences with the trade market into account tend to feature mainly descriptive analysis: they focus on particular business strategies and production processes—and thus deliver accounts of existing practices and potential changes in them from that practical business perspective.[3] Structural models are needed of the combined practices that make up the work of the publisher. A framework, or model, for the role of the scholarly publisher in general would synthesize such analyses of isolated practices. Moreover, it would allow for a structural analysis of the changes brought to the position of the scholarly publisher by any changes in the underlying premises on which the field is built: changes in disciplinary cultures and normative patterns in academia.

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[2] If manuscripts are to be published in journals or book series, the decision to publish a particular work is not even directly commercial; the publisher is not involved, but defers authority to the peer reviewers and academic editors responsible for the serial. They decide whether to publish, based on the academic merit of the work. The publisher's commercial decision then restricts itself to the foundation of the serial, although the copyright of each manuscript in the serial is obtained in license by the publisher.

[3] Examples of such include most chapters in Campbell, Pentz & Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing*; chapters featuring publishing in Shorley & Jubb (eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Communication*; Cope & Phillips, *The Future of the Academic Journal*; Laura Brown, Rebecca Griffiths & Matthew Rascoff, 'University publishing in a digital age', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 10.3 (July 2007), n.pag; Nancy Maron, Kimberley Schmelzinger, Christine Mullern & Daniel Rossman, *The Costs of Publishing Monographs: Towards a Transparent Methodology* (New York: Ithaka S+R, 5 February 2016); Donald J. Waters, 'Monograph publishing in the digital age: A view from the Mellon Foundation', *Against the Grain* 28.3 article 9 (June 2016), pp. 17–20.

All these exceptional circumstances set academic publishing apart from trade publishing in practice, but moreover point to the existence of another, symbolic dimension to academic publishing. Scholarly publishing has a role in the non-material, reputational economy on which academic success and careers are produced; individuals cannot rise in the ranks of academia without having published. Authors thus operate in this reputational economy of publishing beyond the immediate goal of communicating ideas to readers; with their publications, they mean to accrue prestige based on the fact that they produce valuable knowledge contributions that merit formal acknowledgement. This much less visible, but no less important symbolic dimension has not been widely recognized in studies of the publishing business, except as a factor in exploitation of the markets for manuscripts and for publications; the intrinsic role of publications within academic disciplinary communities remains at best at the periphery of publishing studies research.[4]

Bibliometrics and the sociology of science, however, have developed a system of analysis that approaches the symbolic dimension of scholarly publishing in combination with the development of science's substance, from their focus on the patterns in which disciplinary peers recognize each other's contributions to knowledge. Citations have been generally accepted as the main indicators for recognition of quality content in a publication, and peer review has been acknowledged as an important exchange process in the 'reputational control system' between disciplinary peers in conceptual models.[5] Derek De Solla Price's 'citation cycle' is a classic example of such a model from bibliometrics: it tracks how publications may be seen as representing the knowledge generation in science (via keywords) on the one hand, and as also representing the important individuals or research groups in academia (via citations) on the other.[6] Another such model is the 'credibility cycle' from the sociology of science, formulated by Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar and subsequently further developed. This model aims to represent the steps in which research content—developed from a proposal, with an apparatus, data and arguments—is manifested in articles that are read and cited by peers; importantly, it explicates that these peers' recognition and credit is a crucial step in generating the next iteration of research.[7] In the rise of political interest in the governance of science since the 1960s, these conceptual models have been implemented in formal research evaluation frameworks.[8] These depend on quantitative indicators with which the conceptual representations of quality and peer recognition can supposedly be measured, the Journal Impact Factor perhaps most prominent among them.[9]

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[4] John B. Thompson's *Books in the Digital Age* is an exception here; his analysis of publishing as a field for capital exchange will therefore feature in this chapter.

[5] Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 26-29.

[6] Derek de Solla-Price, *Little Science, Big Science... And Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986) [orig: *Little Science, Big Science*, 1963], ch. 13 'The citation cycle', pp. 254–271; for a discussion and a visualisation, see also Paul Wouters, *The Citation Culture*, PhD Dissertation University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 1999), ch. 8 'Representing Science'; esp. pp. 201–204.

[7] Bruno Latour & Steve Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (2nd ed.: Princeton [NJ]: Princeton University Press, 1986 [orig: 1979]), ch. 5 'Cycles of credit', pp. 187–234; see also Wouters, *The Citation Culture*, pp. 204-207 for a discussion of subsequent disciplinary discourse on this model and his own fundamental adaptation of it.

Over the course of decades, research assessment with the aid of quantitative indicators has pervaded science policy and is now omnipresent in academia. It is currently not uncommon for academics to strategize research activities and publication output to influence their 'scoring' at evaluations that can determine their careers. When they engage in publishing, authors aim to peak at the crucial moments at which peers award recognition to articles, through review and via citations. Such strategic behaviour has been observed in extreme forms in for instance 'salami publishing', i.e. publishing a series of small contributions instead of one larger article to boost a laboratory's or individual's publication scores; or 'citation cartels', in which individuals (or editorial boards) deliberately refer to one another's contribution, to reciprocally improve citation frequencies. From a conceptual view, the symbolic dimension of scholarly publishing has thus gained importance in academia—and therefore also in publishing itself. Arguably, the symbolic dimension of publishing can even outweigh the practical goal of knowledge dissemination in some extreme situations.

As deliberately acting agents in the system of science, researchers adapt their practices to systemic requirements, such as policy demands. The administrative and political increased emphasis on the symbolic dimension of publishing interacts with agents in the system of science—the model thus shapes the very research practices it aims to represent.[10] Science and the studies of science influence each other in iterations: for instance, firstly the importance of (English-language) journal publications in a discipline determines coverage in the main citation databases; then the degree of coverage influences the legitimacy of quantitative indicators calculated from these databases; and the legitimacy of indicators is a factor in their subsequent adoption in research evaluation practice, which may ultimately come to influence publication strategies. Moreover, the interaction of knowledge generation and peer recognition processes varies between the different disciplinary research practices. The aforementioned tactic of salami publishing, for example, is especially attractive for researchers in 'urban' fields where speed and primacy of new discoveries are important; it is not very frequently observed in the Humanities.

Regardless of their merit in science and technology studies and apparent appeal in research assessment, these conceptual models from science and technology studies have a serious shortcoming for the study of publishing: they reduce the practical dimension of publishing to 'black boxes'. The conceptual models straightforwardly assume that data and arguments compose an article—or even more simply, that articles materialize—without paying any attention to the disciplinary requirements these publications must meet, let alone how publishers assist authors in the process. This does not do justice to the publishers' business. The steps of acquiring manuscripts, vetting their quality, turning them into fitting product instances (articles, books), and marketing them among appropriate audiences, to name just a few traditional tasks of scholarly publishers, have traditionally been specialist activities that academia cannot do for itself, yet cannot do without either. A conceptual model of publishing must acknowledge that.

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[8] These political developments will be discussed in chapter 3, especially sections 3.2 and 3.4.

[9] As does a minority in the science and technology studies, I would strongly contest this premise, that concepts such as recognition can be translated into quantitative indicators. The current study is, however, not the place to engage in this debate.

[10] This is one of Paul Wouters' main arguments in *The Citation Culture*: he argues against the assumption that citations frequency measures something that already exists, and posits that citations measured in scientometrics are not the same as references created by researchers, even though evaluation systems conflate the two in their interpretation. *The Citation Culture*, esp. ch. 1 'Introduction', and ch. 5 'The signs of science'.

The objective of the current study is to come to an analysis of publishing that spans both the practical, primarily economic activities of scholarly publishing as well as its symbolic dimension that relates to reputation systems in academic disciplines. Moreover, I maintain that firstly, both spheres overlap in day-to-day practice, and interact on a conceptual level: changes in research evaluation systems may prompt publishers to adapt their business practice, but vice versa publishing practices and business constraints influence publication strategies and associated recognition for scholarly authors and their texts. Secondly, both spheres are heavily influenced by external factors. One of these is the specific epistemic and social characteristics of academic disciplines, which set practical requirements for texts (such as length, structure, language) but also pass judgement on quality scholarship, as has been argued in chapter 1. The rise of the digital medium is another important driver of change in these two dimensions: its capacity for calculation has enabled the rise of scientometrics and quantitative research evaluation, and it reshapes the expectations of the practical services of publishing, because research output (in text and other forms) moves to the online realm.

A framework for the study of the role of the publisher in humanities scholarly communication thus must acknowledge the importance of economic viability for publishing businesses, but not as the only incentive, even for commercial firms. Scholarly publishing does not singularly follow the model of the capitalist market, neither in the demand for manuscripts, nor in the supply of products. Scholars, the main stakeholders on the market for manuscripts, are even fundamentally disinterested in economic aspects of publishing; a purely business-oriented attitude would therefore not suffice for the publisher, either. Instead, scholarly publishing thrives on exchanges beyond the mere production of goods as a service: publishers function as sources of credentials for scholars (and vice versa). Prestige has become the central currency in scholarly publishing; an analytical framework therefore must have concepts for such intangible value additions as well. One goal of the following analysis is to unravel the mechanisms with which prestige is accrued through the process of scholarly publishing, both in the print and in the online realm, and despite the lack of financial transactions involved in many of the exchanges that take place.

The theories of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu provide a thoroughly constructed basis and a useful starting point for such a theoretical framework. In the current chapter, I will therefore outline his theories and concepts, and address their potential and limitations in the application to the study of current scholarly publishing. Earlier analyses of and responses to Bourdieu's theories have suggested additions and addressed shortcomings. Many of those will not feature in the current project, as the sociological concept is not the main objective of study here, but just an instrument with which to approach scholarly publishing for an analysis. Nevertheless, explanations by Bourdieu's pupil Loïc Wacquant merit discussion, as does the critical oeuvre-interpretation by David Swartz.[11] John B. Thompson's implementation of Bourdieusian theory for the analysis of publishing is also integrated in the current analysis.[12] Used eclectically and complementary, these three extended theorisations address most of the conceptual issues with Bourdieusian theory that I consider important to the study of scholarly publishing, most notably: the issue of delineating fields, and Bourdieu's assumption that exchanges in the field are always of a competitive nature.

One important limitation in Bourdieu's perspective on social fields is his overlooking the role of technology as a driver of change, especially in a field like scholarly publishing that is, by nature, mediatized.[13] Partly, perhaps, this is due to the age in which his oeuvre came to fruition—at the dawn of the age of the computer for business use, and well in advance before any notions of a world-wide web. I maintain that the rise of the digital medium is crucial to the changes in scholarly communication and publishing. Yet I do not attempt here to address the role of technology in fields on a conceptual level to fundamentally reconstruct Bourdieusian theory; rather, I select a modified subset of Bourdieusian concepts for the analysis of the effects of the digital medium in scholarly publishing for the Humanities, specifically. For this reason, I will not return to the issue here, but rather demonstrate my point by extensive analysis of recent and current technological innovations and their subsequent socio-cultural uptakes, in chapters 3 and 4.

In my opinion, Bourdieu has furthermore omitted to propose a specific mechanism for the exchange of symbolic capital, even though his theories extend on other types of exchanges. This, for a study of scholarly publishing important, lacuna has not been addressed in the literature and no mechanisms have later been designed in direct response to Bourdieu's framework. However, I believe the concept of the 'esteem economy' by Geoffrey H. Brennan and Philip Pettit may complement Bourdieu's framework in this regard, if, again, used slightly eclectically for the purpose of analysing scholarly publishing.[14] Moreover, in this case, a conceptual analysis may elucidate some general workings of esteem bestowing that often go unrecognised and undescribed in specific analyses of publishing—put differently, here it would help to see that some concepts are not specific to publishing, but occur in generic patterns in exchanges of symbolic capital in various fields. A review of the esteem economy therefore will constitute the final part of this chapter. I treat Brennan and Pettit's work as an inadvertent emendation of a specific part of the conceptually broader and more fundamental theories posited by Bourdieu, with which my analysis will therefore commence.

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[11] Pierre Bourdieu & Loïc J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); David Swartz, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[12] John B. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age: The Transformation of Academic and Higher Education Publishing in Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005); note that passages from this work have been reproduced in *Merchants of Culture: The Publishing Business in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), but with slight moderations, especially in the interpretation of Bourdieusian theory.

[13] Thompson signals Bourdieu's lack of attention to technology as a driver of change as well (and addresses it through his extensive analysis of the rise of the computer in publishing): *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 30.

[14] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*.

1. Point of departure: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu

France in the 1950s and early 1960s had seen little activity in the academic discipline of sociology, the study of relations between complex social systems and the individuals that act in them: this was taught only at the Sorbonne in Paris, and had taken to philosophy rather than empirical studies, with a set of key authors quite different from those studied in the rest of Europe and the English-speaking world.[15] In French sociology, the notion of agency was a problematic divider of the discipline: Jean-Paul Sartre's adherents stressed the importance of free choices made by conscious individuals, whereas followers of Claude Levi-Strauss put more emphasis on the determining forces that structured social systems exert on these individuals.[16] In this environment, sociologist Pierre Bourdieu shaped his own perspective, in which he aimed to reconcile these opposing standpoints in an overarching theoretical framework for the study of the relationships between society and the individuals that act in it. On a meta-level, Bourdieu believed that sociology, as an academic discipline, should take up the task of socio-analysis, which should unveil the unconscious and implicit drivers of individual and collective behaviour, to make alternative social systems possible.[17]

In his scholarly career of approximately forty years, Bourdieu developed his views in over thirty books and three hundred scholarly articles.[18] Conceptually, his oeuvre always addresses the relationships between social structures, culture, power, and the aforementioned question of individual agency in its investigation of the incentives for individuals' actions. Instead of as one overarching, coherent model or framework, Bourdieu posits his conceptual model in a series of overlapping analyses (often based on lengthy empirical observations). These rest on three main themes: the theory of power as control over forms of capital, the notion of *habitus*, and the concept of 'field' [*champ*]. In the following overview, I will address the gist of each of these, with attention to their origins, but immediately incorporating the relevant later emendations I have selected in order to make the theory more directly applicable to my area of concern. In doing this, I will not investigate in detail the sociological debates that prompted Bourdieu's continuous revisions; instead, I will apply Bourdieu's theories in an analysis of the realm of scholarly publishing, while critically reflecting on their value and limitations.

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[15] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 15–30.

[16] Ibid., p. 36.

[17] Ibid., pp. 11–12.

[18] Ibid., p. 1.

Essentially, Bourdieu argues for a reconceptualization of the immaterial, cultural dimension of social reality, which he regards as not dissimilar from the economic, material one. He posits that even those spheres of social activity that seem not directly geared towards material gain, such as science and the creative arts, are nevertheless similarly reward-oriented. If agents in economic activity are looking for financial gains, or 'economic capital', the agents in other domains of society are in search of other types of capital, of which he distinguishes three main types: cultural, social, and symbolic capital.[19] These forms can all be accumulated by individual agents, both through upbringing, acculturation and training, and through exchanging other forms of capital; each agent wants to maximise their specific mix of the forms of capital to ensure an optimal position in society.

Economic capital is perhaps most immediately understood, because it is most visible and tangible in everyday exchanges: these are financial means as well as material goods an agent possesses or controls.[20] Thompson describes economic capital for the publishing firm in particular as 'the accumulated financial resources, including stock and plant as well as capital reserves, to which publishers have access, either directly or through their capacity to raise finance from other individuals and institutions'.[21] This seems too narrow a definition in my opinion; means of production such as presses (if still present in-house), computers and software, servers and online infrastructure can be included under the label, because they have been straightforwardly obtained with financial means, they are assessed a specific net worth on the firm's balance sheets, and can be sold for currency as well—they exist in the material market economy. For this same reason, I disagree with Thompson's identification of intellectual property rights as a separate type of 'intellectual capital'.[22] These rights can be directly bought and sold, and the publisher's only interest in them is directly translatable to economic gain. I will therefore not treat them separately, but group them under Bourdieu's definition of economic capital.

Next, Bourdieu defines social capital as 'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition'—or in other words, individuals' membership of specific, formal or informal, social groups, such as families, political parties, or academic institutions.[23] Such network positions are not obtained automatically, but instituted: the network or group must accept the individual entrant and vice versa, and both do so from a strategic point of view to potentially profit from the forms of capital that each node in the network has at its disposal or is capable of generating. Solidarity in groups is based on mutual acknowledgement of all members' value, and social capital can therefore only exist in relation to the other types of capital that agents can possess.[24]

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[19] Note that later adepts (including John B. Thompson) add other forms of capital, but Bourdieu himself does not, although he sometimes, and somewhat confusingly, calls 'cultural capital' 'intellectual capital', too; see: Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trl. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 177–178; Pierre Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', in: J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 241–258, p. 243.

[20] Bourdieu's formulation of a classification that primarily separates economic and non-economic types of rewards, and his subsequent ongoing refinement of the only non-economic ones, is perhaps better understood from the knowledge that he formulated this theory in opposition to the—originally Marxist—focus in sociology on the accumulation of material/economic capital. For a discussion, see: Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 66–68.

[21] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 30–31.

[22] Ibid., p. 34.

One of these other types is cultural capital, which, according to Bourdieu, exists in three forms: the 'embodied' state of an individual, who assembles cultivated dispositions to function in society; the 'objectified' cultural goods that individuals can use only if they have the knowledge how to; and the 'institutionalized' official credentials that individuals can gain through the educational system.[25] The combination of these three forms equips individuals for interactions in cultural spheres, such as science and scholarship, or the arts. Active scholars in academia, for instance, must not only possess the official credentials and degrees bestowed by universities (i.e. institutionalized cultural capital), but also disciplinary knowledge (embodied cultural capital) and skills to use publications and reference libraries (objectified cultural goods). Similarly, employees in scholarly publishing are expected to have scholarly qualifications up to a relevant degree, and they must be trained on publication procedures and methods. Both these forms of cultural capital can only be accumulated by individuals who have been raised and educated to an appropriate level. It is perhaps for this reason that Thompson labels staff's expertise and training as 'human capital' controlled by the publishing firm, although his description of that type of capital is almost identical to Bourdieu's cultural capital.[26]

Symbolic capital, lastly, is dependent on social and cultural capital because it is construed by successful use of each. Bourdieu is circumspect in his definition of symbolic capital, but nevertheless states that this type of capital, in the form of reputation or prestige, can be very powerful.[27] Bourdieu perceives symbolic capital as a subtle form of power 'that is not perceived as power, but as legitimate demands for recognition, obedience, deference, or the service of others'.[28] Agents that have considerable symbolic capital at their disposition, that is, a certain status, can use it to further their acquisition of other types of capital, without making explicit that they are using this mechanism. For instance, reputable scholars may make use of their fame in securing desirable employment at prestigious universities; that fame is partly based on their cultural and social capital, but also acts as a form of power on its own, enhancing the effect of each of its constituent factors. Likewise, publishing firms gain esteem through providing excellent cultural products and maintaining connections with reputable scholars and institutions, and then subsequently and implicitly use that esteem to contract authors.

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[23] Bourdieu, 'The forms of capital', p. 247.

[24] Ibid., pp. 247–249.

[25] Ibid., pp. 243–247.

[26] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 31–32. It should be noted that Thompson here defines four forms of capital from the perspective of the publishing firm as an agent (and five in *Merchants of Culture*, pp. 5–9), even though he later attributes qualities to the individuals working in that firm. Bourdieu seems to consider both organisations and persons as agents, so it remains unclear to me why Thompson makes this distinction—moreover, there is a certain capitalist ring to classifying staff as a form of capital (that can be acquired, controlled and exchanged) that Bourdieu would probably not have appreciated.

[27] Bourdieu constructs this type of capital mostly indirectly through elaborate descriptions of observed social practices in Algeria, but occasionally uses certain keywords, such as 'prestige', as near-synonyms. See: Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, pp. 171–183; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trl. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 112–121.

[28] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, p. 90.

In general, all forms of capital can thus be exchanged for the other ones, in amounts and through interactions as desired by each individual agent. Bourdieu notes that the conversion from economic capital to cultural and social capital is relatively easy (and definitely easier than vice versa), but that even unlimited economic resources cannot buy endless amounts of the other types of capital; he argues that symbolic capital becomes necessary in that process.[29] However, it is seen as overall unfair to act on symbolic capital, it can only be used successfully if it is disguised, and deliberately 'misrecognised' [*méconnu*] by both parties in the exchange process.[30] Bourdieu provides an example of misrecognition in the educational system in general: despite attempts at establishing a system based only on academic merit, social, cultural and economic capital are still determinative in academic success—first-generation students from disadvantaged backgrounds less often obtain a degree. Yet to openly acknowledge that status is important in obtaining cultural capital would harm collective belief in it altogether.[31]

General patterns of actions or group behaviours, such as the misrecognition of symbolic power in exchange processes, emerge, according to Bourdieu, because individual agents internalise the underlying rules and structures of their social reality and then act upon them. Another example of such behaviour presents itself in academia: applications for funding schemes are partly based on the quality of the proposal, partly on the prestige of the applicant (as determined by publication lists or CVs), and partly just on luck. And even though academics know that their CVs are only a partial reflection of their career, that proposals have their limits in accurately describing research yet to start, they act as if these two aspects could be determined—and as if coincidence does not exist. It is less important for the system to work the way it says it would, than for agents in it to be able to react aptly to its actual workings.[32]

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[29] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 92–93.

[30] Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, pp. 242-243; Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 89–90.

[31] Bourdieu says: 'Misrecognition of the social determinants of the educational career—and therefore of the social trajectory it helps to determine—gives the educational certificate the value of a natural right and makes the educational system one of the fundamental agencies of the maintenance of the social order.' Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 387.

[32] Michèle Lamont, in her study of review panels for grant proposals, suggests that emotional and interactional motivations inspire such behaviour. She argues that reviewers use the definition of excellence (in proposals by others) as a benchmark to help construct their own concept of self, and their own sense of worth. Michèle Lamont, *How Professors Think: Inside the Curious World of Academic Judgment* (Boston [MA]: Harvard University Press, 2009), 'Opening the Black Box of Peer Review', pp. 1–21, esp. pp. 18–21.

Through interactions in the pursuit of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital, agents unconsciously learn which behavioural strategies increase their chances of success and which do not, and they continue to adjust their behaviour to maximise their own interests in the long term. They do not explicitly follow rules or structures, but respond to each opportunity for exchange, and infer a pattern of possible actions. Bourdieu coins the term '*habitus*' to refer to this 'system of durable, transposable dispositions'.[33] The formation of *habitus* starts immediately with an individual's engagements in society, and it gets adjusted along the way; it is both based on the types of capital at the agent's disposition, and it determines the opportunities to gain more. Bourdieu himself famously described it as such: 'when the *habitus* encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself "as a fish in water", it does not feel the weight of water and takes the world about itself for granted'.[34] Thompson also describes it informally and loosely, as agents' 'feel for the game'.[35] The *habitus* can be considered the sum of an agent's acquired capital in all forms and his capacity for strategic behaviour, which is honed to its current state through exposition to and experience in a particular field.

Over time, Bourdieu developed his final concept of 'field' [*champ*] as the social arena, or network of relationships, in which the interactions in the pursuit of capital take place:

> [A field is a] network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distributions of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions.[36]

Each agent thus relates to other agents, and acts from the desire to further his own interests, in the short or in the long term. For Bourdieu, the relationships and the interactions between agents are keys in this concept: the field is not a model or idealisation of social practice, but it is the combination of all actions that can be empirically observed between stakeholders in their competition for capital and power. There are, therefore, as many fields as one can conceive of mixes of capital to be accumulated among mixes of agents: an unlimited number, depending on the level of detail at which capital is discerned.[37]

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[33] Bourdieu gives several elaborate definitions of habitus which have this five-word clause in common, for instance: Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, p. 53; Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, pp. 17–20. Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 100–101 cites many more examples.

[34] This quote comes from an article that essentially contains transcripts of a series of seminars by Bourdieu held in French and in English, in Chicago and Paris in 1987. These conversations have later been edited by Bourdieu's former student and later colleague Loic J.D. Wacquant, who graduated from Paris with Bourdieu, obtained his PhD in Chicago (1994), and then continued his academic career alternatingly in the U.S. and in France. Loïc J.D. Wacquant, 'Towards a reflexive sociology: A workshop with Pierre Bourdieu', *Sociological Theory* 7 (1989), pp. 26–63; p. 43.

[35] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 37.

[36] Bourdieu & Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, p. 97. David Swartz remarks that Bourdieu already wrote on forms of capital and on *habitus* in the 1960s, but that his concept of field is developed only from the mid-1970s onwards: Swartz, *Culture & Power*, p. 118.

Academia, for instance, can be regarded as a distinct field because it has markedly different capital distributions from other fields in society, such as performing arts, or commerce. Yet it can also be subdivided into more specific subfields, if it can be convincingly argued that these subfields have markedly different capital distributions, or capital distribution mechanisms, and thus also different agents with different *habitus*. The well-known distinction between STEM and SSH can be framed as intrinsically based on such an argument: for instance, the importance of primacy in research is lower in the Humanities than in STEM disciplines, and this shapes the internal dynamics in that field towards monograph publishing (see ch. 1). Working on a monograph would absolutely not be tactical for STEM researchers, but for Humanities scholars it has been in their *habitus* to strategize linear long-form contributions over the span of years. Similarly, an even more detailed zoom could deliver similar peculiarities in capital distribution that would compel regarding specific scholarly disciplines, such as history, philosophy, or classics, as separate fields.

Regardless of the level of detail at which they are studied, most interactions in fields take the form of competitive struggles. Since similar agents in a field compete for the same types of capital, they develop similar *habitus*—and, conversely, they probably came to the field in the first place with comparable *habitus* already because those *habitus* equip them for that field particularly well. According to Bourdieu, agents in a field typically converge into three strategic groups in a dialectic with one another: dominant, senior incumbents seeking conservation of the current patterns of capital exchange, because they have successfully accumulated capital within the existing relations; new entrants seeking succession, hoping to secure capital for themselves by linking themselves to the dominant group; and lastly, challengers seeking subversion of the exchange patterns in a field, because they do not aim to gain access to capital through the current dominant group.[38] Yet, the three groups have one strategy in common: together they uphold the notion, or *doxa*, that the field's types of capital are worth the struggle at all. The agents' combined interests in the preservation of the field help to maintain it as an autonomous social arena.

2. Exploring fields, identifying agents, and describing habitus

From their joint theorizing on the struggle for capital in social arenas, Bourdieu and Wacquant ultimately prescribe a research method for the analysis of different cultural fields in three steps. This provides a useful structure for reflecting on the application of this theory and method for the study of scholarly publishing. The first step in this method is to identify a particular field, for instance academia, as such, by establishing its specific social practices, and by relating it to the general 'field of power' in society.[39] The field of power is Bourdieu's term for the dominant strata in society, the groups that have relatively much capital at their disposition, albeit in different distributions. He also describes it as a meta-field, a principle to demonstrate his belief in struggle between dominant elites and subordinated masses. Since that belief is not the primary topic of concern here, I will simply take the 'field of power' as a synonym for society at large, with its political, financial and cultural currents of power. The instruction to 'relate a field to the field of power' I then interpret as a direction to position academia and scholarly publishing in relationship to each other and to other fields. Such positioning may help determine influences that may affect each of them. For instance, scholarly publishing is closely related to the field of academia; publishing may possess more economic capital, but it is culturally esteemed less. Society in general exerts pressures on academia and on academic publishing, through various national and international science policies that influence researchers' communication practices. Clearly, therefore, the power distribution between the general 'field of power', academia, and publishing is not equal: publishing occupies a culturally subordinate position in comparison, and academia may be intellectually and culturally renowned, but is economically dependent.

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[37] As Bourdieu conceptualises an infinite number of discernible fields, dependent on the degree of detail with which one looks, this 'zooming-in' approach could be similarly applied to narrow down to Humanities scholarly publishing.

[38] Bourdieu & Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, pp. 98–99; Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 124–125.

Bourdieu's theory on the autonomy of fields may prove insightful for the understanding of many of the recent changes in scholarly publishing. Every field has a certain degree of autonomy from other fields—it must have, for agents to persist in a *doxa* of a particular pursuit of interest, and befitting patterns of actions that make the field recognizable as such in the first place. Bourdieu posits that fields are stronger in generating their own symbolic capital—the legitimation of status, prestige, and hierarchy—when they are more autonomous from the general field of political and economic power. Since Bourdieu positions all fields in an axial system,[40] the reverse holds true as well: when a field is under political and economic pressure, its internal mechanisms for the generation of symbolic capital get disrupted. This is an interesting theory in light of the relationships between scholarly publishing, academia, and government, because it provides a tentative explanation of the underlying mechanism with which society at large increasingly interferes in the previously existing internal arrangements of status and prestige for academics and academic publishers, for instance in the shape of mandatory open access, or publication quotas for researchers.

Based on this principle of field autonomy, Bourdieu also argues that the internal dynamics of fields are crucial to the creation and distribution of symbolic power, and that those internal dynamics should therefore be taken as objects of study. Swartz seems to see this argument as a shortcoming of Bourdieu's conceptual analysis in general, as it would downplay the importance of external influences on fields.[41] However, I think

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[39] Bourdieu & Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, pp. 104–105.

[40] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 136–140; esp. Fig. 1 (p. 139) which is taken from: Bourdieu, *Distinction*, pp. 128-129.

[41] Swartz, *Culture & Power*, p. 129. Similarly, Swartz criticizes the lack of boundaries of Bourdieu's concept of field, and calls the potential to differentiate a field in subfields (academic publishing into scholarly publishing for the Humanities) an 'excessively generous application' of the model; *Culture & Power*, p. 122. However, I think both aspects of the theory are fruitful, especially in the analysis of fields on which

Bourdieu's directive to study internal field dynamics is justified, especially in fields like humanities scholarly publishing, in which traditional, field-specific distributions of symbolic power are disrupted by the forceful intrusion of external influences—simply because analyses of those social disruptions otherwise risk to overlook those pre-existing internal dynamics in the field.[42] Although Bourdieu does not remark at all on the role of technology in social systems, it can be argued that revolutionary technological developments, such as the rise of the online medium, will affect the internal capital distribution of a field, especially if that medium plays a crucial role in that field. In other words: because symbolic capital among humanities scholars and publishers is generated through formal publications, the study of those generating mechanisms is necessary to understand socio-technologically driven change in this field.

Once the field in general is identified and positioned in society at large, Bourdieu and Wacquant instruct to analyse its capital distribution and through this construct the positions of all agents in the field, individuals or groups, as well as the relations between them and the struggles for power that might arise. In Bourdieu's continued emphasis on agents' search for different mixes of economic versus social and cultural capital lies his most important contribution: the realisation that culture (and along with it, network connections and prestige) is as valuable as economic wealth, for specific agents.[43] In the field of scholarly communication, the researchers themselves typically possess a lot of cultural and social capital, which they seek to convert into symbolic power; they do not have much use for economic power (except in the indirect way of maintaining a livelihood through securing funding, in which the other forms of capital are important), especially because wealth and possessions do not help in the generation of more symbolic power. Publishing businesses, on the other hand, have mostly economic capital at their disposal and seek more of it; but in order to be successful in the generation of more economic capital, they need to be able to confer prestige on academics.[44] In the study of the relations between them, it must thus be taken into account that for authors, symbolic capital is the ultimate objective, whereas it is instrumental for publishers. This renders their relationship unequal, even though publishers and authors must thus collaborate to generate symbolic capital from publications, because publishers enter in

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existing related fields constantly change their patterns of interventions. Motion can only be studied through sufficiently detailed snapshots.

[42] This also implies that existing balances of symbolic power in the field of scholarly publishing are so strong that they can resist quite some external pressure. The rise of open access mandates is an example of such an outside pressure: even though academics want (and need) to oblige funders, their existing dependency on the symbolic capital generated through toll-access publishing shapes their behaviour in practice.

[43] According to Swartz, Bourdieu posits this theory in a direct reaction to Marxism's emphasis on economic power. This is an interesting perspective opposing the increasing importance attached to profitability and economic power in politics since the 1980s (see also ch. 3.4); it is outside the scope of this project to explore its potential beyond mentioning it here.

[44] Publishers also control cultural and social capital, via their employees; they seek to retain this and if possible acquire more, or invest in it to enlarge it (for instance through in-house professional training for staff). Symbolic capital, however, is obtained via exchanges with scholars *outside* the firm, so its acquisition is more complicated.

more relationships with other agents based on their other types of capital, and scholarly authors are more limited in their struggle for symbolic capital (almost) exclusively.

Bourdieu repeatedly emphasizes that agents' properties, i.e. the capital at their disposal, are less important for the dynamics of the field than their relationships of interest and capital exchange. It is therefore remarkable, and unfortunate, that he does not offer any models for the precise mechanisms with which symbolic capital can be generated, transformed or transferred. Even though he observes similarities in the *positions* of agents in different fields, or 'structural homologies' that even affect related fields,[45] he does not discern patterns in their *exchange practices*. Yet, since the pursuit, generation and transfer of symbolic capital is prevalent in so many different fields—besides academia, it is also seen in the creative professions, in journalism, etcetera—a structured analysis of it would be helpful to model the exchanges between authors and publishers, specifically. For this purpose, I will extend Bourdieu's theory with concepts of the 'economy of esteem', by Geoffrey Brennan and Philip Pettit, in the second part of this chapter.

The third step in Bourdieu's field analysis is the investigation of the *habitus* of the specific agents, as well as the social position to which they aspire, based on their position in the field. This step relies on Bourdieu's classification of agents into three groups: conservative, dominant incumbents, ambitious yet compliant young risers, and subversive new entrants (see section 2.1). Such a classification may be helpful in the analysis of the scholarly communications field, where new agents enter the field and strengthen their position through different strategies than those employed by traditional publishers: blogs, scholarly social networks, but also Internet giants like Amazon and Google can be seen as powerful new entrants that operate on different accumulations of capital, and from a different drive than traditional publishers. Because they offer competing services to scholars, they pose a threat to publishers, but the fact that they subvert some of the existing rules in the field may have consequences for the field as a whole. Bourdieu's theory therefore can assist in mapping sociotechnical change.

The tripartite classification of groups of agents can also be applied to scholars themselves, and it may then help to explain patterns of experimentation with new, online-only forms of communication, as well as of the continued esteem for the position of traditional, print-based forms. Academia is a hierarchical system with quite strict, yet often implicit, internal regulations for rises and promotions, which are decided upon by the dominant, senior members of the field. Juniors who seek a higher position may feel completely dependent on the existing leaders, and therefore continue to publish according to the traditional practice of the field.[46] I would pose that the subversive new entrants that Bourdieu identifies position themselves outside the traditional hierarchies: in academic disciplines that are new, or thoroughly uprooted, and in which a dominant publication strategy has not yet stabilized. This might help explaining divergent communication practices in humanities subfields and for instance the, hitherto not completely successful, challenge brought to traditional forms of publications by scholars in the Digital Humanities.[47]

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[45] Bourdieu & Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, pp. 105–106.

[46] David Nicholas, Anthony Watkinson, Cherifa Boukacem-Zeghmouri, Blanca Rodriguez-Bravo, Jie Xu, Abdullah Abrizah, Marzena Świgoń, David Clark & Eti Hermann, 'So, are early career researchers the harbingers of change?', *Learned Publishing* 32.3 (2019), pp. 237–47.

Although the group classification is thus useful, Bourdieu's identification of most forms of interactions as conflicts and struggles for power has the inherent limitation, in my view, of underestimating the amount of voluntary cooperation and imitation that can be observed in the field of scholarly communication especially.[48] Academia regulates the acculturation of its newcomers with formal training and, in the Humanities perhaps more importantly, through mentorship: much of the interaction between senior, dominant scholars and their junior colleagues does not take the form of conflict at all—rather a mutual, conscious conformity to existing and prescribed hierarchical relations (although some juniors may harbour long-term ambitions of replacing their elders). Scholarly publishers therefore cooperate with both senior and junior scholars through uniform publication processes, regardless of the scholar's position; academia itself does not challenge the traditional patterns of prestige exchange through formal publications.

In relation to the strategies employed by publishers, the notion of an existing *habitus* in organisations remains underdeveloped in Bourdieu's work. In his theory, the *habitus* is intrinsically linked to individuals' life (field) experience; following that line of thought, an organisation is then the sum of its employees' *habitus*. However, this does not seem to present a complete model for the formation of business practices and traditions that can be observed in publishing firms, which continue even when staff moves or retires. Thompson sees the ensemble of employees' *habitus* as 'human capital' instead of as an intrinsic constituent of the publishing firm's aspirations.[49] Nevertheless, he posits that the collective of *habitus* present at a publishing firm may shape an organisational culture; subsequently, he describes how the organizational culture can adapt to changing circumstances in the field while individual employees' *habitus* may not always adapt along.[50] Thompson points out that these differences in adaptation may cause frictions to arise within an organisation. For the current study, this is important not only in the study of publishing, but also for understanding tensions in academia because individual scholars may adapt their habitus at different speed (and in different directions) from their disciplinary culture—and these disciplinary cultures develop in relation with the field of research policy, which obeys yet another field logic.

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[47] Adriaan van der Weel & Fleur Praal, 'Publishing in the Digital Humanities: The treacle of academic tradition', in: Jennifer Edmond (ed.), *Digital Technologies and the Practices of Humanities Research* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2020), pp. 21-48.

[48] David Swartz remarks: 'Though it has seldom been noted by his critics, Bourdieu's relational method intersects with core assumptions that he makes about the fundamental character of social life. The relations he constructs are invariably competitive rather than cooperative, unconscious rather than conscious, and hierarchical rather than egalitarian. The recurring image of social life one finds in Bourdieu's work is one of competitive distinction, domination, and misperception.' Swartz, *Culture & Power*, p. 63. Michel Foucault also conceptualizes power as a continuous struggle that is largely implicitly fought in social groups; he also emphasizes the inextricable relationship between knowledge and power (*savoir-pouvoir*) that Bourdieu also describes. Besides, Foucault pays attention to the positive effects of power struggles in communities: it may make them more cohesive. This may be an addition to the Bourdieusian concept.

[49] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 31–32.

[50] He cites from interviews in which editors reflect on the more 'market-conscious' organizational cultures that have emerged at their firms: Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 137–138.

In summary, Bourdieu's concepts of field, forms of capital and *habitus* dispositions are certainly a fruitful starting point for the analysis of scholarly publishing in the Humanities. Yet, the theories show three lacunae that should be filled. Firstly, insights in the mechanisms for capital exchange and transformation are missing entirely: these will be provided in the next section of this chapter, albeit from a completely different theoretical background. Secondly, the concept provides only loosely a model for changes that take place through collective field logics as a result of external influences, with or without causing tensions between similar individual agents within those collectives. The analysis of disciplinary cultures in the previous chapter (1) supplies a starting point for the analysis of the relationship between academia and scholarly publishing, by mapping the disciplinary *habitus* of the former; perhaps it suffices to note that there are different speeds at which related agents and fields adapt to change, and to be aware that this may be cause for friction between academia and publishing.

This leaves Bourdieu's most glaring omission to be the lack of attention for *technological* developments as drivers of change: the field theory does not take the interactions between technology and society into account at all, whereas the online medium is demonstrating its transformative power on social relationships in the field of scholarly communication and publishing. As argued above, Bourdieu intended his sociology for the task of socio-analysis, to unveil unconscious behavioural patterns to make alternative social structures possible. In analogy, I would argue that socio-technological change affects behavioural patterns by making new behaviour possible through affordances of the new technology; as announced before, this will the main topic of chapter 4.

3. Addressing the mechanisms of capital exchange

Bourdieu elaborately argues the existence of distinguishable forms of capital that can be converted into one another to form an optimal disposition for each agent in a competitive arena. He does not, however, offer any mechanisms for those conversions of the different types of capital; and although the exchange of economic wealth into other forms of capital is usually quite clear—for instance paying tuition to receive an education—other types of transactions happen in an impermeable 'black box'. In particular, the functioning of symbolic capital remains unexplained: as noted earlier in this chapter, Bourdieu mentions that symbolic capital can be used in the pursuit of the other types of capital, and that a measure of it is even indispensable. He also mentions that agents somehow gain symbolic capital from their accumulated mix of economic, cultural and social capital, but the mechanism for all this remains implicit.[51] Perhaps because it is not the main focus of his work, this lacuna is, to my knowledge, not addressed in Bourdieu's oeuvre or ensuing discussions of it by his adherents.

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[51] See section 2.1.

In a striking symmetry with Bourdieu's introduction of non-economic forms of capital in a critique of the limitations in Marxist theory, Geoffrey Brennan and Philip Pettit arrive at their emphasis on esteem as an immaterial driver of human actions in response to Smithian economics.[52] Adam Smith's 'invisible hand' is the mechanism that ensures that aggregate egoistic interests result in a common good. For instance, in the free market—Smith's primary example of the invisible hand at work—each individual drive for profit ensures that supply and demand balance out. Brennan argues that people's desire for esteem is an equally egoistic, but non-material driver of people's actions, rooted in common values rather than tangible rewards.[53] Because virtuous behaviour is found estimable, each individual's desire for esteem results in a collective gain, too, because with the quest for it, those common values are upheld.[54] Separate from, but in strong reverberation with Bourdieu's theories, Brennan and Pettit also emphasize the necessity to study the set of non-material values that drive human interactions. They find themselves intrigued by the lack of attention for this in their combined academic specialisms of market economics, political theory, and philosophy.[55] Brennan and Pettit posit that the exchange of renown is a particularly important non-material impetus, alongside the well-studied material incentives of the market economy; so important, they argue jocularly, that it should be approached with parallel methods, or 'kudonomics'.[56]

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[52] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 5–10.

[53] Ibid., pp. 4–5; Geoffrey Brennan, 'The esteem engine: A resource for institutional design', Cunningham Lecture 2004, *Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia Occasional Paper Series* 1/2005, pp. 4–5.

[54] To complete the analogy with Smithian 'invisible hand'-theory, Brennan and Pettit propose to call esteem's effects an 'intangible hand'; for a detailed exposition of this, see: Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, part III, 'Exploiting the economics of esteem' (ch. 13-15), pp. 241–321. Because I will use Brennan and Pettit's theory primarily in light of Bourdieu's work, I will not adopt their terminology here, but rather harmonize it with Bourdieu's vocabulary, with as little discussion as possible.

[55] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, 'Introduction', pp. 1–10. Curiously, they do not connect their work to Bourdieu's theory on the various non-economic forms of capital, from which one could take it that they are most likely not familiar with it. Brennan and Pettit connect their own work to behavioural economics, importantly the work of Robert Sugden (going back on Humean philosophy) on 'normative expectations' as market incentives: Robert Sugden, 'Normative expectations: The simultaneous evolution of institutions and norms', in: Avner Ben-Ner & Louis G. Putterman (eds.), *Economics, Values and Organizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 73–100. Benedetto Gui sees similarities between Brennan & Pettit's 'economy of esteem' and theory on the 'economy of regard', which explains the non-market activities in the Smithian market economy with observations from contemporary and historical ethnography—but Brennan & Pettit themselves do not cite this line of work, either: Benedetto Gui, "Book review: The Economy of Esteem", *Journal of Economics* 86.2 (2005), pp. 183—191; cites on p. 190: Avner Offer, 'Between the gift and the market: The economy of regard', *Economic History Review* 50.3 (1997), pp. 450–476.

[56] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, p.2; they derive this term from the Greek 'kydos', meaning fame, renown. Like their unfamiliarity with Bourdieu, Brennan& Pettit do not seem to be aware of Merton's work either; his norms of science have been mnemonically denoted as CUDOS (for an elaborate discussion of those, see section 1.1, esp. fn.7). It is striking that despite the lack of connections in the works themselves, Origgi and Ramello connect Brennan and Pettit's economy of esteem with Mertonian norms in their discussion of current publishing, as if the two bodies of theory are broadly accepted as related: Gloria Origgi & Giovanni B. Ramello, 'Current dynamics of scholarly publishing', *Evaluation Review* 39.1 (2015) pp. 3–18, esp. p.6!

Although critics point out that their analogy with market economy can be contested, especially on the supply-side,[57] Brennan and Pettit argue that transactions in esteem indeed qualify as an economic system, and can therefore be studied as such. This thesis is based on three main characteristics: that esteem is a scarce object, which is in effective demand, and can be rationally supplied.[58] However, two other features markedly distinguish esteem from other goods and services in the economy, which, Brennan and Pettit argue, could be why it is commonly ignored in standard economic theories. Firstly, esteem is notoriously difficult to trade: it can be *earned*, but not *bought*—and one can only earn as much as one produces by behaving estimably.[59] Secondly, the desire for esteem is self-effacing: if people know you act in a certain way because you want to be esteemed, the result is that you are esteemed less, or not at all.

Brennan and Pettit's economic approach and specific attention to the transaction mechanisms for esteem can shed light on the 'black box' of exchange mechanisms in Bourdieu's work. In the following section, I will therefore analyse Brennan and Pettit's analysis of esteem, and explore the similarities with field theory, in order to extend Bourdieu's elaborate theories with Brennan and Pettit's model. In this analysis, I will leave largely undiscussed the mathematical specifics coming from Brennan and Pettit's toolbox of economics, such as equations, curves, and equilibria; in the current context they are not necessary for forming a generic model of the exchanges in scholarly publishing, as examples will clarify.

According to Brennan and Pettit, esteem, or estimation, is an attitude that people have towards each other (or towards themselves).[60] Brennan and Pettit do not come up with a positive definition of the type of attitude that esteem is; rather, they use comparison with other, related attitudes to describe what they consider its three fundamental properties.[61] Firstly, esteem is *evaluative*: it is always related to performance, which is usually assessed in a particular dimension. In academia, for instance, eloquence and productivity are considered positive traits; scholars may be esteemed for the number of books that they have published, and for the articulate arguments in them. This points to esteem's second characteristic: it is *comparative*, as the performances that may render esteem are always evaluated in the context of a specific reference group. This renders it scarce, too:

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[57] Gui, 'Book Review: The Economy of Esteem', p. 188.

[58] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 64–65.

[59] Brennan, 'The esteem engine', p. 5.

[60] Brennan & Pettit explain: 'The word "esteem", like the Latin root "estimare", can mean either to estimate or to estimate positively, whereas its opposite "disesteem", like the Latin "disestimare", can only mean to estimate negatively. Our general topic in this book is esteem in the neutral sense of estimation: the sense in which it may come in a negative or positive form.' *The Economy of Esteem*, p.15. Brennan and Pettit also use the term 'estimation' as a synonym for esteem, but because of immanent confusion with the statistical approach of the same name, I will refrain from using that term here.

[61] To explain its evaluative, comparative, and directive nature, positive esteem is structurally opposed to love or affection, respect or recognition, and admiration, respectively: Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 16–23. Not fully consistently, Brennan and Pettit earlier use the attitudes of prestige, status, and approbation as synonyms of positive esteem, without further comment (ibid., p. 1). Brennan elsewhere easily equates the attitudes of honour, glory, regard and approval to positive esteem: 'The esteem engine', p. 1.

eloquent and industrious scholars are compared to their colleagues, and the more silver-tongued and prolific writers gain more esteem—therefore, authors do not just have to work hard to gain esteem, they also compete with each other for it.

Thirdly, Brennan and Pettit argue that esteem is bestowed on actions and dispositions that people can be held responsible for. This stands in contrast with innate, unmodifiable capacities that can be admired instead, but not esteemed. They call this the *directive* property of esteem, as it unintendedly communicates the message that behaviour can be adjusted to become more estimable, and that certain performances should be striven for, or avoided. Esteem's directive nature renders it susceptible to external influences, such as governmental policies.[62] To extend the example from academia: authors are esteemed for their productivity and writing skills—both modifiable traits, not innate capacities—and susceptible to outside influences, as shows for instance when they conform to funding agencies' demands for specific numbers or types of publications.

The evaluative and comparative properties of esteem as identified by Brennan and Pettit resonate strongly with Bourdieu's description of symbolic capital as both a source of power and a reason for struggle and competition in specific fields. Brennan and Pettit's identification of the directive property of esteem, however, shows a fundamentally different view of the context in which estimable behaviour takes place. For Bourdieu, the clear delineation of all fields is fundamental. According to his principle of field autonomy (see 2.2), the internal dynamics in a field regulate its distribution of symbolic capital, and more effectively when more independent from external intrusions. Agents set their own goals, i.e. capital to compete for, in the arena they compete in, and they hope to remain free of other demands so that exchange practices can iteratively take shape. Bourdieu's theory therefore renders scholarly practices paramount to understanding of academic publishing.

By contrast, Brennan and Pettit argue that societal influences are crucial in moving the standards for prestige in a particular direction. They regard the context in which prestige is won as a dimension of socio-economic reality rather than as a clearly demarcated field, and therefore as strongly susceptible to forces other than competing agents. Their approach therefore advocates a socio-economic perspective on the changes in academic publishing, which in my opinion is complementary to the study of the field's internal dynamics as proposed by Bourdieu. I will provide an analysis of the social, economic and technological influences that have shaped scholarly publishing in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Subsequent to, and based on, their positioning esteem in a social context, Brennan and Pettit develop an explanation of the desire for esteem, which they see as instrumental.[63] Firstly, the desire for esteem is evidentiary, as it is simply pleasant to be held in esteem and to know it, and because of the pragmatic advantage that esteemed people may expect in their smooth interactions with others.[64] In my view, this reiterates, but does not fundamentally deepen, Bourdieu's depiction of symbolic capital (although Bourdieu does not readily acknowledge that there is inherent satisfaction in possessing symbolic capital—or indeed, any other form of it).[65] Yet, Brennan and Pettit's theory provides additional insights in the transaction mechanisms of esteem, based on the framework of supply and demand.

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[62] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 21–23.

[63] Brennan and Pettit briefly explore the notion of an intrinsic, possibly even 'to some extent biologically hard-wired' desire for esteem (*The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 29–30), but quickly conclude that its existence would not matter to the attractiveness of esteem. After all, this is already legitimated by the evidentiary and pragmatic reasons. I agree with them, and will certainly steer clear from any biological explanations, too.

The demand for a particular good, in the economic sense of the term, means that the good in question is scarce, and that people therefore have to do their best to obtain it; in the Bourdieusian terminology, they have to use the capital at their disposal to transform it into other forms of capital. As Brennan and Pettit point out, however, active demand for esteem is at least to a degree counterproductive: esteem cannot be bought or traded, and behaviour specifically adapted to win esteem is not particularly estimable, because it is interpreted as insincere.[66]

> Suppose, for example, that you are esteemed for your benevolence. The esteem you get, we shall suppose, accrues partly for the acts of benevolence you undertake and partly for the concern for the plight of others that you exhibit. But suppose people come to realise that you only give in order to get the attached esteem. You only put money in the beggar's bowl when there is someone watching, for instance. In this case, the esteem is likely to diminish. Though not necessarily disappear, for it is presumably more estimable that you give money sometimes than that you shamelessly refuse ever to give the beggar anything.[67]

To prevent being condemned for actively pursuing it, but still striving for esteem, Brennan and Pettit argue people may employ 'concealment strategies'.[68] The most straightforward one of those, 'personal concealment', is for an individual to simply hide the desire to be esteemed for certain behaviour. Brennan and Pettit argue that this strategy is unlikely to be successful in the long run, because the specific patterns of esteem-seeking behaviour will give the concealed goal away for others.

This might indeed be the case in the open contextual framework in which Brennan and Pettit frame their theory: they focus on society at large in which people vie for different 'flavours' of esteem in multiple social dimensions at once—benevolence, or knowledgeability, for instance. In the Bourdieusian field, however, there are typically very similar agents competing with a narrow focus for a small set of 'flavours' of symbolic capital that are in high demand: in academia, for instance, all scholars are striving to be esteemed for their quality of argumentation. In these cases, concealment of that goal would work, because all agents have a shared interest in concealing it—this is the 'field doxa' of collective disinterestedness that, Bourdieu states, helps to uphold internal capital dispositions in a field. In a Bourdieusian secluded arena of internal competition for symbolic capital, Brennan and Pettit's mechanism of personal concealment may therefore be more valuable an insight than they themselves hold it to be.

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[64] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 26–29.

[65] Of course, Bourdieu distinguishes fields filled with symbolic capital as arenas of perpetual struggle, whereas Brennan and Pettit see an economy of esteem—a market that can be in equilibrium!

[66] Rhetorically attractive but conceptually confusing, Brennan and Pettit build their argument by first citing an axiom by John Elster, "that nothing is so unimpressive as behaviour designed to impress" (*The Economy of Esteem*, p. 36), and then elaborately explaining why this axiom only applies partly (ibid., pp. 37-39).

[67] Brennan, 'The esteem engine', p.5.

[68] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, p. 39.

In addition to this simple personal concealment, Brennan and Pettit point out more complex strategies of 'social concealment' of the desire for esteem, that depend on the notion that seeking to promote or advance esteem *for someone else* is not considered completely insincere. Whereas individual pursuit of esteem is limited, individuals can collaborate with other parties that have the propensity to help generate prestige for others than themselves, in deliberate activities that are 'esteem services'.[69] In collaborations like these, partners do not necessarily generate esteem, but rather assists in transferring third parties' esteem to the individual most effectively. Generating publicity, for instance a publisher marketing a text among a particular audience, is a prime example of such an esteem service activity: effective dissemination and publicity help in attracting readers' attention, and from that attention, esteem may accrue.[70]

In their description of the relationships between esteem-seeking agents, Brennan and Pettit discern two collaboration strategies:

> In the first, the person hires or contracts in some way with another agent for that other agent to promote the esteem enjoyed by the principal. In the second, the person becomes an agent for promoting the esteem of a principal with whom they are associated and in whose growing esteem they can share.[71]

Esteem-seeking entities thus tactically partner up with other agents to maximise their chances at winning prestige; such partners then function as esteem services. Naturally, these partners will want to gain from the collaboration too—it is voluntary, but not selfless. The reward, however, may be either economic or symbolic: the esteem-seeking entity may also function as an esteem service for the agent in return!

Therefore, more detailed analysis of both parties' activities in an esteem service-collaboration inadvertently addresses the 'black box' that crucially remains in Bourdieu's field theory, which leaves undescribed how principal agents—here: scholarly authors, who need symbolic capital—precisely accrue prestige. An important measure of that prestige can only be bestowed by other academics, through, or based on, scholarly publications.

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[69] Because the intentional 'gifting' of esteem is impossible, even for esteem services, Brennan and Pettit describe them as voluntary services that may unintentionally generate esteem (*The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 55–56.). I think this wording does not do justice to the fact that the services are perfectly aware that esteem plays a role in their activities: rather than unintentional, the esteem is deliberately sought, but its return is to a degree *uncontrollable* or *unenforceable*.

[70] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, p. 56.

[71] Ibid., p. 39.

It must therefore be inferred that scholarly publishers thus act as esteem services for scholarly authors, assisting in the transfer of prestige. Yet, publishers stand to gain not just economic and intellectual capital from their relations with published authors, but esteem of their own, too—publishers and scholarly authors are thus connected via a web of reciprocal esteem service-activities. Moreover, those esteem services fall in both categories—promotion and association—that Brennan and Pettit establish.

Firstly, and most straightforwardly, academic publishers have specialised in promoting scholarly texts by, well, 'making them public' (hence the term publishing). Brennan and Pettit identify generating publicity as an important type of esteem service: it renders performances visible, and that is the major precondition for accruing esteem.[72] In scholarly publishing, authors submit their texts with that publication outlet, for instance a journal or a book series, or the publishers' list in general, that they think will render them most visible among their peers, who can bestow esteem. Indeed, publishers invest in market-making and market-shaping to cater to specific academic disciplines, by effectively bundling high-quality and relevant texts in tailored channels. This generates maximal attention, even among an audience of readers pressed for time.[73]

Those readers, in their turn, are aware of the publishers' activities, and rely on them through particular journals and book series from which they select texts to read. In this way, the publishers' carefully sustained practices of selection and quality control thus also effectively acts as a form of endorsement. Brennan and Pettit identify the expression of favourable opinions about a performance as a second category of promotional activity;[74] a publisher's stamp of approval may be implicit, but it is certainly valuable in the market for scholarly texts. More explicit opinions on published texts, for instance book reviews, by the way also appear around scholarly publications—as publishers recognise them as promotional opportunities to be capitalised on.

Citations can be interpreted as another way for academics to attest to the value of a scholarly text.[75] Although the value of citation counts, let alone derivative quantified indicators, is rightfully contested in academic discourse, their use has been widely implemented in formal research evaluation practices. Publishers also demonstrate their eagerness to exploit any opportunity for promotion by proudly displaying various metrics alongside publications online—they typically do not just show citations or directly derivative indicators, but even download counts, links and 'mentions'. Publishers show to be keenly aware that time-pressed scholarly readers may interpret signs of usage by peers as potential endorsement, and as such as a compelling reason to read a particular text, and perhaps submit their own text to the press in future cycles of research. Brennan and Pettit describe this phenomenon as 'informational cascades', in which:

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[72] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, p. 56.

[73] In the sociology of science, the aspect of vying for attention is recognised as a crucial mechanism in academia's reputation system: Whitley, *The Social and Intellectual Organisation of the Sciences*, pp. 25–29. In the studies of publishing there is broad agreement that drawing attention to publications is a crucial task of the publisher. Michael Bhaskar has dubbed this process 'amplification', making the author's voice heard, see: *The Content Machine* (throughout).

[74] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, p. 56.

[75] This interpretation, which is the foundation of all scientometrics, depends on the premise that authors cite relevant, topical, and high-quality work by peers, and that a citation is therefore a proxy for value. This premise is contested, mainly because authors cite works for other reasons as well. For a comprehensive analysis, see: Wouters, *The Citation Culture*. For introductions into alternative referencing practices, especially in the Humanities, see: B. Hellqvist, 'Referencing in the Humanities and its implications for citation analysis', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 61.2 (2010), pp. 310–318; P.M. Davis, 'Reward or persuasion? The battle to define the meaning of a citation', *Learned Publishing* 22 (2009), pp. 5–11.

> […] it may be that some or even all of the population think well of you, only because they believe that everyone thinks well of you and they take that believed fact as a testimonial basis for thinking well of you themselves.[76]

Such cascades have long been recognised in the research on academic publishing, in which they have more captivatingly been dubbed the 'Matthew Effect'.[77] Studies usually highlight the—perhaps predominantly negative—consequences of scholars' reliance on status-by-proxy. However, from the current perspective of study, focusing on the relationship between author and the publisher as an esteem service, one cannot help but admitting that the exploitation of reputational metrics is a very effective promotional strategy of the latter, with the Impact Factor as a de facto standard for brand value in some disciplines.

In their dissemination and promotion activities, publishers thus function as an esteem service for authors, essentially passing on the favourable opinions of scholarly peers on publications they have chosen to collaborate on. Through the accumulation of enough favourable opinions for their products, publishers can moreover come to boast a reputable status of their own, in a similar informational cascade. These publishing firms can then also function as esteem association, a separate type of esteem service in which the pooled esteem of a collective reflects on individual agents joining that collective.[78] Brennan and Pettit name Academies of Science as prime examples of associations. Perhaps in their original theory publishing firms would not qualify as associations, because the collectives, i.e. firms, have a different mission than the scholars collaborating with them. However, if Brennan and Pettit's formulation of the individual's considerations in joining an association are taken as defining characteristics, publishing houses certainly do qualify. These include: assessment of the esteem of the association and the individual's standing compared to other individuals in the association; performance standards in the association; and the publicity that a performance can get through the association[79]—all typical considerations for scholars looking to submit a text to a publisher, as they hope to gain esteem from associating with their imprint.

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[76] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, p. 57; they borrow the term 'informational cascade' from T. Kuran, 'Ethnic norms and their transformation through reputational cascades', *Journal of Legal Studies* 27 (1998), pp. 623–659.

[77] Robert K. Merton, 'The Matthew Effect in Science', *Science* 159 (1968), pp. 56–63; see also: James E. Evans, 'Electronic publication and the narrowing of science and scholarship', *Science* 321.5887 (2008), pp. 395–399.

[78] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 57–58, and pp. 197–199.

[79] Ibid., pp. 208–211

Vice versa, publishers themselves also hope to gain esteem by collaborating with quality scholarship: they are aware that good scholars build a reputation, and that prestigious academics' fame may reflect positively on their own status as service provider in a particular research niche. There are clear benefits to such higher status for publishers: it attracts other scholars looking to publish on the prestige-driven market for manuscripts, and it may boost sales, i.e. financial gain, on the market for publications, too. Conceptually, scholarly authors thus function as esteem associates for publishers, as well as the other way around. Such association also takes place, for instance, through the appointment of scholars in advisory or editorial boards. Some academic publishers affiliate with other typical associations of academics, such as Academies of Science or universities, and in these relations also benefit from the reputation of their affiliates. University presses, for instance, carry the famous name of their *alma mater*. Crucially, academic publishers hope to accrue esteem, i.e. symbolic capital from their relationships with academics—alongside their expected returns in other forms of capital, such as economic gain.

Publishers are thus fundamentally invested in the field of academic communication: not only do they function as esteem services in it, but moreover they themselves depend at least partially on the accumulation of capital that circulates internally in the field among its principal agents—prestige bestowed by other academics (among individuals, or associations). Yet publishers cannot function without capital that they obtain from other, less central parties either—most notably economic capital through sales and subsidies—and this grants them a pivotal position in the esteem economy, since they are dealing with many agents and convert different types of capital in their relationships. The market economy and the economy of esteem come together at the publishing firm. Such a model of the disposition of the publisher, as dependent on both economic and symbolic capital, is not new. Yet, whereas Bourdieu's theoretical exposition leaves an image of symbolic capital as an elusive and unpredictable ephemera, Brennan and Pettit's conceptualisation of transactions in an economy of esteem is helpful in locating between which agents and through what mechanism symbolic capital is generated and transferred. Transactions in esteem may be indirect, and bound to specific possibilities, but they occur in a mirror image of market transactions, in patterns of activities—and many of such activities can be discerned in scholarly publishing.

Because esteem transactions occur in patterns, as typical for an economy, agents strategically adjust their behaviour to optimize their own chances of accumulating capital —and in a feedback effect, these strategic adjustments constantly reshape expectations for future transactions in esteem.[80] Individual agents' actions influence the field as a whole, because 'the performance level of each individual contributes to the standards by which each performer is assessed', and only the best performances get awarded esteem.[81] Brennan and Pettit state that small adjustments may lead to changes in the patterns for a field at large, in a series of unintended consequences.[82] Because of this ongoing process, the origins of current performance standards are complex to reconstruct. This is an important observation, especially in the field of scholarly publishing, since influences of disciplinary research cultures and national policies shape distinct *habitus* for different groups of scholars and publishers. Moreover, scholarly authors' and publishers' relationships demonstrably feature manifold transactions of esteem, mainly, but not only, in the act of publishing itself. A more detailed analysis of these transactions will feature in the analysis of the disposition of scholarly publishers in the Humanities in the current digital age (ch. 4). Before that, the next chapter (3) will analyse the developments in publishing in a historical account, to establish a context in which the most formative characteristics of scholarly publishing in the Humanities have emerged.

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[80] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 79–80.

[81] Ibid., p. 104.

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[82] Ibid., p. 105. The third section of their book, 'Exploiting the economy of esteem' (pp. 241–321), is geared towards guiding and optimizing macro-patterns through what Brennan and Pettit call 'the intangible hand'.

3

A formative century
The social, economic, political and technological contexts of academia and scholarly publishing

The previous chapter introduced the conceptual framework of the field theory as well as a method for analysis of specific fields, like that of academic publishing. In chapter 1, an analysis of the disciplinary fields within academia has shown and contextualised the specific social and epistemological academic practices of the Humanities. In the second chapter, academic publishing has been identified as a distinct social arena in which agents seek to acquire capital. Yet neither the disciplinary specificity in the norms and working practices of humanities scholars, nor the identification of the field of academic publishing as a distinct arena suffices to explain the specific properties of academic publishing for humanities disciplines. It is at the crossroads between those two developing currents—of academic publishing, and of disciplinary specialisation—that a specific *habitus* for humanities scholarly publishing has emerged.

In Bourdieusian terms, the current particular field of scholarly publishing is necessarily a contingency that continues to evolve as reiterated interactions between agents in it shape and reform their perceived needs or desires for capital. Its one principal type of agent, the scholar, is strongly driven by adherence to a normative framework that comprises the epistemic goals and social requirements of his discipline (see ch. 1). Publishing is thus affected when the epistemic or social circumstances of a discipline change. This may happen due to intrinsic developments, such as a breakthrough discovery or an influential new theory. It may also be caused by external pressures to the academic system, for instance investments in and political pressure on furthering of a particular branch of research, to which scholars react in turn. The other principal agent in the field, the publisher, is driven by incentives for a different mix of types of capital than academics. Both seek esteem, but each for their own purposes: the publisher must turn it into sufficient economic capital to maintain his business.

Moreover, all agents in the field, including publishers themselves, are influenced by factors external to the field: socio-economic developments, political currents, and, unduly deprecated by Bourdieu (see ch. 2), technological innovations and the socio-cultural uptake of them. None of these factors occur in isolation; they are at continuous interplay and vary in strength over time. The introduction of the digital medium and especially that of the networked computer at the end of the twentieth century has been a particularly profound driver of change in recent times and will therefore be the topic of analysis in a separate chapter (4). In order to pave the ground for the analysis of the effects of the online medium on academic publishing, the current chapter provides a historical account of the most influential developments for the field until its introduction. The following contextual description will therefore feature the most formative field-internal and field-external pressures, from social, economic, financial, technological, and political factors—or a combination of those—in a largely chronologically structured narrative.

The present account is essentially qualitative in nature, as the combination of historical events, political currents, academic progress and economic trends is needed to sketch a full picture. This chapter's argument is constructed predominantly by recombining insights from contemporary and recent literature, while illustrating exemplary cases-in-point with specific data. Such an approach has often been employed in contemporary analyses of publishing, where it has been metaphorically referred to as describing 'the ecology of publishing'.[1] In policy perspectives on the cultural sector of society, viewing arts and culture as an ecology is establishing itself as an accepted approach, 'the ecology of culture'.[2] It seems that epistemological connections have not yet been made with the subdiscipline of publishing studies, however, as the ecology metaphor is so far only used in a rhetorical sense without attempts at methodological rigour or theoretical grounding. The current project's scope does not allow for extended comparisons with the methodological progress in, and potential relationships with, cultural policy studies. Yet a brief but critical exploration of the ecology metaphor is warranted here, because it strongly reverberates with the field theory that functions as a conceptual framework for the current study. No Bourdieusian influences have been explicitly acknowledged in the literature, but I will highlight parallels between the ecology metaphor and Bourdieusian concepts that may render the former more useful and sufficiently fitting for the analysis of scholarly publishing.

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[1] See, for instance: Bill Cope & Mary Kalantzis, 'Changing knowledge ecologies and the transformation of the scholarly journal', in: Bill Cope & Angus Phillips (eds.), *The Future of the Academic Journal* (2nd edition, Oxford: Chandos, 2014), pp. 9–85; pp. 9, 74; Joseph J. Esposito, 'The wisdom of Oz: The role of the university press in scholarly communications', *The Journal of Electronic Publishing* 10.1 (Winter 2007), n.pag,; Joseph J. Esposito, 'Rival ecosystems: The increasingly porous boundary between institutional and consumer markets', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (29 October 2014), n.pag.; Michael Jubb, 'Introduction. Scholarly communications: disruptions in a complex ecology', in: Debra Shorley & Michael Jubb (eds.) *The Future of Scholarly Communication* (London: Facet 2013), pp. xiii-xxxvi, throughout; Michael Jubb, 'The scholarly ecosystem', in: Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing*, (Oxford: Chandos 2012) pp. 53–78, esp. pp. 53–54; Agata Mrva-Montoya, 'Beyond the scholarly monograph: Publishing research for multimedia and multiplatform delivery', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 46.4 (July 2015), pp. 321–342, esp. pp. 322–324; Keith Webster, 'The evolving role of libraries in the scholarly ecosystem', in: Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing*, (Oxford: Chandos 2012) pp. 315–336, esp. pp. 315–316; Lynne Withey, Steve Cohn, Ellen Faran, Michael Jensen, Garrett Kiely, Will Underwood, Bruce Wilcox, Richard Brown, Peter Givler, Alex Holzman & Kathleen Keane, 'Sustaining scholarly publishing: New business models for university presses', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 42.4 (2011), pp. 397–441, esp., pp. 398, 400–401.

[2] The 'ecology of culture' is not to be confused with 'cultural ecology', a term that has been used in the discipline of anthropology since the 1950s and entails the study of human adaptations to social and physical environments. A key publication in the ecology of culture is: John Holden, *The Ecology of Culture: A Report Commissioned by the Arts and Humanities Research Council's Cultural Value Project* (London: Arts and Humanities Research Council, January 2015).

Both field theory and the ecological metaphor depart from the principle that each agent in the field, or species in the ecology, comes equipped with specific types of capital, or properties in a 'niche'. For example, large corporate publishers have maximal financial leverage, but not necessarily the highest esteem among academics. Two similar-looking agents might differ in regard of aspects that can only be distinguished in close observation, but that are nevertheless vital to their existence: such as scholars, who in some disciplines derive their reputation primarily from the monographs they author, while in others they never write books at all. Moreover, such specific niche properties may seem exotic in isolation, but constitute logical cause and effect in iterative, habitual interactions between agents in a cohesive system, or field. Illustratively, some schools in philosophy continue to write in French not by aesthetic eccentricity, as may seem to an outside observer, but from the epistemological tradition of their discipline that outweighs practical disadvantages (see ch. 1, esp. sections 3–5).

Furthermore, networked dependencies have organically grown between the diverse agents in a field, or species in an ecology, and are now necessary for the agents' survival: without scholarly authors' manuscripts, academic publishers would quickly go out of business—and without publishing, academia would plunge into a serious crisis in the registration, certification, dissemination, and archiving of knowledge contributions. Yet besides these dependencies between different types of agents, agents that have a highly similar disposition—monograph publishers, say, or scholars in the philosophy of language—there is a continuous competitive struggle for dominance in which the fittest survive. To this extent, the ecology metaphor can be seen as a lively, comprehensible echo of the more theoretical Bourdieusian descriptions of agents in a field, and their struggle to gain capital through exchanges. The metaphor is therefore certainly an effective rhetorical frame, and it may serve to elicit curiosity about the workings of scholarly publishing. While acknowledging this usefulness for broader audiences, however, the current analysis will still resort to Bourdieusian concepts, because the ecology metaphor lacks the extensive development of field theory which is useful because of its explanatory potential for the dynamics between agents in scholarly publishing.

A second set of associations that the ecology metaphor invokes, from environmental protection movements, deserves critical attention as well. Firstly, the environmental protection-concept firstly advocates that the broad variety of life-forms demonstrates nature's beauty, and secondly that each species merits preservation and protection precisely because it has survived thus far by a slowly-adapted strategy that is implicit, yet inherent to it. Metaphorically applied to the ecology of culture, survival is equated with economic success; emphasis on the variety of species would then form a counterweight to utilitarian views that species, or types of agents, would only have purpose in the economic sense, and that the onus would be on them to adapt or go extinct. In the field of academic publishing, specifically, there certainly is merit in accepting scholars' and publishers' incentives, even if they are not profit-oriented. Moreover, this association with environmental protection calls to mind the fragility of ecosystems, and especially the repeatedly demonstrated, unfortunate phenomenon that actions benevolently intended to remedy a particular wrong in one specific niche of the ecosystem may cause unforeseen adverse effects or outright calamities in another (a phenomenon that can be recognised in the recent history of academic publishing more than once, as the following account will demonstrate).

However, such extension of the metaphor overlooks a crucial difference between natural and cultural systems. Nature is an organically grown system of dependent species, individuals of which intuitively focus on their own immediate survival which in turn guarantees the preservation of the species as a whole. Nature thus maintains equilibrium and perpetuates stability, whereas in culture each balance is a temporary one at best: here, agents are thinking, planning, scheming, and struggling to secure long-term success—beyond survival—for themselves at the expense of other agents. It should be kept in mind that the ecology metaphor is a rhetorical frame; extended use of analogies with environmental protection advocacy risks conflating it with a theoretical model. For this reason, the current analysis will not draw out the ecology metaphor any further, and instead remain faithful to Bourdieusian descriptions of the field and the capital that is exchanged in it.

Although quantitative sources are available that could be useful in an analysis of academic publishing, the following account will only sparsely feature quantitative data and statistics. This is due to issues with such quantitative data, which are most severe at both the highest aggregate level of national or international statistics, and in the smallest units of measurement possible, the private business.[3] Firstly, a lot of the key figures are simply not preserved: family-owned firms often have not preserved their archives, for instance, and statistics on national progress are not always kept well in times of crisis or rapid development. If data exists, however, that does not mean it is accessible: general market reports are often executed by commercial parties and therefore prohibitively expensive.[4] And while the business activities of stock-listed publishers can be reconstructed through their annual financial reports, private companies have good commercial reason not to make their business results public. Additionally, most university presses' results remain cloaked in the annual reports of their *alma maters* on which they depend.[5] Even when there is accessible data available that is uniform and reliable, its applicability remains

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3 The lack of reliable and diachronically consistent statistics is a pressing issue not just in academic publishing, but in the world of the book as a whole. For extensive assessment of existing statistics as well as proposals for additional data collection, see: Miha Kovač, Angus Phillips, Adriaan van der Weel & Rüdiger Wischenbart, 'Book statistics: What are they good for?', *Logos* 28.4 (2017), pp. 7-17.

4 Examples: Outsell (2015: *Humanities and social sciences publishing: Market size, share, forecast, and trends*) or Simba (2014: *The Market for Social Sciences and Humanities publications*). A non-commercial pilot for a similar report, initiated by the International Publishers Association (IPA) and the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) demonstrates how difficult it is to obtain statistics, let alone to assess their reliability: *The Global Publishing Industry in 2016: A Pilot Survey by the IPA and WIPO* (Geneva, 2016).

5 Example: Leiden University Press is formally a subordinate of the University Library; its annual business results have not been separately listed in the official and public annual reports of Leiden University.

limited, especially for a comparison over an extended period of time.[6] For these reasons, a historical analysis of the development of academic publishing based on quantitative primary data would be a complicated and specialist undertaking. This does not fit in the scope of the current project: after all, the central topic here is the encroaching digital medium, and the reconstruction of the contingent field settings in specific numbers are mostly used as the illustrative context from which its developments could be analysed.

Yet a literature review for an historical contingency analysis of scholarly publishing, with specific attention to developments in publishing for the Humanities, is not without its issues and pitfalls either. Firstly, the coverage of this specific topic in the history of publishing is relatively scant. There is a solid, if by now slowly ageing, collection of studies on the recent history and contemporary issues in publishing, such as Clark and Phillips' insight in the British industry and Greco's reflections on the US perspective.[7] However, these focus predominantly on the trade fields. As argued in the previous chapter, the market for academic publications is different from the trade market in several crucial aspects, for instance its truly international character, and the importance of the institutional buyers. This renders markets in adjacent domains susceptible to different government policies: whereas trade publishing is influenced by cultural policy and subsidies, academic publishing is both intentionally and unintentionally, directly and indirectly, affected by politics on education and research. Moreover, scholarly reading of academic publications is vastly different from the leisurely consumption of trade books, which leads to a specific dynamic of demand for scholarly publishing and the uptake of specific new technologies. For instance, whereas the ePub has become the industry standard format for trade e-books that are read for pleasure, its flexible presentation affecting the reliability of page references is a disadvantage for academic readers, who therefore continue to prefer the stable PDF. As trade and scholarly publishing are related, but separate fields, specific circumstances in the academic context are relevant for scholarly publishing but not for trade. Trade publishing studies therefore do not capture all developments that are relevant for academic publishing.

In his monograph *Books in the Digital Age*, John Thompson presents an example of such a field approach that I propose. His monographic study of academic and higher education publishing in the combined markets of Britain and the United States is loosely based on Bourdieusian theory.[8] Supported by extensive interviews with staff from sixteen (unnamed) publishing firms, Thompson provides a thorough analysis of these two fields. As he explains, textbook publishing and scholarly publishing share similar characteristics: academics are the authors of works in both fields; institutions have an important role in the uptake of books through gatekeeping and selection—although scholarly books are acquired predominantly by libraries, and textbooks are prescribed by universities, yet bought by individual students—and that both fields experiment with technological innovations more quickly and more intensively than the trade. This might be so, but the combination of two distinct fields in a wider focus also renders the study slightly unsatisfactory.

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[6] Example: Government figures on R&D employment are consistent, but at the same time not useful in an analysis of the market for academic publishing because the task description of an academic position has changed so much over the last fifty years.

[7] Clark & Phillips, *Inside Book Publishing*; Greco, *The Book Publishing Industry*.

[8] Thompson, *Books in the digital age*, for the legitimization of this approach, see esp. 'Introduction', pp. 1–12. Thompson's contributions to the implementation of Bourdieu's theoretical framework for the analysis of the publishing field are considered in chapter 2.

Moreover, there is another end to the means of Thompson's comparative study. His fields analysis serves to support his argument that scholarly monograph publishing by itself is not economically viable except at a handful of the most prestigious presses: 'it is possible to survive as an academic publisher only in so far as you are able and willing to move beyond the field of academic publishing per se and to publish different kinds of books for different kinds of markets'.[9] To ensure their survival, Thompson recommends scholarly publishers to move into textbook publishing—so-called 'field migration'. Because he is steering towards this strategy (and two others), Thompson leaves alternative business models for scholarly presses—such as structural subsidies, collaboration, and publishing fees[10]—largely undiscussed; his analysis of innovative digital projects is also dependent on the underlying premise that scholarly publishing frantically struggles to survive.[11] This monograph is thus not fully attentive towards the possibilities that alternative business models could offer.[12]

Beside Thompson's monograph, two recent edited volumes are important for the study of academic publishing. Abel and Newlin's *Scholarly Publishing* is a collection of reflective essays, authored by eminent senior professionals or recent retirees from American libraries, university book stores, and publishing firms of various types.[13] The detailed retrospection offered by this incumbent perspective is an absolute strength of the volume which renders it very useful for the current purpose of reconstructing an historical account; simultaneously, however, a retracting generation's view on recent and future developments runs an increased risk of becoming obsolete. Besides, all essays in this volume are very strongly US-centred; given the international differences in publishers' business practices, it should be kept in mind that not all strategies will be available outside the American markets.

The most recent volume on publishing for scholarship and science, *Academic and Professional Publishing* edited by Campbell, Pentz & Borthwick, provides an international scope with contributions from mostly industry professionals and some researchers.[14] The volume covers an impressively broad range of topics, including aspects of the editorial process such as peer review or standards for electronic publishing, the issues with which are not immediately apparent in an economic analysis but vital for scholarly communication.[15] As mentioned in its introduction, the volume aims for an analysis of the current state of affairs.[16] The contributors arrive at such an analysis from notably different approaches, with or without the support of a theoretical framework. Their widely varying functions render it difficult to assess the merit of, and combine insights from, the brief pieces of recent history provided in the distinct contributions and leave the reader with a considerable burden to reconstruct an overview from the fragments.

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[9] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 139.

[10] Note that Gold Open Access, in which the author pays a 'processing fee' to the publisher, was not yet practised for books at the time of Thompson's writing. Nevertheless, he discusses such a reversal of the traditional business model, in which authors cover the publishing costs instead of readers.

[11] The other two strategies Thompson recommends in *Books in the Digital Age* would be changing organizational culture (ch. 5, pp. 111–139) and 'list-diversification' (ch.6, pp. 140–166); the digital innovations are discussed in ch. 13 (pp. 330–376).

[12] Such criticism is of course easily made with the current fifteen years of hindsight since *Books in the Digital Age* came out—but in this case, that does not subtract from the argument.

[13] Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century*, Millennial issue in series *Against the Grain*, Katrina Strauch & Bruce Strauch [series editors] (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002); notes on contributors are provided in an appendix at the back of the volume.

A wealth of focused, detailed information on recent history can be found in the extensive coverage of the activities of specific academic publishers: both successful commercial houses such as Elsevier and Springer-Verlag as well as prestigious university presses in for instance Oxford and Harvard have been studied as individual cases.[17] As Frank de Glas cautions, however, this genre of studies comes with its own limitations.[18] Foremost, all business histories are usually published by the firm that is also the object of research, and many have even been specifically commissioned by it, often for a celebratory occasion like a jubilee (*Brill*), or commemoration at the retirement of an influential director (*Four Windows of Opportunity*). Such a celebratory spirit does not always lend itself well to a thorough analysis of any adversities the firm encountered, and therefore many business histories tend to highlight successful outcomes at the expense of considerations that were relevant when developments were ongoing.

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[14] Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing* (Oxford: Chandos, 2012).

[15] For these two topics, see: Irene Hames, 'Peer review in a rapidly evolving publishing landscape', and Todd Carpenter, 'Electronic publishing standards', both in: Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick, *Academic and Professional Publishing* (Oxford: Chandos, 2012), pp. 15-52 and pp. 215-242 respectively.

[16] Robert Campbell 'Introduction: Overview of academic and professional publishing', in: Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing* (Oxford: Chandos, 2012), pp. 1–14; esp. pp. 1–2.

[17] Respectively: Cornelis D. Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers: A History of Science Publishing 1930–1980*, Library of the Written Word Vol. 7: The Industrial World (vol. 1) (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Heinz Sarkowski, *Der Springer-Verlag: Stationen seiner Geschichte Tl. 1: 1842–1945* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1992) and Heinz Götze, *Der Springer-Verlag: Stationen seiner Geschichte Tl. 2: 1945–1992* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1992); Peter Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press: An Informal History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press | The Clarendon Press, 1978); Max Hall, *Harvard University Press: A History* (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1986). Other 'business histories' used in the following analysis include: David McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press. Vol. 3: New Worlds for Learning 1873–1972* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Sytze van de Veen, *Brill: 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing* (Leiden: Brill 2008); Johan de Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity: A Study in Publishing*, trl. Maarten Ultee (Amsterdam: Wolters Kluwer, 1995) on Wolters-Kluwer; and *The SAGE-Story: 50 Years* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2015).

[18] Frank de Glas, 'Business history and the study of publishing houses', in: Marieke van Delft, Frank de Glas & Jeroen Salman (eds.), *New Perspectives in Book History: Contributions from the Low Countries* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006), pp. 83–100.

Secondly, also noted by De Glas, some of these studies lack a solid scholarly foundation and methodology; historical details are collected via a haphazard approach instead of meticulously integrated in theoretical frameworks.[19] This does not have to be problematic, but as only the most illustrious houses get dedicated studies, the lack of embedding in the wider context of academia and academic publishing may result in a one-sided account of 'winners' in this field. This is especially true in the case of the major university presses, which are outliers in terms of size, scope, and prestige. If there is the risk of bias here, that is certainly deepened when the business history is chronicled by recently retired executives of the firms themselves, such as Götze at Springer-Verlag, and Hall at Harvard University Press. Readers of such volumes should be cautious to separate historical facts from the relationship between author and business, and the author's reflection on his own career.[20]

Beyond De Glas' warning that non-methodological studies should be approached with caution, I would argue that it is necessary to scrutinize theoretical embedding and structured method as well, because they may be selected to support a specific assertion by the author. This is demonstrated above with the short review of Thompson's *Books in the Digital Age*. *Dutch Messengers* is similarly subjective, as Andriesse aims to convince the reader firstly that the success of Dutch academic publishers is intrinsically linked with extraordinary duos of authors and editors;[21] and secondly that it rode the wave of scientific discovery (which Andriesse subsequently declares dead). The wealth of information on the development of Elsevier, North-Holland and other Dutch publishing houses featuring in his analysis is subjected to an idiosyncratic argument—it is useful still, but its function should be kept in mind.

Finally, it is remarkable that the business histories of publishing houses all have their narratives cut off in the later 1980s or 1990s—even those studies published much more recently (*Dutch Messengers, Cambridge University Press*). Perhaps this is due to limited availability of sources: recent logs, correspondence and budgets may still fall under corporate responsibility, not to be shared with competitors or the general public yet. However, since corporate protection typically does not last decades, a more practical and unfortunately entirely probable reason for the unavailability of sources may be the digitization of organisational processes: this must have made much information that used to end up in business archives simply vanish in the migrations between software systems.

Yet another tentative explanation is more methodological: developments in the field have not only sped up since the invention of the World Wide Web in 1997; they have also taken unexpected turns and are difficult to position in the existing narrative threads of recent history. To an extent, a similar methodological issue is apparent in the following account as well: some applications of the rise of the digital medium have been included, as they seem to have come to full fruition and almost-universal implementation at the publishing field—for instance in the digitisation of editorial and organisational processes. However, this very project argues that the wider implications of the digital medium are still taking shape, in the iterative interplay between technological innovation and social uptake. These implications therefore merit a chapter of their own (ch. 4). The current chapter is a historical analysis: it describes the broad social, political and economic trends that have come to characterise the field of scholarly publishing today.

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[19] De Glas, 'Business history and the study of publishing houses', pp. 83–85.

[20] In fact, this caution should be broadly applied in reading any analysis of contemporary publishing, as many studies have been authored by publishers, consultants, librarians, or other professionals who have a determined stake in the current publishing industries. Occasionally, deeper investigation of an author may uncover resentment harboured against a firm or field: such is the case for Hendrik Edelman, who used to work at Nijhoff before he left in discontent with management, and started researching that company from a library perspective: Hendrik Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America: Booksellers from the Netherlands and the development of American Research Libraries – Part II', *Quaerendo* 42 (2012), pp. 46–75.

[21] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 8–10; see also: Adriaan van der Weel, 'A scientist writing book history: Review of Andriesse, Dutch Messengers', *Logos* 21.1/2 (2010), pp. 129–136; p. 129.

Without becoming unduly teleological, the following account aims to trace the roots and the development of agents and relationships in the field of academic publishing in general and scholarly publishing for the Humanities in particular. Political, social, and economic contexts influenced the logic that resulted, survived and evolved in their current *habitus*. This logic is largely similar in the western world, throughout Europe and the United States, because they have always shared a similar organisation of research and higher education, and international collaboration between them has only intensified over the course of the last century. The current account is therefore based on sources from both sides of the Atlantic, although I will duly point out relevant national or local characteristics.[22] This chapter is split in five topical periods: emergence of business from the end of the nineteenth century to the start of the Second World War; expansion and thriving from the end of the Second World War to the economic downturn following the turmoils of 1968; recession in the 1970s; business consolidation in the 1980s; and the rise of neoliberalism and New Public Management (NPM) since the 1990s. Such a periodization is demonstrably not a clear-cut division, as shifts in practices always evolve slowly and organically, and disruptions are always accompanied by continuity in practice. Yet it is a helpful narrative device, as it shows how momentous events may trigger long-term consequences and emphasizes the interconnectedness of political, social and economic influences.

Although the main objective of the current project is the analysis of scholarly publishing in the Humanities, this chapter is an analysis of academic publishing in its full breadth, for two reasons. Firstly, it is unhelpfully restrictive to solely focus on one specific disciplinary subset of publishing. This is caused by its origins: first, academic publishing seceded from general publishing as a specialist branch of business (or in Bourdieusian terms, a distinct field) in the dawning decades of the twentieth century. Much later, from the 1970s onward, a dichotomy between publishing for the STEM disciplines and for SSH scholarship emerged: the current chapter will explain how this was a consequence of enhanced differences in disciplinary practices and diverging reactions to political, social and economic factors. This dichotomy is not clear-cut, even though it is usually portrayed as such. Publication practices in some disciplines within the Humanities, for instance linguistics, have always resembled those of STEM research.[23] And in the Social Sciences, epistemological shifts cause such changes in publication practices that STEM publishers increasingly extend their activities to this domain. Although the formation of humanities scholarly publishing as a distinct field is momentous, it still shares many characteristics with its counterpart of STEM academic publishing. And academic publishing as a whole still shares roots with other fields of publishing, which continue to shape its logic and practices.

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[22] Arguably, other parts of the Commonwealth, most importantly Australia and New Zealand, also historically share such organisational similarities. However, academic publishing cultures there have a strong local focus, perhaps in a legacy of the print era, when geographical distance was a substantial barrier. Aside from an occasional example, my analysis does not cover the Southern Hemisphere.

Yet even if one would ignore the origins and roots of humanities scholarly publishing, it would not be possible to describe it in isolation because other fields of publishing continue to exert influence on its practices. Trade publishing, for instance, may share a market segment of scholars beyond the immediate peer group, and of a generally interested non-academic audience, and can therefore pose competition on the market for publications. More significantly, academics in STEM disciplines and SSH are affected, albeit perhaps in different ways, by the same research policies and compete for the same funding programmes; their publishers are subjected to the same economic ups and downs and socio-political movements. However, in the academic landscape STEM research is absolutely dominant in terms of allotted budgets, numbers of active researchers, publications, and scale of collaborations with industry. This means that the developments in STEM publishing as well as public perceptions thereof pose another pressure on the measurably smaller, less powerful and less visible field of humanities scholarly publishing. Despite the split between STEM and SSH publishing around 1970, my account of the most recent decades will therefore continue to oscillate between developments in STEM and SSH. This narrative points out not just similarities between the two fields, but also pressures from the former on the latter.

1. Genesis and rise before 1940

Towards the end of the nineteenth-century, the population in Europe grew, and literacy rates were on the rise.[24] Many new universities were founded throughout Europe, to answer the growing demand for bureaucrats, jurists and other highly educated professionals. Moreover, existing universities were being transformed from primary centres of teaching to research-intensive institutions of education, in the newly established Humboldtian philosophy. For the professoriate, this marked a significant shift in emphasis in their activities. It had hitherto been possible to publish any research findings worthy of wide dissemination, but many university faculty focused on teaching and went without publishing any research for years on end. Under the new philosophy, publications became instrumental in academics' certification, i.e. to establish their expertise in research disciplines and justify their positions and professional ranks at university.[25]

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[23] And vice versa, publication practices of some sciences, for instance mathematics, do not conform to the characteristics of the majority of STEM disciplines. Yet however interesting they are, those exceptions remain outside the scope of this research.

[24] De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, ch. 2 (pp. 25–35); James Raven, 'The industrial revolution of the book', in: Leslie Howsam (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 143–161; pp. 149–152; Jonathan Rose, 'Modernity and Print I: Britain', in: Simon Eliot & Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (London: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 715–742; p. 723; Adriaan van der Weel, 'Modernity and Print II: Europe', in: Simon Eliot & Jonathan Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (London: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 743–770; pp. 743–744.

The growth and transformation of the universities caused the number of academic authors to rise significantly, and with them, the number of research-related texts supplied to the markets. For commercial publishers, this development opened up opportunities to specialise their businesses: around the turn of the twentieth century, several new and existing publishers decided to engage in the newly developing field of academic publishing. Initially, none of the publishers turned to academic publishing exclusively; they mixed lists in adjacent or even unrelated fields, ranging from professional publications (for instance at Wolters) to literary works (at Elsevier and Kluwer).[26] More specialised firms, such as Brill, seem to have separated business processes and activities for international science and scholarship from publishing for the domestic trade markets.[27] The German Springer-Verlag was exceptionally focused already before 1920, with its list consisting mainly of titles in the natural sciences, engineering, and medicine—although even this firm indulged in its director's preference for a small list of books on chess.[28]

As they got increasingly attuned to the needs of the tight-knit science communities that formed a supply base as well as a readers' market, these budding academic publishing entrepreneurs adopted a so-called 'layered' approach: they would aim to build a list in various text types, such as monographs, handbooks, and encyclopaedias, all with a strong disciplinary or topical relation, aiming for the international academic market.[29] The German publisher Ferdinand Springer jr. (1881-1965), the third generation to enter the family firm, formulated a deliberate strategy to become invested in a disciplinary research field in 1907.[30] The first step would be to set up a journal on a current topic —petro-chemistry, for instance, which came to flourish in the first decades of the twentieth century. This would take significant investment in building relationships with potential authors and readers. Yet once such a community of users would be in place, it could be asked to perform editorial roles for the journal. Junior scientists, especially, would be invited to contribute evaluative reviews in the core journals or in specific review series. They could advance their careers through these reviews, which often resulted in specialised monographs or treatises.[31] As a counterweight to such increasing specialisation, the publisher would then commission senior academics to author handbooks and encyclopaedias.[32] Finally, the publisher could set up specialised indexing and abstracting services to provide adequate access to the disciplinary literature.[33] Sales happened preferably through subscriptions by individuals and institutions.[34] After a couple of years, this model might deliver a stable source of revenue for the publishing firm, which could then be invested in a similar colonization of another discipline.[35] This 'German method' inspired other European firms, for instance Elsevier.[36] The publication activities of learned societies and academies often fell behind the increased productivity of the commercial presses, especially because they had more trouble connecting with the considerable export market newly developing in the United States.[37]

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[25] Prosser, 'Researchers and scholarly communication', pp. 39-40; Collini, *What are universities for?*, pp. 22–23.

[26] De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, pp. 13–17; Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 11–19.

[27] Van der Veen, *Brill*, pp. 61–64, 83–86.

[28] Sarkowski, *Der Springer-Verlag Tl.1*, ch. 4 (pp. 162–236) describes the stormy growth until the end of World War I. The family's enthusiasm for chess is mentioned on pp. 137–138.

[29] Dorien Daling, 'The encyclopaedia as pioneer of the journal: The early years of Elsevier's scientific publishing company', in: Marieke van Delft, Frank de Glas & Jeroen Salman, *New Perspectives in Book History: Contributions from the Low Countries* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006), pp. 31-48; esp. pp. 34-35.

[30] Sarkowski, *Der Springer-Verlag Tl.1*, pp. 164–166. Sarkowski here cites Ferdinand Springer jr.'s memoirs as presented in a speech for the Heidelberg Rotary Club in 1952. This paragraph follows the steps he outlined.

In the United States, the Humboldtian reforms combined with the demand for highly-educated professionals in an industrialised and rapidly bureaucratizing world had also given rise to the founding of new universities as well as the transformation of existing colleges into universities, and the formalisation of graduate education.[38] These institutions now provided graduate, undergraduate, and professional education, and aimed at having faculty combine teaching and research in tenured positions.[39] The fruits of their research had to be published, but in the United States there was no dense network of commercial publishers, like in Europe, to take up this task. Commercial firms issued only about a quarter of all scholarly books, and 40% were published by University

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[31] See also: Hendrik Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933–1945: German Exile, Scholarly Expansion, War-Time Clandestinity*, Library of the Written World, Vol. 13: The Industrial World, (vol.3) (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 16.

[32] Daling, 'The encyclopaedia as pioneer of the journal', p. 35.

[33] See also: Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands*, 1933–1945, p. 16.

[34] Not coincidentally, subscription agencies sought to profit from the publishers' entrepreneurial spirit and focused on academic publications too in this time: for instance, distributor Swets-Zeitlinger was founded in 1901 for precisely this purpose. See: Van der Weel, 'A scientist writing book history', pp. 130–131.

[35] According to Daling, it took around seven years for a journal to become profitable in Ferdinand Springer jr.'s strategic years (i.e. 1904–1933); compare this to Van Leeuwen's estimates that a journal could break-even in three to five years in the boom of the early 1960s. Daling, 'The encyclopaedia as pioneer of the journal', p. 47; J.K.W. van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', in: A.J. Meadows (ed.), *Development of Science Publishing in Europe* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1980), pp. 251–268; p. 265.

[36] Daling, 'The encyclopaedia as pioneer of the journal', pp. 34–38.

[37] Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 193–208; p. 195.

[38] Cecil M. Jagodzinsky, 'The University Press in North America: A brief history', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 40.1 (October 2008), pp. 1–20; p. 2; Henderson, 'Diversity and the growth of serious/ scholarly/scientific journals', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 133–161; pp. 144–146.

[39] Hendrik Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America: Booksellers from the Netherlands and the Development of American Research Libraries – Part III', *Quaerendo* 43.1 (2013), pp. 1–24; p. 2.

Presses.[40] To keep up with the growing research output, many universities founded their own University Presses to disseminate the knowledge produced at their home institution.[41] By 1919, thirteen university presses existed in the United States; their number continued to grow steadily during the interwar years.[42] Most of these newly-founded presses were explicitly set up as university service departments, although dependency relations with their mother institutes varied, as did business perspectives. Some, such as the University of Chicago Press, have always been not-for-profit departments of their home institution; others, such Stanford University Press, started as commercial business and were acquired and reincorporated with their universities (in the case of Stanford, in 1917 after twenty-five years of business). Many, for instance Harvard University Press, started to print primarily for internal circulation and developed into businesses later.[43] A few, most notably Princeton University Press and Yale University Press, continue as independent not-for-profit businesses, in close relationship with but not formally controlled by the university.[44] Despite their differing legal and financial positions, the university presses saw the benefits in collaboration because of their shared missions, and twenty-two of them founded the American Association of University Presses to this end in 1937.

Germany had been the epicentre of science and of science publishing until the Nazi-regime caused an exodus of 'Jews and Marxists, and [...] people who, although not belonging to either group, were unwilling to comply with the extreme demands of the regime' from 1933 onwards.[45] Its effect on academia and academic publishing was profound: more than 2400 academics were fired and many more went into early retirement under the rising Nazi-regime,[46] whereas at Springer-Verlag, for instance, no fewer than fifty Jewish editors had to give up their positions.[47] Germany's most important academic publisher, Akademische Verlag (AV) in Leipzig, was discontinued altogether.

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[40] Abbott mentions that by 1927, 40% of monographs were published by university presses, 25% by businesses, and 10% each by government, learned societies, and research institutes; 'Publication and the future of knowledge', p. 13. He does not mention the source of these figures. Andrew Abbott, 'Publication and the future of knowledge', plenary lecture at the Annual Assembly of the Association of American University Presses (Montreal, 27 June 2008), 31 pp., n.pag.

[41] Jagodzinsky, 'The University Press in North America', p.1. On this same page he quotes Daniel Coit Gilman, the founding director of Johns Hopkins University Press in 1878: "It is one of the noblest duties of a university to advance knowledge, and to diffuse it not merely among those who can attend the daily lectures—but far and wide."

[42] The precise growth figures remain unclear: Jagodzinsky mentions thirteen university presses existed in 1919 against no fewer than 61 in 1939; 'The University Press in North America', p. 3. The American Association of University Presses itself reports an annual growth of the Association with one member per year between 1920 and 1970; American Association of University Presses, 'Association History', online: http://www.aupresses.org/about-aaup/history [accessed 14 December 2018]. The discrepancy in numbers comes from the fact that Jagodzinsky counts the total number of university presses, and the AAUP only reports on its members; and because some University Presses have been shut down as well—Jagodzinsky only lists new foundings, and the AAUP listst net growth.

[43] Hall, *Harvard University Press*, p. 43.

[44] Many of these complicated statuses aim at maximizing advantages from tax exemptions and other beneficial national and state policies.

[45] Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', p. 251.

[46] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, p. 47.

Some exiles moved east to Czechoslovakia and Turkey, but many more fled westward: to France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, and, as the war spread over Europe, to the United States.[48] Several publishers initially treated the troubles in Germany as a business opportunity: Sijthoff and Elsevier, for instance, started publishing German academic authors in exile; first in German, and later, when the German market got increasingly constrained, in English translations.[49] By that time, the winter of 1939-1940, Elsevier had also set up a New York satellite office with the purpose of translating German scholarly literature for the American market, the rights for which had been bought from the discontinued AV.[50] With these, Elsevier planned to set up an overseas publishing programme in its major specialism, organic chemistry. The efforts were thwarted, however, when international banking was interrupted at the invasion of the Netherlands in May 1940; the Elsevier's New York office was left with little stock and limited funds. Its directors 'had no choice to found their own publishing company, Interscience, while continuing to market and reprint the available Elsevier books [...].'[51]

The significant population of exiled authors and publishers that took refuge in the Netherlands initially boosted the Dutch academic publishing industry, as many publishers established German-language departments and included (literary and academic) Exil books on their lists.[52] In the period of German occupation (1940-1945), however, publishing in the Netherlands got increasingly obstructed by the direct effects of Nazi-policy—censorship, university closures, and ousting of Jews foremost—as well as indirect hindrances such as paper scarcity and export bans. Generally, academic research and publishing continued, but were deprioritised at the expense of wartime (propaganda) printing in the allied countries. In the United Kingdom, strict paper rationing was perhaps the biggest constraint for production, and only lifted completely in 1949.[53] At Cambridge University Press, illustratively, the number of new titles dropped from 16,091 in 1938 to 4311 in 1942 and revenue was mostly derived from selling old stock, often at less than replacement costs.[54] In the Netherlands, 123 books and journals in English, French or German were published in 1938, against only 32 in 1942.[55]

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[47] Springer-Verlag, 'History – Becoming Germany's leading scientific publisher (1906-1945)', https://www.springer.com/gp/about-springer/history [accessed 7 January 2019]. Notably, Springer-directors Ferdinand jr. and Julius jr. were themselves also forced out of their family firm in 1935 because of their Jewish descent (even though the family had converted to Christianity in the nineteenth century): Götze, *Der Springer-Verlag Tl.2*, p. 69.

[48] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, ch. 3 'German scenes', pp. 37-50; Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America – part II', p. 64.

[49] Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933-1945*, pp. 78–80, 122–125. Elsevier initially adopted a German-language academic publishing programme because of the sizeable market for it, no doubt, but director Klautz reportedly became increasingly ideologically driven to continue publishing exiled authors: Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 51–52.

[50] Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933-1945*, pp. 125–127.

[51] This quote comes from Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933-1945*, p. 127. Andriesse attributes the troubled start of the New York subsidiary to its director Maurits Dekker's procrastination in leaving the Netherlands: *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 63-65.

[52] Edelman has studied the most important literary and academic publishers in the Netherlands extensively. He meticulously describes their business and lists a complete bibliography: *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933-1945*. Among the specifically treated firms are Sijthoff (pp. 63–74) and the academic publishers Elsevier, Brill, and Nijhoff (pp. 78–140).

2. Maturing and bloom in the 1950s and 1960s

The role of the United States in research and, symbiotically, academic publishing had already been growing since the late nineteenth century, and the heavy tolls of two World Wars in Europe further bolstered the relative position of the United States on the world stage, especially since the United States experienced a period of sustained high growth in the domestic economy. The GI-Bill of 1944 led to a sudden increase of university enrolments and was, after a brief lull, followed by an unprecedented expansion of higher education when the baby-boom generation enrolled from the later 1960s onwards.[56] In an echo of the turn-of-the-century rise, again colleges were upgraded to full universities, new institutions were created, and faculty were hired to cater to these large numbers of students, and naturally to contribute to academic research. The United States thus profited not only from the émigrés from Germany and Austria, but also from young researchers who could obtain a position at a prospering American institution much more easily than at the British or European universities, which were in the 1950s still recovering from the war.[57]

Furthermore, the American national and state governments equipped the expanding number of academics with vast budgets for education and research. Physics (especially nuclear physics), chemistry, and health sciences had been among the best-funded disciplines since the Second World War. Yet the USSR's launch of Sputnik in 1957 caused an anxious race to bring the US research and development to a yet higher level, with large endowments allocated to applied sciences and engineering.[58]

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[53] Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, p. 270.

[54] McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, vol. 3, pp. 286–287.

[55] Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933-1945*, 'Catalog of German, English and French books and periodicals published in the Netherlands between 1933 and 1945', pp. 163–198; esp. pp. 163–167, 193–194.

[56] Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America – Part III', pp. 2–3; Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', pp. 199–200. Thompson reports that the higher education sector at large grew to seven times its size in the period 1945–1975: *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 181.

[57] Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America – Part III', pp. 2–3.

[58] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, ch. 7; Meadows, 'European science publishing and the United States', in: A.J. Meadows (ed.), *Development of Science Publishing in Europe* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1980), pp. 237–250; pp. 238–239; Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America – Part III', pp. 11-12; Albert Henderson, 'The growth of printed literature in the twentieth century', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books*, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 1–23;, p.3; Sam Vaughan, 'Growth and change in trade publishing: What I learned at the library', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 47–62; pp. 54–55; Robert J.R. Follett, 'Textbook publishing', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin,

The Cold-War National Defense of Education Act of 1958 concentrated interest in and allocated budgets towards 'area studies',[59] social and political sciences, linguistics and English-language instruction.[60] Corrected for inflation, the US federal budgets for research and education rose from 526 million dollar in 1948 to 3,348 million in 1968.[61] As a consequence of all these factors of expansion, the number of American academic publications rose quite spectacularly: replicating figures from the Institute of Scientific Information, a forerunner of the Web of Knowledge, Meadows reports 52,184 active scientific authors in the United States in 1967, versus 135,307 in 1974.[62] This is an astonishing growth figure. In that same time, the relative proportion of US authors seems to have risen as well, from 27,219 ISI-listed authors in the United Kingdom, West-Germany and France combined in 1967 against 59,728 in 1974—so from a little over, to well under half of the US number.[63]

The favourable economic circumstances and market growth boosted commercial initiatives in the breadth of the academic publishing sector. By 1950, the university presses published about half of all scholarly books in North America, and their share in the production continued to grow.[64] The Association of American University Presses had set up a central office in New York in 1959, to professionalise its services for its growing number of members. In 1964, the Association even saw opportunity for a business subsidiary, legally a tax-exempt educational corporation, which provided services such as compiling bibliographies and consulting that were in demand by members as well as external parties—adding its revenues to the association's membership fees.[65] Furthermore, a large number of new university presses was founded in these decades, likely tempted by the potential to disseminate faculty research in exchange for a steady

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Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 95–105; pp. 109–110.

[59] These would comprise studies of languages and cultures, of Asia, Africa, South America, and Eastern Europe, specifically—because of potential relevance in the Cold War.

[60] Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', pp. 201–203.

[61] Hall, *Harvard University Press*, pp. 128–129.

[62] Meadows, 'European science publishing and the United States', p. 238. It must be noted that the ISI did not include authors in the Humanities and many Social Sciences, certainly not in the 1960s. This presents a limited picture of academia, although it does not subtract from the reported overall growth trends, since its methodology is consistent over the years and between countries.

[63] Whereas Meadows uses these figures to illustrate the shifted balance between the United States and Europe, it merits emphasis that the absolute number of active scientific authors in Europe almost doubled in seven years! Illustratively, although from just one discipline in one European country, the number of full professors in English Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany rose from 34 in 1960 to 360 in 1985: T. Finkenstaedt, 'Measuring research performance in the Humanities', *Scientometrics* 19.5-6 (1990), pp. 409–417; p. 410.

[64] Abbott, 'Publication and the future of knowledge', p. 19.

[65] American Association of University Presses, 'AAUP History', http://www.aaupnet.org/about-aaup/aaup-history/ (accessed 7 December 2018); Jagodzinsky, 'The University Press in North America', p. 5. The corporation's tasks included the coordination of cooperative programs, professional development opportunities, industry research and analysis, and representation.

stream of income for the home institution.[66] The American university presses thus profited from the quantitative growth in the supply of, and demand for, publications.

While these university presses, as well as learned society presses, 'continued to concentrate on national authors for a preponderantly national market', European commercial firms perceived that the quantitative dominance of American academia provided opportunities for rapidly internationalising academia.[67] Soon after the Second World War, they began—or, in some cases, like Elsevier, resumed[68]—investing in collaboration with partners or satellite offices on the other side of the Atlantic, and even in Australia and Asia.[69] Although it was by no means universal yet, English was emerging as the new *lingua franca* of science due to the sheer size of the combined US and UK markets. West-Europe and Scandinavia oriented itself towards the United States instead of Germany, and young academics got temporary or permanent research positions at American universities, where they quickly adopted methods, technology, and the language of their peers.[70] Moreover, academic specialisation called for international collaborations per research field. Especially Dutch publishers were quick to turn to English—perhaps because of the lack of a sizeable domestic potential.[71] The turn to English combined with the post-war low labour costs proved particularly profitable.[72] The evolving European integration, first in the European Coal and Steel Community (1951), then the European Economic Community (1957), meanwhile facilitated international sales on the home continent, which helped businesses grow.[73]

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[66] Jagodzinsky notes eleven new-founded university Presses in the 1950s, nineteen in the 1960s, and sixteen since 1970: 'The University Press in North America', p. 3. Note that the AAUP mentions eleven new members founded between 1970–1974, 'AAUP History'; combined with Jagodzinsky's figures, it can be deduced that only five new presses have been set up since 1976.

[67] Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', p. 254.

[68] It should be noted that perhaps the most dependable and strong overseas connections, although initially largely confined to the Commonwealth, had been forged by Oxford University Press, which had operated satellite offices in Boston, Bombay, and Melbourne from before 1919. See: Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, esp. pp. 190–200.

[69] See for instance: Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', pp. 253–263; Daling, 'The encyclopaedia as pioneer of the journal', pp. 45–48; Campbell, 'Introduction', pp. 2–4; Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, ch. 4, 'Elsevier's Venture', pp. 51–98.

[70] Götze, *Der Springer-Verlag*, p. 74.

[71] Ibid.; Van der Weel, 'A scientist writing book history', p. 132. In addition, Götze and Van der Weel remark on chauvinist attitudes—in Götze's words, 'obstinacy'—that may have withheld publishers in Germany and France from turning to English, which the Dutch publishers did not have or at least did not show. This might not be untrue. Yet I think another factor more important: Dutch pre-university education (*gymnasium*) had traditionally included in the curriculum two or three foreign modern languages (German, French, and English) to allow future scholars access to international literature. The French and German education systems did not include any training in other modern languages beyond the national ones, especially not in the rivalry between the two countries following the First World War. See: Edelman, *International Publishing in the Netherlands, 1933–1945*, p. xiv–xv.

[72] Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', p. 201. Edelman also claims that the Dutch boasted a tradition of high expertise in typesetting, which made their work attractive on the international markets. However, I have not been able to identify any other sources supporting this assertion. On the contrary, Frank de Glas suggests that typesetters feared that professional standards would lower in the 1950s, because of the continuous technological innovation. Their worries were countered by the founding of educational programs for publishers and book-producing professionals in the 1960s. See:

Besides, these publishers started to exploit the increasing specialisation in science by 'twigging': constantly creating new, increasingly narrow journal titles, which they would use as levers to unlock potential in emerging sub-disciplines and through them grow their firm.[74] For instance, Elsevier, one of the largest players, adopted a tactic in the mid-1960s that deliberately served speed over quality:[75] it would first initiate a journal with rapid review, editing and production processes, to attract authors and their networks of colleagues as readers. Once the publisher had succeeded in establishing a secure supply-base for the title, it would raise the rejection rates. This would simultaneously increase the prestige of the existing title by selectivity, and deliver the surplus of rejected articles as potential contributions for yet-to-be-set-up new journal titles, and thus would allow the firm to expand further.[76] From a business perspective, twigging was a risky undertaking: start barring articles from sub-disciplines too soon and too few subscriptions to the main journal would remain—but lack of specialisation could provide an opening for competitors to capture a market.[77] When successful, however, it delivered a new market readily in the hands of the publisher. Through aggressive commercial tactics like this, the field of science publishing transformed into an increasingly international, competitive arena in which a handful of European corporations came to occupy dominant positions.

These publishing businesses each employed deliberate, if diverging, strategies to enlarge their market shares, and consolidate their own position in the worldwide market for academic publications. Elsevier, for instance, heavily invested in technology, such as offset printing and computer processing, as well as deliberate procedural innovation and division of labour in the editorial production to maintain competitive prices and thereby increase exports.[78] Kluwer, another Dutch firm, attempted to enlarge its reach over the international markets by taking over publishing firms in other countries, as this offered low-cost market entry and helped the firm gain critical mass while spreading

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Frank de Glas, '1910-heden: Arbeidsomstandigheden', in: *Bibliopolis: Geschiedenis van het Gedrukte Boek in Nederland* (2003); online edition via http://bibliopolis.nl/handboek, par. 5.2.7 (n.pag.).

[73] De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, p. 142.

[74] Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', p. 254.

[75] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 208-209.

[76] Although there are quantitative sources attesting to the spectacular rise of the number of articles published, it is very hard to find quantitative support for the growing number of journal titles. This is due to bibliometric methodology: it relies on databases that do not (and inherently cannot) include all titles. One therefore never knows whether a title did not exist, or was simply not included in a study. For accounts of the exponential growth of the number of articles, see: Vincent Larivière, Éric Archambault & Yves Gingras, 'Long-term patterns in the aging of the scientific literature, 1900-2004', *Proceedings of the 11th Conference of the International Society for Scientometrics and Informetrics* (Madrid, ISSI 2007), pp. 449-456; fig. 1, p. 451.

[77] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, p.97.

[78] Ibid., pp. 190-194, 206; De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, p. 17.

its risk geographically.[79] The German Springer-Verlag, thirdly, established so-called 'bridgeheads', co-publishing agreements and dissemination deals with agents in Europe, the United States, and Asia, to bring their products to new markets through proven-effective local cultures and relationships.[80] Through such strategies, which were often combined as international success got established, the commercial firms gained an advantage over smaller publishing firms as well as university presses and learned societies, which lacked the competitive incentives, economic capital, and staff expertise to attempt internationalisation, but continued to rely on specialised distributors for international dissemination instead.

Due to the overall economic upsurge in Europe, labour costs were rising in all sectors, including publishing;[81] this fuelled the inflation rates and relative devaluation of the dollar. Moreover, paper—and, to a lesser degree, printing ink—also became significantly more expensive due to scarcity.[82] These factors contributed to the production costs for academic publications in Europe. It is not surprising, then, that the prices of academic publications started to rise: the average science journal produced in the United Kingdom became 22% more expensive over the period 1960-1973.[83] Monographs seem to have followed a more modest trend: Meadows reports that monograph prices rose more or less in accordance with the UK Retail Price Index between 1964 and 1975.[84] Nevertheless, science book publishing programmes were cancelled at the large commercial publishing firms. Van Leeuwen convincingly argues that this was due to production costs growing prohibitively high, because of the technological and material investments and specialist staff training necessary for the continued production of high-quality printed books.[85] Also, book production processes are much harder to streamline, and they are thus less attractive for firms seeking to make production more efficient. From all this, I infer that book production must have moved towards smaller, specialized publishers, because the annual title production continued to grow.[86]

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[79] De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, esp. pp. 2–3, 17.

[80] German original: 'Taktik von Brückenköpfe' in Götze, *Der Springer-Verlag*, p. 85.

[81] Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', pp. 265–267.

[82] Altbach, 'Publishing and the Intellectual System', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 421: *Perspectives on Publishing* (September 1975), pp. 1–13; pp. 10–11.

[83] Meadows, 'European science publishing and the United States', p. 241.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', pp. 266–267.

[86] Oda provides general statistics about the general US title production, and argues convincingly that the trade market is stably accounting for about 75% of titles. From that, sustained title growth in professional and scholarly publishing can be induced, although the former grew faster than the latter: Stephanie Oda, 'Growth and change in trade book publishing: What I learned from the numbers', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 63-94; pp. 63–67, esp. Table 1, p. 65. Oxford University Press experienced increased competition from other University Presses in the 1950s and 1960s: Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, p. 273.

A piece of support for this line of reasoning comes from the business history of Leiden-based publisher Brill. This company had traditionally specialized in religious studies and text editions in all languages, and had equipped itself with specialized editors, typesetters and machinery to ensure healthy growth. A remark in the section on the late 'sixties and early 'seventies confirms:

> Brill was also seeing a continual increase in the number of manuscripts it received, because other publishing houses were less and less interested in specialized works with small print runs. Other publishers' lust for profit during the economic boom had the effect of strengthening Brill's position in its traditional niche market.[87]

This quote and Van Leeuwen's analysis illustrate the changing context for monograph production, shaped by academic specialisation, changing production processes, and new, competitive business logic that large-scale firms adhered to. Also in the United States, monograph production increasingly shifted to the university presses that saw it as their mission to publish manuscripts commercial publishers would not take on, especially those authored by scholars from their home institution.[88]

Although perhaps not intended as such by either type of firm, the transfer of monograph production from large commercial publishers towards smaller and not-for-profit presses should be seen as more than merely incidental. It was indicative of the developing structural dichotomy which shapes current academic publishing. In the first half of the twentieth century, a diverse ecology of academic publishers had emerged increasingly distinct from the general trade market: university presses, with a clear service-orientation, book programmes, and close ties to their alma mater; learned societies that usually acted as publishers of books and journals in any relatively narrow research domain only; small for-profit publishers, many of them traditionally family businesses, with specialist expertise in text types or subject matter; and larger commercial firms that produced a breadth of products in a range of academic disciplines, at maximal profitability.

After the Second World War, however, the market for international science publications had grown much faster, larger, and much more uniformly than that for published scholarship in the Humanities. Driven by profit motives, the larger corporate firms generally narrowed their focus and came to dominate international STEM-publishing with predominantly journals, leaving the more diverse population of, mostly, smaller commercial and not-for-profit publishing houses producing monographs, as well as various text forms for the SSH-domains in the other market sphere.[89] Academic publishing had become an increasingly specialised field, in the Bourdieusian sense of the term, in the first half of the twentieth century. In the second half, the fields of science publishing on one hand and humanities scholarly publishing on the other drifted further apart, and developed diverging *habitus*.

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[87] Van de Veen, *Brill*, p. 129.

[88] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 108. The notion that university presses would be a venue for scholars from their alma mater is a distinctly American one.

[89] Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press are very significant for humanities monograph publishing; it should be noted that they are outliers in terms of sheer size and turnover, international reach, and diverse lists; see also: Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 88–89; Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*; Hall, *Cambridge University Press*.

Academic publishers themselves seem to have intuited the emerging dichotomy: a small league of internationally active commercial firms initiated the Association of STM Publishers in 1968 to further their specific common interests.[90] They identified three areas of activity: monographs and journals (for graduate level knowledge transfer); text books and manuals (for undergraduate education); and resources for industry, business, and society.[91] In this deliberate alliance, commercial science publishers recognised their *habitus* as distinct from other publishers, even though they still produced monographs: both from the smaller academic presses that had not adopted aggressive journal-oriented tactics or operated in local and national contexts (and languages); and from trade publishing, for which international markets were opening up too, but under completely different business requirements—or field logic (see ch. 2). Although most of the association's founding members at the time still published in a range of disciplines in both science and scholarship, they could not agree on opening up membership for presses that exclusively focused on humanities publishing, precisely because those firms would operate fundamentally differently.[92] While it was initiated to foreground the interests of science publishing, the STM Association and its name thus simultaneously helped reinforce the developing divergence of academia in two cultures, that of Science, Technology, Engineering and Medicine (STEM), versus that of the Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH), which would include the Arts and Law (SSH, A&L).[93]

3. Recession and divergence in the 1970s

If the dichotomy between STEM and SSH in academic publishing had taken shape largely invisibly in the late 1960s, the consequences of their divided field logics became visible in the first economic downturn after the Second World War. It was triggered by long-brewing social unrest: the maturing student population in the United States, born after the war, reproached their government for deliberately sacrificing young soldiers in the Vietnam War, which was in their eyes unnecessarily aggressive and unnecessarily costly. In 1968, the students' disquiet spread to European universities, especially to France (the former colonizer of Vietnam), where it got mixed with general anti-establishment sentiments.[94] The wider electorate in Europe and the United States did not share the youngsters' anti-hierarchical attitude and therefore the colleges got increasingly unpopular.[95] When the United States put the first man on the moon in 1969, public opinion considered the arms race with the USSR won, and called for more restrained spending on research and education.[96] After more than two decades of ceaseless growth and government spending, federal endowments for education in the United States were restricted. This resulted in significant budget cuts for academic libraries, especially.[97] The American research libraries formed a crucial customer base: they spent around 60% of their budgets on European publications,[98] and the European publishers depended heavily on them—at Cambridge University Press, for instance, 80% of US-sales derived from library purchases.[99] The effects of the budget cuts were therefore notable, too: Oxford University Press's profits went abruptly down no less than 75% in 1970;[100] Harvard experienced shrinking sales of about 10% and ended with a serious deficit.[101] The dire situation was deepened by the devaluation of the dollar in 1971 that severely limited American purchasing power; overnight, the libraries lost considerable buying force. In the ensuing Oil Crisis of 1973, governments worldwide had to adopt austerity policies that affected research and library budgets.[102]

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[90] The founding members of the STM Group were: Pergamon, Elsevier, North-Holland, Wiley & Sons, Springer Verlag, McGraw-Hill, Dunod, Pitman, and, significant in light of the previous footnote, Cambridge University Press. See: Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', pp. 265–266; Lex Lefebvre, 'The Story of STM', *Serials* 7.1 (1994), pp. 53–55; p. 53; Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, ch. 9, 'Towards the Internet revolution', pp. 243–263; esp. p. 244.

[91] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 244–245.

[92] Ibid., pp. 245–247.

[93] For the evolving use of the label 'Humanities', see Collini, *What are universities for?*, pp. 61–62. Snow's infamous 1959 lecture is perhaps the first explicit analysis of a dichotomy in academia; since then, the notion has grown omnipresent: Snow, *The Two Cultures*. For a recent work in the same vein that can also be interpreted as an especially vicious attempt at further cordoning off the Humanities, see: Kagan, *The Three Cultures*.

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[94] Van Leeuwen situates the economic downturn in 1968, but that is not correct: the 1968 student protests did not immediately affect international science publishing, but their trickle-down to policy did. Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', pp. 264–265; contrast with the nuance in for instance Edelman, 'Nijhoff in America – Part III', p. 23.

[95] Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, pp. 282–283; Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', p. 204.

[96] Givler, 'University Press publishing in the United States', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 107–120; pp. 110–111; Henderson, 'Diversity and the growth of serious/scholarly/scientific journals', pp. 154–155.

[97] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 181–182.

[98] Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', p. 204.

[99] McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press. Volume 3: New Worlds for Learning* (1873–1972), p. 413.

[100] Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, pp. 286–288

[101] It must be mentioned here that business was precarious at Harvard University Press towards the end of the sixties, too. The sales figures on flourishing markets were impressive, but due to expensive and risky investments in IT, profits remained very modest, around 1%. When the crisis hit, deficits grew enormous, partly due to the high interest the Press had to pay the university for emergency loans. Hall attributes most of these issues to the problematic decisions by leadership of the period: *The Harvard University Press*, pp. 184–188.

[102] Most publishers (including Oxford University Press) seem to have encountered the worst losses over 1974–1975: Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, p. 287. At Harvard University Press, the situation was slightly different, see previous footnote. Perhaps not surprisingly, most business histories of commercial companies brush over these rather unprofitable years quite quickly and dismissively, for instance: De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, pp. 142–156.

Through a series of connected prior developments, these budget cuts impacted disproportionally on smaller and not-for-profit publishers, among which the university and learned society presses. Firstly, the growth of academia in the 1950s and 1960s had provided fertile ground for ever-increasing specialisation of research disciplines into sub-disciplines and specializations—inevitably so, because the growing number of authors produced a vast number of publications that no peer reader could reasonably aspire to keep up with.[103] This specialisation had first elated publishers, because it allowed them to drastically increase the number of journals and monographs supplied to the market, despite growing cost levels. When the economic tide ebbed, however, the lagging number of monograph copies sold per-title became a cause for concern, and publishers remarked that their journals struggled and took ever longer to reach break-even.[104] Illustratively, *Biochimica et Biophysica Acta*, Elsevier's most successful journal, had grown from 1250 subscriptions in 1955 to 2650 subscriptions in 1965—yet in 1980 counted only 2100 subscribers.[105]

As a second factor, it should be noted that the commercial firms had adopted policies of deliberate twigging and specialisation, accompanied by strategic rejection policies to artificially increase the exclusivity of specific journal titles. Because of specialisation and the growing 'shelf weight' of the journals, they rationalised and enforced price rises estimated at an annual 13%—far above consumer price index level—from the mid-1960s onward.[106] Extent and specialisation may have been factors, but the price hikes certainly also were an instrument to obtain larger profits and ensuing dividends for the publishing firms' shareholders.[107] The university presses and learned societies, free from such direct capitalist pressures, had not followed either strategy, as it went directly against their idealist mission to refrain from publishing quality material or to profit unduly from knowledge dissemination—and it perhaps was just not part of their managerial repertoire.[108] They thus operated with much more narrow margins, and therefore often lacked the financial reserves to accommodate lagging sales.

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[103] For this reason, Philip Altbach describes specialization as "endemic in academe", 'Publishing and the intellectual system', p. 11.

[104] Altbach, 'Publishing and the intellectual system', p. 11; Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', p. 265. Andriesse states that '[s]etting up journals had never been difficult, and nor was it now, but setting up truly profitable ones in the 1970s proved no longer possible'; *Dutch Messengers*, p. 210.

[105] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 97–98.

[106] Andriesse suggests that price raises at Elsevier were an unintended side-effect for the publisher, too, originating from the fact that the number of pages for each journal could not be accurately predicted, but this seems overly naïve (see also Givler's and Thompson's analysis, references in the next footnote); *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 211–212.

[107] Givler, 'University Press publishing in the United States', p. 112; Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 98. Jagodzinsky even attributes commercial publishers' shareholders' profit motive as main cause for price rises: Jagodzinsky, 'The University Press in North America', p. 7.

[108] Thompson suggests both factors played a role, especially in the US: *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 167–170. Andriesse remarks in the same vein that such business tactics worked as long as the university and learned society presses could not beat Elsevier and like firms in their efficiency of the publication process and accuracy of market estimations: *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 208–213.

This narrowness of their margins became particularly dire in combination with the fact that the smaller and not-for-profit publishers were predominantly active in the SSH domains. Once library budgets were frozen, the institutions had to become more selective in acquisitioning research publications. Yet, because of the substitutive nature of research results in the empirical sciences, they could ill afford to cancel subscriptions to core-journals in STEM fields, however expensive or exclusive. Moreover, the STEM research infrastructure included not just libraries, but also expensive laboratories that had been built over the course of decades; these prior investments made it seem particularly wasteful to forego updating and maintenance.[109] The austerity measures thus predominantly affected the sales of monographs, translations, and 'peripheral journals' for library collections, as these text types were typically not included in a deliberately planned infrastructure. This is to say that the Humanities were particularly affected.[110]

In response to diminishing acquisitions, the collaborating research libraries in the United States and Europe developed co-ordinated networks for interlibrary loans (ILL), as a means to bundle their purchasing powers—which probably caused a further reduction of acquisitions in its turn.[111] With statistics from the eighty member institutions of the American Association for Research Libraries (ARL), Henderson calculates that the ratio between interlibrary loans and collection size doubled in the years 1974–1998—from which he concludes that libraries increasingly rely on access rather than ownership.[112] Henderson supports his own observations with reports from library service provider OCLC, which reported a fivefold increase in ILL-requests between 1978 and 1989.[113]

These interlibrary loan systems may have been a factor in declining demand by individual buyers of books and journal subscriptions, too, as readers could now temporarily access literature at their institutional library as well as its networked partners. Moreover, the wide adoption of photocopying, in the United States formally permitted through the Fair Use Exception in copyright, allowed them to duplicate borrowed texts to keep.[114] More detrimental to the sales of research publications to individuals than loans and photocopies, however, were the rising cost levels of research publications combined with the ongoing proliferation of titles. These joint developments left academics exasperated as they felt it was becoming impossible to obtain the full breath of relevant materials in any case, and certainly not at the high prices. As a result of relative price rises and title proliferation thus fewer copies of journals and monographs were sold to both individuals and institutions.[115]

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[109] Givler, 'University Press publishing in the United States', p. 112.

[110] Edelman, 'The growth of scholarly and scientific libraries', pp. 205–206; Meadows, 'European science publishing and the United States', p. 243. With 'peripheral', Meadows rather condescendingly denotes journals in other languages than English and/or with national, instead of international, importance.

[111] Van Leeuwen, 'The decisive years for international science publishing in the Netherlands after the Second World War', p. 265.

[112] Henderson, 'The library collection failure quotient', *Journal of Academic Librarianship* 26.3 (2000), pp. 159–170; pp. 162–167, esp. table 1.

[113] Henderson, 'Diversity and the growth of serious/scholarly/scientific journals', pp. 155–156.

[114] Photocopying had become gradually established since the invention of the commercial office photocopy machine by Xerox in 1959, and had become standard library equipment by 1970. The US Fair Use Exception dates from 1976. Henderson, 'Diversity and the growth of serious/scholarly/scientific journals', pp. 152-156; Altbach, 'Publishing and the Intellectual System', p. 12.

Although the sales of scholarly texts stagnated, the stream of manuscripts supplied for publication did not slow at all: academia had grown in size and in competitiveness, and had introduced formal or informal publication requirements for its aspiring and permanent employees. The most estimable university presses were in the luxury position to accept only the best works of scholarship, but struggled operationally as the selection of manuscripts took so much time that publication processes got increasingly congested.[116] Moreover, they were torn between catering for the increasingly specialist scholarly disciplines with small reading audiences, and titles aimed at a broader audience for which they experienced fierce competition from the trade.[117] At Oxford University Press, such considerations led to an organised introspection by the so-called Waldock Committee, whose recommendations laid the foundation for significant business restructurings.[118] Many other university presses, especially those in the United States, retained their service-oriented mission to publish works of scholarship produced by their maternal institution's staff.[119] Therefore, they did initially not approach the increased supply of manuscripts as an issue to develop a business strategy for—they simply continued to publish dissertations and monographs, even when sales fell short. The title production of American university presses continued to grow significantly in the years 1975–2000—i.e. after the economic downturn.[120]

A quantified analysis of monograph sales exemplifies the difficult circumstances in which the presses operated. Assessments of monograph print-runs in its heydays diverge, depending on the type of publishers and the field of publication. In his study of the American university presses, Jagodzinsky mentions an average of 800 copies sold towards the end of the 1960s;[121] Pinter and Thompson both include commercial publishers of scholarly monographs in their analyses and arrive at estimates of approximately 2500 copies printed per title by 1970.[122] It must be noted that such large print runs may include significant overprinting, which was not uncommon in the favourable economic tide up to 1973. On the one hand, publishers then anticipated near-future market growth, and relied on the fact that academic books had a relatively long shelf-life.[123] Illustratively, Cambridge University Press even derived 75% of its revenue from backlist sales in the 1960s.[124] On the other hand, offset printing and budgeting on economies of scale made overprinting look attractive: the initial start-up costs for a title in offset are so high that the total amount differs little for 500 or for 1000 copies. In a print-run of 1000, the per-copy cost for a book is so much lower, that publishers were easily duped to think that they would be able to sell it for a significant per-copy margin. Instigated by the practice of overprinting, unsold copies were habitually remaindered.

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[115] Although the *overall turnovers* of publishing firms showed only minor contractions in the economic downturn of the 1970', the *margins per title* have become much smaller, especially at university presses. A similar trend, of rising title production coupled with lower per-title sales, can currently be observed in trade publishing.

[116] Hall explains, from the time that he himself was an editor at Harvard University Press (1960–1973), that the congestion was significant because for a positive decision to publish, the editor, the director, and the board of syndics had to concur successively: *Harvard University Press*, p.156.

[117] Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, pp. 273–276.

[118] The committee was formed in 1967, when business went well, but there was growing unease among the syndics about the balance between specialist scholarly monographs and books for general curiosity; the report with 38 recommendations came out in 1970, when the crisis had hit and profits plummeted. OUP's operations were restructured in 1973. Sutcliffe, *The Oxford University Press*, pp. 282–285.

[119] It is telling for the broad support for such a mission that Wilson, the publisher at Harvard University Press, reportedly did not allow for 'poaching' of promising authors from other universities with their own presses—he would want them to publish 'at home'. Hall, one of his employees, also anecdotally reports Wilson's outrage when Chicago University Press called upon successful Harvard authors in the early seventies: Hall, *Harvard University Press*, p. 160.

[120] Elisabeth A. Jones & Paul N. Courant, 'Monographic purchasing trends in academic libraries: Did the "serials crisis" really destroy the university press?', J*ournal of Scholarly Publishing* 46.1 (2014), pp. 43–70; esp. fig 1 p.55, pp. 60–61.

Despite the differences in methodologies for assessing the bloom of the most profitable years, however, all agree that numbers have dwindled since: around 1990, as few as 400 copies of a typical monograph would sell.[125] Smaller figures, around 200 copies, seem to be the current market estimate.[126] Thompson arrives at a slightly higher sales estimate of 500 to 900 copies per title, but it must be taken into account that these figures are by now fifteen years old.[127] Moreover, they come from an anonymized analysis of two university presses, and thus may represent above-average performance, or inadvertently include academic-trade, trade, or textbook titles.[128] In any case, shrinking print runs have caused prices to rise even further in a vicious spiral, as fixed initial costs will have to be recouped through a smaller number of sales. In the early 1970s, the surging inflation moreover caused another significant problem with warehoused stock with a long shelf-life: the books now devaluated more quickly than costs could be recovered, and therefore the publishers had to make significant inventory write-offs much sooner than they were accustomed to.[129]

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[121] Jagodzinsky, 'The University Press in North America', pp. 7–8.

[122] Pinter estimates print runs of 2000–3000 copies: 'Development of book publishing business models and finances', in: Robert Campbell, Ed Pentz & Ian Borthwick (eds.), *Academic and Professional Publishing* (Oxford: Chandos, 2012), pp. 171–194; p. 172. Thompson mentions 2500 copies typically sold: *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 93.

[123] Thompson explains the phenomenon of overprinting, and even argues that publishers did not monitor their sales carefully in the heydays of the 1960s: *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 93–94. Note, however, that despite this he explicitly mentions 2500 copies sold, not printed, on average in the 1970s (p. 93).

[124] McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press. Volume 3: New Worlds for Learning* (1873–1972), p. 386. Although this figure is illustrative, Cambridge University Press is an outlier in the field of university presses, among other factors because it derives significant parts of its turnover from bibles, and from English language teaching (ELT), the sales of which are very stable.

[125] Pinter mentions typical print runs of 200-600 copies and uses 400 sales in her example calculations (before 2012): 'Development of book publishing business models and finances', pp. 184–185. Jagodzinsky also presents typically about 400 copies sold: 'The University Press in North America', pp. 7–8. Estimates up to 500 copies, but many much lower, can be found by various contributors in: Mary M. Case (ed.), *The Specialized Scholarly Monograph in Crisis, Or, How Can I Get Tenure If You Won't Publish My Book?* (Washington [DC]: Association of Research Libraries 1999).

[126] Caren Milloy, 'Innovative approaches to publishing open access monographs – It's not business as usual', JISC Blog (11 july 2013). Informal enquiry to Stephanie Paalvast confirmed 200–300 copies for Brill (private conversation at Brill, 15 April 2019). In a quote from publishing veteran and librarian Robert Darnton: "It used to be, when I was at Princeton in the early to mid 1980s, we would estimate that university libraries would buy 800 copies of a new book—you could count on that. Now that number is down to about 300, and in certain niches, like colonial Latin American history, maybe half that.' In: Craig Lambert, 'The "Wild West" of academic publishing: The troubled present and promising future of scholarly communication', *Harvard Magazine* 2015.01 (January/February 2015), n.pag.

[127] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 93–97.

Journal subscription rates continued to rise too, and often much more steeply than those of monographs. Depending on the geographical market and the academic discipline, estimations arrive at annual journal price rises between 4% and 13% until well into the 1990s.[130] Journals in the STEM-fields have got relatively more expensive than those in the SSH-disciplines, because they have grown in size more quickly. Moreover, corporate publishers have not hesitated to exploit the inelastic demand for science publications, and have raised their subscription rates much more steeply than learned societies and university presses.[131] Counter-intuitively, however, those smaller publishers with more diverse lists have been affected by these developments most severely: as libraries do not readily cancel science journals, larger shares of library budgets had to be dedicated to those subscriptions, leaving disproportionally shrinking allotments for publications in the social sciences and Humanities, including monographs.

4. Reformation and consolidation from the 1980s

As the balance between the supply of and demand for academic publications was thus unsettled, STEM-academic publishers sought to remedy the effects by optimizing the production processes and consolidating the business structures of their firms in the

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[128] First, Thompson mentions that about 500 monograph copies were typically sold in 2005 (*Books in the Digital Age*, p. 93); he then presents two anonymized examples from university presses, the sales figures of which can be extrapolated to 47% of titles in SSH-fields selling under 625 copies, and 85% under 890 copies (pp. 95–97). He does not comment on the differences between these numbers. Stieg Dalton also reports on 500 copies as sales average for university presses, but as with Thompson, this number may include textbooks and trade titles: Margaret Stieg Dalton, 'The publishing experiences of historians', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 39.3 (2008), pp. 197–219; p. 211.

[129] Hall explains that Harvard University Press could not uphold its policy for writing off inventory only after six years, because the press ran in debt: *Harvard University Press*, p. 188. At Cambridge University Press, a ten-year cover-cost window was the standard and proved much too long with rising inflation: McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press. Vol.3*, pp. 385–386.

[130] Taubert & Weingart mention journal price rises of 200–300% in Europe in the period 1975–1995, which can be recalculated to 3.6%–5.7% annually: 'Changes in scientific publishing: A heuristic for analysis', in: Peter Weingart & Niels Taubert (eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Publishing: Open Access and the Economics of Digitisation* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2017), pp. 1–33; p. 14. The figures come from: Patrick Legros, Victor Ginsburgh & Mathias Dewatripont, *Study on the Economic and Technical Evolution of the Scientific Publication Markets in Europe* (European Commission, January 2006). Thompson cites older data (published in *Logos* 9.1, 1998) and claims that journals were thirty times as expensive in 1997 than in 1970, an annual increase of 13%; *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 98.

[131] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 100–101. Taubert, 'Recent processes of change from the perspective of academic publishers', in: Peter Weingart & Niels Taubert (eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Publishing: Open Access and the Economics of Digitisation* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2017), pp. 69–94; esp. pp. 74–75.

1980s and 1990s. These firms were especially sensitive to consolidation, because of the high level of investments needed for the publishing and printing technologies, quick production cycles, and large-scale production of journals.[132] Such investments could more steadily be supplied by larger corporations. Academia itself had meanwhile also internationalised, and especially in journal publishing the English titles had gained ground.[133] For management and shareholders, large-scale, streamlined publishing processes were attractive because of their transparency.

The new instrument of choice to enlarge the firms' operating scales for many academic publishers was conglomeratisation: mergers with and take-overs of other publishing firms. Springer, for instance, already active in Berlin and Heidelberg took over Birkhäuser, active in Basel and Boston, in 1985, and soon followed through with a series of takeovers of other German, Austrian and Swiss book distributors and publishers.[134] Furthermore, it transformed some of its 'bridgeheads' in other countries to full-fledged satellite offices that published locally-acquired academic materials.[135] Crossing the Atlantic in the other direction, SAGE, an American relative newcomer (since 1965) specialising in social sciences journals, handbooks and reference works, followed a similar strategy: its London office had been active as a distributor since 1971, but turned to publishing British and European research in 1981. A SAGE New Delhi office was set up in that same year to act as a distributor while building infrastructure to commence publishing in India several years later.[136] In the Netherlands, law-publisher Kluwer, already the merged result of several smaller firms, became the object of a duel between Elsevier and Wolters Samson that both wanted to acquire it; the race was won by the latter and led to the establishment of Wolters Kluwer in 1987.[137] Elsevier then deliberately set out for targets abroad to enlarge its position in the international market instead. With the take-over of Oxford-based Pergamon Press in 1991 the firm doubled in size; in 1993, it merged as an equal with British publisher Reed.[138]

This process of international mergers and acquisitions in the academic publishing industry has continued since the 1990s, as highlights in the recent histories of the top-five largest academic publisher illustrate. SAGE continued to acquire publishing firms as well as publishing programmes from for instance learned societies, and through this process strategically sought access to the STEM-markets in what the company itself brands 'a period of accelerated growth', between 1995 and 2005.[139] Taylor & Francis went public on the London Stock Exchange in 1998 and in the same year bought Routledge, which had a large publishing list in the Humanities and whose brand name is yet retained as an imprint. The company reported a total revenue of €590 million in 2017.[140] Wiley-Blackwell was established through a merger of the two companies that constitute its name in 2007; in the decade before, John Wiley & Sons had already grown significantly through acquisitions of several smaller publishers.[141] Springer-Verlag was bought by Bertelsmann, a trade media concern, in 1998 and resold in 2003; mergers with a part of the Dutch Kluwer concern in 2004 and with the majority of the Nature Publishing Group and Palgrave-Macmillan in 2015 ultimately reshaped it to Springer Nature which reported revenues of €1.6 billion in 2017.[142] Reed Elsevier, now known as the RELX Group, is the largest with its 2017-turnover exceeding €8.3 billion. Its impressive list of acquisitions in the last three decades comprises other publishers, information service companies, and start-ups in software and data technology.[143]

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[132] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 60–61.

[133] Götze reports, however, that Sprinter still published 40% of its titles in German by 1994: *Der Springer-Verlag*, p. 77. However, Springer seems to be an exception to the rule of the field, and this proportion would diminish quickly in the years to come.

[134] Ibid, pp. 198–203.

[135] Ibid., pp. 221–224.

[136] *The SAGE-story*, pp. 13–15, 22–23.

[137] For extensive coverage of the bidding wars, yet markedly from the perspective of Kluwer, see: De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, pp. 183–207.

[138] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 260–263; Taubert & Weingart, 'Changes in scientific publishing'.

[139] *The SAGE-story*, pp. 33–41 (quote from p. 33). Later, SAGE acquired for instance the journals of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers in 2010, and most journals from the Royal Society of Medicine in 2012.

The enlarged scale of these academic publishing firms exacerbated the effects outlined above (sections 3.2 and 3.3) of the dichotomy between journal programmes and monograph publishing, and thereby widened the gap between conglomerating STEM-publishing and humanities scholarly publishing, in which smaller firms continue to play a role. Because of their long incubation times and distinct production processes, that leave little room for scaling up, and small margins, books could no longer be produced by the conglomerating corporate firms. Monographs, and therefore humanities scholarly publishing, thus became causally connected predominantly to smaller and non-commercial publishing organisations. Meanwhile, publication practices shifted away from books and towards quick-circulating journals in economy, psychology and other disciplines from the Social Sciences.[144] The publishing field changed accordingly: the large conglomerate publishers incorporated Social Sciences journal publishing in their streamlined fleets of titles, and firms with a strong presence in social sciences publishing, such as Sage, started behaving more like the STEM conglomerates.[145]

Moreover, as can be inferred from the examples above, this process of subsequent mergers and acquisitions is by no means unique to academic publishing: trade publishing has also become increasingly internationalised and conglomerated.[146] Even though the small-scale academic publishers in the SSH do not all compete directly with trade publishers, the increasingly competitive general trade market proved to be another complication, as hybrid trade-academic titles had traditionally helped humanities monograph publishers generate an alternative stream of income that now became less readily available.[147]

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[140] Taylor & Francis became administratively part of Informa in 2004, but continues independently as its academic publishing branch.

[141] Wiley had merged with VCH in 1996, and had acquired Van Nostrand Reinhold (1997), Hungry Minds (2001), and Whatsonwhen (2006) among others: Weingart & Taubert, *The Future of Scholarly Publishing*, pp. 73–75.

[142] Ibid, pp. 70–73; see also 'Springer: Driving academic publishing since 1842', Springer.com: https://www.springer.com/gp/about-springer/history [accessed 16 January 2019].

[143] RELX Group website: https://www.relx.com/our-business/our-business-overview [accessed 16 January 2019]; Richard Morais, 'Double Dutch no longer', *Forbes* (11 November 2002), n.pag.

[144] Such a shift can be observed in bibliometrics, because coverage in the Web of Science increases for the fields that move more to journal publishing, and for which journal publishing shifts to larger firms. See: Thed van Leeuwen, 'The application of bibliometric analyses in the evaluation of Social Sciences research: Who benefits from it, and why it is still feasible', *Scientometrics* 66.1 (2006), pp. 133–154; esp. pp. 135–141.

[145] *The Sage Story*, pp. 33–41.

As the macro-economic tides continued to affect the academic publishing field in waves, technological developments were on a steady march, albeit not a linear one.[148] Publishers had benefited from electronic type-setting, a very time-consuming task, since the later 1960s.[149] Cautious explorations with computers and digital services, such as databases for collection management and acquisition programs, had been initiated by publishers and libraries from the 1960s onwards, in optimistic bursts of experiments.[150] These were not always successful: at Harvard University Press, an experiment with automated sales proved a rather costly failure of 266,000 dollars spent between 1968 and 1972, when it was terminated.[151] Forced by the austerity measures in a constricted market after the Oil Crisis, experiments continued in a more modest pace, yet increasingly structural fashion.

At first, digital end-products were not the objective of these deliberate technological applications yet:[152] from the 1980s onwards, publishers initially aimed to digitize information flows for company management, such as the bibliographical metadata and sales reports, as they were searching for increased managerial efficiency and cost reductions.[153] As desktop computers and operating systems grew more user-friendly, editorial workflows transitioned to the digital machine as well, as Thompson describes in quite some detail.[154] Such business developments required significant investments in hardware, software, infrastructure, and considerable staff training from publishers. Whereas the transition to computer-assisted business management was essential, not all publishing firms would, or could, afford the substantial expenses necessary for the transformation of their publication processes. Instead, they sought to outsource specialist activities, such as typesetting and printing—and new partners, especially in low-wage countries, rose to the occasion.[155]

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[146] Thompson argues that consolidation was present in all media industries: *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 54–59. Although industries other than publishing lie beyond the scope of both Thompson's and the current analysis, I believe that consolidation and upscaling can be observed in many industries outside the media domains as well since the 1980s.

[147] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 61.

[148] Ralph M. Shoffner remarked that the developments are not linear, not even meandering, but more labyrinthine: 'So I began with the thought of tracing the evolution of computer and electronic products in libraries from their inception to the present day. As I got further into the data, I realized that the path of development has not been straightforward. Indeed, the path has been more than crooked; it resembles a maze. In some cases, opportunities and logical paths of development have been missed or for some reason, not taken; in others, technical solutions that seem less elegant have won the day.' In: 'Appearance and growth of computer and electronic products in libraries'; in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 209–255; p. 209.

[149] Note that there was no electronic connection between editorial production and printing at that time. Therefore, print proofs produced on specific proofing presses were type-set electronically and then printed in larger print-runs on production presses. See Frania Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing: An Introduction to the Digital Book and Journal Industries* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 7–13; Peter Adams, 'Technology in publishing: A century of progress', in: Richard E. Abel & Lyman W. Newlin, *Scholarly Publishing: Books, Journals, Publishers, and Libraries in the Twentieth Century* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2002), pp. 29–39; pp. 31, 33–34; Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, p. 121.

[150] Shoffner, 'Appearance and growth of computer and electronic products in libraries', p. 211.

[151] Hall, *Harvard University Press*, p. 188.

[152] A notable exception is *Excerpta Medica Abstracts Journals*. This had existed as a journals database run by Dutch physicians since 1946. After Elsevier bought it (in 1972) and rebranded it to EMBASE, electronic user access became available from 1974.

The paper end product long remained the only objective of publishing, while digital files of various types were initially seen as the residual products of internal editorial and management processes. Only from the 1990s onwards, the realisation dawned on publishers that digital content and metadata formed the most valuable asset to their firms.[156] Standardised digital files could be used as inexhaustible sources for iterations of product instances, i.e., different paper editions of a text, as well as digital end-products, for which carriers, such as CD ROMs, were being developed. Yet systematic workflows for archiving digital files were still to be developed; it did not help that that those files were still stored on physical carriers that were going obsolete, like floppy disks.[157] Even at larger publishing firms, the lack of attention to proper management of digital files from the early days was lamented, as if often meant content was lost, or conversion and emulation software had to be developed to work with not-updated digital files.[158] The files belonging to smaller presses often resided with intermediaries and subcontracted parties to which they had outsourced the complex digital production processes. This must have entailed significant losses for those publishers, while they also ran behind in gaining digitization knowhow.

The World Wide Web (WWW) had been in existence since January 1991, but the development of user-friendly browsers in the mid-1990s as well as the lifting of commercial use restrictions since 1995 have proven essential preconditions for the commercial dissemination of digital text. The rise of the WWW gave rise to predictions of a veritable revolution for electronic books and journals.[159] Libraries had been buying digital products before this time as well, for instance reference works to be accessed via CD-ROMs, but the required investments had proven prohibitively high for most but the largest academic libraries.[160] The transition of the journal to the online medium was crucial for user-uptake. Initially, the electronic versions of journals appeared alongside the paper product, and library's subscriptions often included both versions of the text. Yet as end-users proved increasingly capable, willing and satisfied to process digital articles, it was an attractive proposition for libraries to cut the paper copy and save both money and storage space. In reaction to the diminishing demand for them, publishers are still increasingly abandoning print journals altogether, which contributes to more streamlined production processes as well as significant savings. For the large science-publishing conglomerates, such as Elsevier, paper products have become insignificant: they depend on 'well-managed fleets of digital journals' as well as digital datasets and derivative products.[161] Especially with niche publishers in the Humanities, the production and dissemination of print journal copies continues to private subscribers, but on a limited scale mostly.[162] However, researchers' workflows no longer depend on paper journals, and neither do publishers' business models.[163]

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[153] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 309–317; esp. p. 313.

[154] First, typesetting transformed into desktop publishing; authors' word processing skills developed later and with trial-and-error, as did digital copy-editing and versioning, although both got significantly easier with Microsoft Word. PDF came to replace photomechanical creation of offset plates after 1995. Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 406–412.

[155] Taubert, 'Recent processes of change from the perspective of academic publishers', p. 79; Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 111–112.

[156] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 314, 412. Thompson suggests that digitization 'encouraged [...] publishers to think hard about what their distinctive contribution to the value chain actually is', because it emphasized that producing print is certainly not it (p. 314).

[157] Ibid., p. 412.

[158] Ibid., p. 413.

[159] Thompson gives examples of jubilant forecasts by consultancy firms such as Pricewaterhouse-Coopers and Arthur Andersen, some commissioned by the publishing field: *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 310. See also: Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, pp. 134–141.

In comparison with journal articles, however, digital monographs are met with much less enthusiasm by the end users, for various reasons. From a practical perspective, extensive linear texts are difficult to process by reading on-screen, and flexible formats that facilitate reading, such as the ePub, are not well-suited to academic use for citations and references. Symbolically, the book has specific values attached to it that are not easily reconciled with a digital form. The exceptional position of the monograph in the Humanities has been depicted in chapter 1, and typical use patterns for monographs can explain scholars' adherence to the paper form.[164] Although the publisher's technological expertise puts him in an indispensable position for the development of digital products, scholarly users ultimately control and direct the movement to 'liberate the monograph from the constraints of print', by formulating new functionalities for the book in the research process.[165] As the current analysis targets the publishers' position in the field of scholarly publishing, it should here suffice to highlight some of the reasons why monograph publishers continue to experiment with digital formats and electronic delivery of books regardless of yet-limited and often mercurial user uptake.

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[160] A consortium of 11 publishers, among which Springer, Blackwell, Pergamon, and Elsevier, and 11 libraries, among which the British Library, the Central Medical Library in Cologne, and the University of California Berkeley Library, had been pondering on an electronic document delivery service since 1980. However, the costs for producing content (on the publishers' side) as well as retrieving it (in the libraries) had only by 1987 come down enough to actually initiate a pilot project for this. ADONIS, as the project was called, was a document delivery service supplying full-text copies of articles from over 200 then-current biomedical journals, stored on CD-ROM. Even in 1987, it was only feasible with significant innovation subsidies from public bodies as well as publishers' collective investments. See: Constance Orchard, 'ADONIS and electronically stored information', *The Serials Librarian* 15:3–4 (1988), pp. 85–91, esp. pp. 85–86; Götze, *Der Springer-Verlag*, p. 257.

[161] David Green & Rod Cookson, 'Publishing and communication strategies', in: Campbell, Pentz & Borthwick, *Academic and Professional Publishing*, pp. 99–144; p. 136.

[162] Esposito nuances this: "Print plays a far larger role in SSH than in STM. In part, this is a function of the greater role of books in SSH": Joseph J. Esposito, 'The Market for Social Sciences and Humanities publications', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (17 September 2018), n.pag.

[163] This is not to say that researchers do not use paper anymore—in fact, they do, especially for intensive reading: Michael L. Newman & John Sack, 'Information workflow of academic researchers in the evolving information environment: an interview study', *Learned Publishing* 26.2 (2013), pp. 123–131, esp. p. 128. Rather, researchers do not use a publisher's printed copy of journals, but typically (70%!) turn out separate articles on office laser printers: Carol Tenopir, Donald W. King, Sheri Edwards & Lei Wu, 'Electronic journals and changes in scholarly article seeking and reading patterns', *Aslib Proceedings* 61.1 (2009), pp. 5–32, esp. pp. 17–18.

[164] Humphreys et al., *Reimagining the Digital Monograph*, pp. 11–15.

From a business perspective, Thompson points to book publishers' eagerness to imitate the success of digital journals, in the large firms and in their own lists, and the prolonged search for a new source of revenue to compensate for the shrunken market.[166] He also argues that monograph publishers would be afraid of losing the opportunity for digital books to start-ups, or other new entrants to the market, especially because such newcomers had been heavily investing in IT.[167] Although the quest for sustainably profitable business models in monograph publishing continues, these motivations seem not fully convincing in the economic reality. A stronger incentive may lie in the attraction of e-books from the perspective of research libraries' acquisition strategies: the libraries save on physical storage space and the books can be delivered to end-users online (with all the advantages of the digital medium). Individuals' book-buying habits differ culturally between research disciplines, but in general, research libraries are currently responsible for the majority of demand in the market for monographs.[168] Their buying behaviour thus strongly influences publishers' production strategies: experiments with print-on-demand, pay-per-view, patron-driven-acquisition of e- and p-copies, and other business models are primarily directed at libraries and other institutional buyers.[169] Although none of these new models has proven universally viable yet, it has been established that digital accessibility of a title usually improves its print sales, which is another reason for publishers to continue offering it.[170] Currently, many monographs exist simultaneously in online and printed form; currently, typically 20% of the investment in book production at university presses is directed towards production and dissemination of printed copies, albeit usually in limited print runs.[171]

Despite the modest numbers of per-copy sales, the number of monograph titles produced is still consistently rising. In some humanities subfields, the proportion of books in the total landscape of publications even seems to be increasing, despite the fact that the number of journals and articles have also risen strongly in the last two decades.[172] Although a large title production tends to be interpreted as a sign of a flourishing book trade, Thompson warns us that in the case of scholarly monographs, it may actually be a disconcerting signal of market saturation.[173] In general, he argues that a broad title production would lead to a shorter shelf-life for monographs: the more books come out, the more quickly a monographic study is likely succeeded by a similar, but more recent one—and simply by any new title demanding attention. And although new humanities research is usually complementary to older studies instead of outdating them, the most recent title does have the best sales position. The large title production thus turns book publishers' business models to focus on quick throughput instead of steady sellers. Thompson supports this argument by describing book sales patterns at his sample selection of university presses: 80% of sales occur in the first year after publication, a further 15% in year-two—a few copies are sold after that, but hardly ever beyond the seven-year window.[174] Comparison with the much longer shelf-lives of the twentieth century indeed points to shortening cycles.

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[165] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 332–333.

[166] Ibid., p. 330.

[167] Ibid., pp. 309–310, 331.

[168] Ibid., p. 86.

[169] Taubert, 'Recent processes of change from the perspective of academic publishers', pp. 79–82.

[170] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 370.

[171] Withey et al., 'Sustaining scholarly publishing', p. 401.

[172] Esposito, 'The market for Social Sciences and Humanities publications'; Engels, Ossenblok & Spruyt, 'Changing publication patterns in the Social Sciences and Humanities', p. 373, 386–387. Taubert &

Thompson adds the changing role of the retailer to the exacerbating factors for American university presses. The super-sized book retailers that have risen since the 1990s have been pushing for a broader title production to fill their extensive display-shelf space, supposedly their main attraction. Thompson argues that university presses have met that request, but have got confronted with increasingly significant and problematic returns of unsold stock.[175] I wonder about the weight of this specific effect. The problem does not exist in markets without super-sized retailers—nor in most countries with their own national language, in which scholarly monographs in English tend not to be disseminated via general retail bookstores.

Yet beyond the role of retailers, the abundance of publications remains an issue. After all, library acquisition budgets have to be allocated over a growing number of monographs combined with an also growing number of articles, published in a proliferation of journals in both STEM and SSH research.[176] Moreover, price rises for journal subscriptions have not slowed down at all: a conservative comparison of estimates by Taubert & Weingart arrives at an annual 5-8% increase of subscription

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Weingart claim that academic journal article production currently grows 9% annually: 'Changes in scientific publishing', pp. 18–21.

[173] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 54.

[174] Ibid., pp. 94–98.

[175] Thompson reports that return rates for American monographs and textbooks by University Presses had risen to 22% in 2002; *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 170–174.

[176] Based on indexed journals in the Web of Science and research evaluation databases, academic journal publishing annually grows with 9% on average, which means roughly a doubling in size per decade: Taubert and Weingart 'Changes in scientific publishing', p.20; Tenopir & King report 39,565 journals in 2003 versus 69.262 in 2008, which equals a growth of 9.1% per year: Carol Tenopir & Donald W. King, 'The growth of journals publishing', in: Bill Cope & Angus Phillips (eds.), *The Future of the Academic Journal* (2nd edition, Oxford: Chandos, 2014), pp. 159–178; table p. 167. Ossenblok et al. arrive at a much more modest growth of 9-16% for journal publishing in the SSH in the *decade* 2000–2009, which confirms that journal publishing grows much faster in STEM than in SSH disciplines; 'Co-authoring of journal articles and book chapters in the social sciences and humanities (2000–2010)', pp. 883–884.

rates in euros in the period 1986-2006, and 9% for 2008-2010.[177] Thompson cites an annual average increase of over 14% in US dollars, even.[178] Publishers typically justify their rates by necessarily increased investments in digital infrastructure on one hand, and on the other to the very phenomenon of overproduction itself: editors have to process a costly rising tide of submissions—and although they go largely unnoticed by the academic community that buys access to published articles only, the rejected ones cost considerable effort, too.

Despite the widely varying quantifications of title proliferation and price hikes, the qualitative trend can be clearly observed: research libraries will have to spread their budgets very thinly over a growing number of publications. As has been established (section 3.3), it is more urgent for most university libraries to retain subscriptions on STEM-journals than to acquire other types of materials and/or in the SSH-disciplines. Since the 1990s, the rise of the bundle deal, in which libraries subscribe to a large number of journals for a lump-sum subscription fee, has further protected the standing subscriptions to journals.[179] Unable to afford journal subscriptions, but pressured by scientists and publishers against cancelling them either, librarians consider it likely that SSH publications, and monographs in particular, will be the primary victim.[180]

5. Digitization and opposition since the 1990s

The economic downturn of the 1970s directly resulted in a more dire financial position for academic libraries, which restricted their buying behaviour. Indirectly and over the course of the following decades, the economic low also caused a political shift towards neoliberalism, manifested in New Public Management (NPM) of academic research institutions. Because of the tight symbiosis between research and publishing, the rise of NPM did not go unnoticed there either. An extensive economic, sociological or philosophical analysis of neoliberalism and NPM as its instrument goes beyond the scope of the current project.[181] Yet in order to portray the most important consequences for academic publishing, a brief introduction must be given here.

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[177] Taubert & Weingart, 'Changes in scientific publishing', pp. 14–15; they assess earlier estimates, among others in the following study: Patrik Legros, Victor Ginsburgh & Mathias Dewatripont, *Study on the Economic and Technical Evolution of the Scientific Publication Markets in Europe* (European Commission, January 2006).

[178] Thompson reproduces figures from a confidential report by the UK Competition Commission, written for the proposed merger between Reed-Elsevier and Harcourt in 2001: *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 101 (table 4.3). Perhaps the dollar-euro exchange rates account partly for the difference in estimates, or perhaps the Competition Commission calculated the STEM-industry average? Due to the confidentiality of the report, this cannot be verified.

[179] Taubert & Weingart, 'Changes in scientific publishing', p. 15. The term 'Big Deal' for these bundle agreements was coined by: Kenneth Frazier, 'The librarian's dilemma: Contemplating the costs of the "Big Deal"', *D-Lib Magazine* 7.3 (2001), n.pag.

[180] Weingart & Taubert, *The Future of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 97.

[181] See for such extensive analysis for instance: Mark Olssen & Michael A. Peters, 'Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: From the free market to knowledge capitalism', *Journal of Education Policy* 20:3 (2005), pp. 313–345; Hans Radder (ed.), *The Commodification of Academic Research: Science and the Modern University* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010).

Neoliberalism departs from two major traditional liberalist assertions: that individuals are self-interested and rational actors, and that the market is both the practical instrument with which individuals can pursue their interest, and an ideological ideal type.[182] However, it critically distinguishes itself from classical liberalism by adding a third premise: that the government should take an active role in creating optimally equipped individuals as well as optimally working markets, to allow individuals to build up maximum capital towards their interest.[183] Importantly, the definition of markets is not restricted to the trade in physical goods: neoliberalism perceives also markets for services, such as health care, and for intangible goods. In fact, the recognition of knowledge as a form of economic good is one of the most important drivers of international neoliberal policy.[184] The perception of knowledge as economic good leads to the view of research and education as a market. Combined with the legitimisation of political intervention in such markets, this resulted in the instrument of New Public Management, which came to profoundly affect universities and research institutes.

Under neoliberalism, academia is seen as a producer of knowledge, both through teaching and research; it is the designated role of the government to ensure that production in both branches of academia is optimal. To this end, governments have enlarged their influence on academia since the 1980s and 1990s, for instance through increasingly direct control of funding. Because the number of students surged again in the 1980s, and government funding was tied to student enrolment, education became financially more important for universities.[185] Moreover, research funding became externalised as well, and got linked to the performance of universities and research institutes.[186] Because governments are not involved in research or education themselves, but only in managing them, they must rely on reports of performances; to facilitate quick analysis by external managers, such reports increasingly often provide quantified indicators instead of qualitative assessment.[187] Producing publications had already been considered a primary indicator of research productivity, and citations came to be regarded as their validation—bibliometric reports of both were by this time facilitated by well-developed computer technologies. In this way, NPM connects publishing to academic assessment—and through that, to funding—and so confirms publishing's crucial role in academia. However, whereas publication practices had hitherto been mostly controlled by disciplinary communities of peers, now external agents (university management, funding bodies, and national governments) exert unprecedentedly strong pressure.

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[182] Olssen & Peters, 'Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy', pp. 314–315.

[183] Ibid., pp. 318–319.

[184] Ibid., pp. 320–332. Descriptions of neoliberalism often phrase this perception of knowledge as a form of 'capital'. Note that I deliberately avoid this term here, to prevent conflation with the Bourdieusian sense of capital: the neoliberal definition of capital is ultimately economic, in the sense that it supposes that the value of any form of capital can be expressed in financial terms. Bourdieu, contradistinctively, argues that forms of capital carry non-economic value which can be of paramount importance, dependent on the specific *habitus* in a field; conversion to financial gain is certainly not always in the interest of agents. For this reason, Bourdieu implies that fields have a much wider scope than markets —markets can be part of fields, but fields include mechanisms such as hierarchy, dominance and misrecognition that are not present at markets. For a discussion, see: Swartz, *Culture & Power*, pp. 117–121.

[185] Collini, *What Are Universities For?*, pp. 34–36. Becher & Trowler, *Academic Tribes and Territories*, pp. 10–12.

[186] Collini, *What Are Universities For?*, pp. 36–37.

[187] Taubert and Weingart attribute the rise of performance indicators not only to the limited capacities of external managers, but also to an ideological 'crisis of trust' in the 1980s, which caused demands for 'transparency and efficiency': 'Changes in scientific publishing', pp. 11–13. See also: Michael Power, *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999).

The deeper involvement of non-academic managers can be observed in NPM practices that are now ubiquitous at universities.[188] The trust in self-governance of scholarly communities by leadership of senior professionals and a pattern of professional norms has been limited by a hierarchy of external management, controlling through cost centres and contractual specifications. Importantly, Olssen and Peters argue, accountability of scholars has shifted from 'ex-ante' formulation of goals, aims and rules which are all assessed by collaborating peers, to an 'ex-post' system that is based on monitoring outputs and comparing performances in a competitive setting.[189] Scholars know their performance will be compared to that of others at some point, but they cannot know in advance how those others will perform; therefore they will pre-emptively aim to outperform others through maximising their own 'output': producing publications. Communities of peers are now simultaneously pools of competitors, and publishing is the main locus for this competition: this forms a business-like, competitive climate in which researchers must 'publish or perish'.[190]

For university presses, NPM has had similar consequences. They are regarded as departments of the universities they are connected to and therefore increasingly fall under managerial responsibility rather than the executive power of the publisher, or collegial consensus by advisory boards of academics.[191] They too must report on their productivity by generating quantitative indices of it: for instance title production counts and detailed sales reports. Moreover, especially smaller university presses report that they experience managerial emphasis on financial accountability and intensified pressure for self-sustainability.[192] This is a direct result of the neoliberal perception of knowledge as a marketable economic good, above and beyond its intrinsic value.[193]

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[188] Olssen and Peters describe many of these practices, and provide a helpful table of the most important differences between NPM and the preceding form of public management: 'Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy', pp. 326–330; esp. fig.1, p. 329.

[189] Ibid., p. 328.

[190] Origgi considers the rise of scientometrics, audit culture, and the publish-or-perish adage among 'dramatic changes' in research and publishing: 'The new markets of academic reputation', *The Future of Science and Ethics: Rivista Scientifica a Cura del Comitato Etico della Fondazione Umberto Veronesi* 1.2 (2016), pp. 67–76; pp. 67–68.

[191] In the United States, this proportion has risen to about one third of all university presses: Charles Watkinson, 'Why marriage matters: A North American perspective on press/library partnerships', *Learned Publishing* 29.1 (2016), pp. 342–347; p. 343.

[192] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 108–109.

[193] After all, neoliberal theory supposes that the logic of supply and demand will lead to success for the best products on any and every market. In this theory, the market for academic publications—knowledge in material form—should be no exception to this rule, and therefore university presses should be able to function financially independently if they would conform to market demands. However, a

For academic publishing in general, NPM's emphasis on productivity or 'output' has furthered the already rising dominance of journal articles over other publication types such as monographs, through two mechanisms. Firstly, journal articles are much shorter than monographs and can therefore be completed and submitted more quickly. Subsequent review, editing and production processes by publishers also take less time. The resulting shorter publication cycles are very attractive for authors, who want quick results because they are subjected to periodical assessments. Secondly, such assessment is grounded in databases that generally index journals much better than books;[194] therefore, articles optimally help boost scores for quantitative indicators. As the easily-quantifiable publications get over-represented, uncounted contributions to knowledge easily disappear from view: monographs, but also non-English, local, and small journals that are not indexed by the major bibliometric databases, as well as new and still-informal communication in experimental, digital forms.

Publishers continually attune their business to shifting preferences of their customers, academic authors and readers. Especially the large STEM publishing corporations have tapped into the heightened need for performance indicators in academia, by developing online tools for supplying them real-time alongside their publications, or in specific 'dashboards' for individual or managerial use. The large STEM publishers were able to do so because of their prior investments in digital technologies combined with their economies of scale. They now routinely exploit performance indicators as marketing instruments, and, more perniciously, also demonstrably reshape their production to boost their indicator scores.[195] NPM's insistence on quantified research evaluation has therefore enlarged the dominance of the already economically powerful corporations even further.

Research assessment frameworks in NPM have made it increasingly important for scholars to strategically choose for specific publication forms and outlets. Yet still a stubborn image exists of them, even among publishers, as a passive reading audience that only focuses on specialised content and remains blissfully unaware of the mundane market problems in academic publishing.[196] Perhaps the normative framework of

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market for knowledge, if it would exist, is not homogeneous, but divided over disciplines. Some of these have significantly more production capacity and buying power than others, and university presses service predominantly the economically not-so-powerful groups. Moreover, neoliberal ideology completely overlooks disciplinary differences in academia and their influences on supply and demand: the distinction between cumulative research in the Humanities and substitutive research in the STEM fields, for instance, renders demand for publications more urgent in the latter group of disciplines (see also ch. 1., esp. section 4).

[194] Gunnar Sivertsen, 'Scholarly publication patterns in the social science and humanities and their coverage in Scopus and the Web of Science', in: Ed Noyons (ed.), *Context Counts: Pathways to Master Big and Little Data*, Proceedings of the science and technology indicators conference (Leiden, 3–5 September 2014), pp. 598-604.

[195] Pranay Parsuram, *Scientometric indicators and their exploitation by journal publishers*, unpublished MA thesis, supervised by Fleur Praal, MA Book & Digital Media Studies, Leiden University, 2019; esp. pp. 27–42.

[196] Rick Anderson explores attitudes of scholars as well as stereotypes on publishers' perceptions of authors: 'Scholarly-communication reform: Why is it so hard to talk about, and where are the authors?', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (16 May 2016), n.pag. As usual on this weblog, the comments under this post are also very informative.

science, which above all maintains that academia is, or should be, a self-contained and disinterested social system (see ch. 1), indeed plays into the perception that academics should remain distanced from business considerations. Probably, another cause can be found in the observation that academic publications are usually acquired—be they bought or licensed—by institutions such as research libraries, and thus available without individual cost or selection efforts to the end-users.[197] It is, however, a misperception to portray researchers as uninterested in market concerns, both on the supply and on the demand sides of publishing. Academics do inform themselves about the publication practices in their own discipline—they have to, in order to succeed in the field and rise above competitors. In the Bourdieusian sense, knowledge on publication and communication practices is part of the disciplinary *habitus*. Therefore, researchers tend to be aware of publishers' positions and activities in their own field of disciplinary communication—although their discipline-internal orientation might render them prone to mistake specific disciplinary practices as representative for academia as a whole. Scholars react against publishers' practices that would disadvantage them.

An early example of such a reaction can be found on Elsevier's policy of setting extra subscription fees in hindsight if journal size exceeded plans, from the 1960s onwards. As quoted by Andriesse, not just librarians, but also prominent professors (who directly influenced librarians' acquisition policies) reacted first with irritation and later growing resistance against such pricing tactics.[198] In a similar alliance with a stakeholder group that usually has diverging interests, scholars joined the protest initiated by lawyers, the professional audience for research publications, against publication prices and Wolters Kluwer's monopolist profits in the 1990s.[199] Despite some coverage in news media, such protests seem to have remained relatively invisible and of limited consequence, except in the affected research communities themselves. In general, the publishing business with its patterns of mergers and business take-overs, and the resulting value for shareholders, usually attracted positive attention in news media and public opinion until the end of the twentieth century.[200]

By that time, however, NPM-practices had foregrounded academia's large and still-growing expenditures on publications. As these constitute a significant transfer of public assets to private-sector publishers in the form of university funding and library budgets, neoliberal logic dictates that this should be put under surveillance and, if possible, be limited. Such logic ignores the fact that many university publishers are administratively part of academia, and many others are otherwise not primarily commercially oriented. The diversity among academic publishers is not widely known among the general public, and even academics are generally unaware of publishers' positions outside their own discipline. In the public debate, academia's—in themselves legitimate—worries about the sustainability of library acquisitions in light of ever-rising costs got conflated with public indignation about presumed private profit margins. These were in reality only obtained by a handful of corporate STM publishers, but their dominance in STEM research rendered them so visible that their reputation coloured the perception of academic publishing overall. Public opinion thus turned against publishers as unjust private profiteers from the public activity of research.

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[197] Although the position of institutional buyers is unique to the field of academic publishing, a distinction between buyers and reading audience is found in an adjacent one: although institutions and students buy textbooks, their popularity and success of textbooks is shaped by teachers, in what is called an 'adoption system'; see Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 198–203. Note that children do not buy their own trade books, either.

[198] Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 208–209.

[199] De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, pp. 234–235. Note that De Vries finds these protests utterly unjustified and writes, with considerable contempt: "When a company delivers a good product and acquires a considerable market-share thanks to take-overs and mergers, and makes a profit to boot, at a given moment there are bound to be complaints from the initially thankful customers. […] In this case the story-tellers are lawyers, the ones who make the legal texts, who have yet to encounter buyers' resistance for their own unbelievably expensive services. […]"

[200] Ibid., *Four Windows of Opportunity*, pp. 232–237.

While the corporate merger and take-over processes continued on a growing scale driven by the logic of the stock-markets in the 1990s, NPM's doctrines thus increasingly shifted public opinion to disavowing companies that turned public assets into private profit. As is often the case, these socio-economic developments could not have existed if not for technological advancements to match their initial direction. The rise of digital publications and sharing networks to disseminate them—various international electronic networks, but most importantly the open WorldWide Web (WWW) from 1991—had two effects. Firstly, the intangibility and reproducibility of digital products, and their immediate worldwide distribution options shaped expectations of their free (*libre* and *gratis*) availability: publishers' investments in creating digital publications are easily and systematically undervalued.[201] Secondly, and crucially, the rise of digital technologies such as desktop publishing software in combination with the WWW finally made it possible, at least theoretically, to produce high-quality communications and to distribute them among disciplinary peers, without any intermediation from extra-academic agents in the field. Idealist academics thus initiated collaborative movements to disintermediate publishers, as if publishers had hitherto been just tolerated in scholarly communication practices. Stevan Harnad, perhaps the foremost pioneering activist, said it thus:

> For centuries, it was only out of reluctant necessity that authors of esoteric publications made the Faustian bargain to allow a price-tag to be erected as a barrier between their work and its (tiny) intended readership because that was the only way to make their work public in the era when paper publication (and its substantial real expenses) were the only way to do so.[202]

This is a false retrospective: scholars have always actively engaged with publishers for the optimal effect of their formal communications; despite conflicting interests, authors and publishers also enhance each other's performance and further reciprocal aims. Yet this rhetoric of liberating scholarship from publishers' grip illustrates the growing aversion against the large commercial publishing firms.

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[201] Even publishers themselves have also fallen in this trap of equating their value contribution with their physical production, see: Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 314.

[202] Stevan Harnad, 'Publicly retrievable FTP archives for esoteric science and scholarship: A subversive proposal', presentation at *The Network Services Conference* (London: 28–29 November 1994), n.pag. 'Esoteric' here means publications not authored with the prospect of profit, but only for dissemination among peers (opening paragraph of the 'Subversive proposal').

Not coincidentally, pioneering efforts in digital research communication came mostly from disciplines in which networked computers had already been incorporated in the research processes, such as high-energy physics and computer science; they also initially took the form of shorter, informal texts like letters and discussions.[203] From this, alternative business models for journal publishing developed. In the Social Sciences the premiere title was probably *Psycoloquy*, an electronic, peer-reviewed journal in psychology and related disciplines that was launched in 1991, intended for 'brief account[s] of current ideas and findings on which [authors] wish to elicit feedback'.[204] Besides alternative routes for publishing research communications, many initiatives were directed at new methods for archiving and retrieving existing publications in repositories; a means of bypassing subscription access through libraries. The most notable, extremely successful example of such a repository is ArXiv, which was founded also in 1991 (then as the 'LANL preprint archive') for physics, but soon included papers from most STEM-disciplines and even linguistics.[205] Submissions are not peer reviewed, but moderated and categorized. Taken together, the successful implementation of both alternative dissemination networks and repositories can be considered the birth of the Open Access (OA) movement in academic publishing.

The birth of Open Access necessarily coincides with two major technological developments that have become important to digital publishing: the Portable Document Format (PDF) as a digital product, and the World Wide Web as a dissemination mechanism. The latter had been developed since the 1980's at CERN, the European Organization for Nuclear Research, as an internet protocol specifically for document transfer. CERN opened the WWW up for other research institutes and, months later, for the general public over the course of 1991. When CERN announced in 1993 that Mosaic, its graphical web browser, would also be freely and openly available, the popularity of the WWW came to surpass that of other internet protocols. In 1994, former CERN-employee Tim Berners-Lee founded the World Wide Web Consortium (W3C), which would be involved in creating further standards, most importantly perhaps those of XML and HTML (1996 and 1997, respectively), the languages in which text, images and metadata can be processed and rendered by browsers.[206] These languages are both based on SGML, a metalanguage for marking up texts that had been in use in publishing since the 1980s, and in which innovative publishers were thus relatively well-versed.

Meanwhile, commercial software company Adobe was working on a format that would render digital documents typographically identical across operating systems and devices, and identical to print.[207] It launched the Portable Document Format (PDF) to this end in 1993, accompanied by a high-profile marketing campaign.[208] PDFs could be created and opened only with Adobe's proprietary software (Acrobat and Acrobat Reader) that were initially both sold commercially. Once it realised that the software's price was an impediment to the uptake of the PDF format, however, it made Acrobat Reader freely available in 1994—and this immediately boosted the popularity of PDFs.[209]

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[203] Stevan Harnad, 'Post-Gutenberg galaxy: The fourth revolution in the means of production of knowledge', *Public-Access Computer Science Systems Review* 2.1 (1991), pp. 39–53.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Paul Ginsparg, 'Winners and losers in the global research village', *The Serials Librarian* 30.3–4 (1997),pp. 83–95; esp. pp. 85–86.

[206] Tim Bray & C.M. Sperberg-McQueen (eds.), 'Extensible Markup Language', W3C working draft WD-xml-961114 (14 November 1996).

Although the very earliest stirrings in open digital publishing date from a few years earlier, as we have seen, Laakso et al. classify 1993–1999 as the 'Pioneering years' of small groups and experimental set-ups in their rigorous study of the development of OA journal publishing. Many of the early initiatives did not survive (*Psycoloquy* initially did, but was suspended in 2002), yet by the turn of the millennium, about 35,000 articles had appeared in over 700 openly available outlets.[210] In 1999, a coalition of researchers, libraries and journal publishers launched OAI-PMH, an XML-based protocol to facilitate the transfer of publication metadata, which rendered effective digital cataloguing and electronic delivery of publications possible, and enhanced their discoverability. This was a boost for digital library services, and therefore caused a surge in the uptake of digital publications by academic end-users; it also strengthened the OA-movement in academia.[211] In 2001, scientists initiated the *Public Library of Science* (*PLoS*), a set of journals under their own maintenance, which deliberately bypassed traditional publishers—*de facto* it operates a not-for-profit business model with article-processing fees (now dubbed Gold OA).[212] In 2002 and 2003, three now-canonical principle statements on the Open Access ideology were issued: the successive Budapest, Bethesda, and Berlin declarations.[213] Deliberately worded in partial overlap, these documents have shaped the definition of Open Access publishing as well as the ideological justification that research results should be publicly available (see also the next chapter).[214] In these 'Innovation years' 2000–2004, Laakso et al. calculate, the number of OA-journals quadrupled to 2837 titles in which over 90,000 articles were available in 2005.[215]

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[207] PDF is based on PostScript, a page-description programming language also developed by Adobe. Page-description languages describe text, images and graphics and their placement on a page on a structural level for digital publishing, beyond the description of the output as a bitmap.

[208] Adobe Corporate Communications, 'Who created the PDF?' (18 June 2015), n.pag.

[209] Sophie Knowles, 'How did the PDF become so popular?', *PDF Pro Blog* (14 December 2015), n.pag.

[210] Mikael Laakso, Patrik Welling, Helena Bukvova, Linus Nyman, Bo-Christer Björk & Turid Hedlund, 'The development of open access journal publishing from 1993 to 2009', *PLoS ONE* 6.6: e20961 (2011), n.pag.

[211] Ball says the rise of OA in these years coincided with the shift towards electronic delivery; I do not think the two developments are separate—they are intrinsically linked, as electronic delivery is a *sine qua non* for OA. David Ball, 'Open Access: Effects on publishing behavior of scientists, peer review, and interrelations with performance measures', in: Peter Weingart & Niels Taubert (eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Publishing: Open Access and the Economics of Digitisation* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2017), pp. 165–198; p. 178. See also ch. 4 of the current work.

[212] P.O. Brown, M.B. Eisen & H.E. Varmus, 'Why PLoS Became a Publisher', *PLoS Biology* 1.1 (2003), n.pag.

[213] The texts of the initiatives are available online: Budapest https://www.budapestopenaccessinitiative.org; Bethesda http://legacy.earlham.edu/~peters/fos/bethesda.htm; Berlin https://openaccess.mpg.de/Berlin-Declaration [all accessed 1 February 2019].

[214] Peter Suber, *Open Access* (Cambridge [MA]: MIT Press, 2012), pp. 7–8.

Further consolidation of the OA-movement was facilitated by the development of digital infrastructures and the increasing ease and availability of self-publishing software. For instance, Adobe turned the monitoring and development of the PDF over to the International Standardisation Organisation (ISO) in 2007;[216] ISO had already become the warden of HTML in 2000. Moreover, retrieval aids for open access publications got improved as well, for instance through the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ) that came to act both as an index and a seal of quality—but also through the rise of Google Scholar. By 2009, 191,000 articles were available in 4767 OA journals; that constituted a 6.5% market share.[217]

The global economic crisis of 2008–2009 led to worldwide governmental austerity measures that entailed significant (and repeated) budget cuts for universities and libraries. By the same mechanisms as explained above, these resulted in downsizing of libraries' acquisition plans, from which SSH again suffered disproportionally, and monographs in particular. The few American and British universities that had been able to sustain their library's acquisition plans with their significant independent assets through previous economic lulls now had to size down too, as they had often invested heavily in the stock markets—and much of their wealth had thus evaporated.[218] Besides the practical budgeting effects, the economic crisis reinforced the legitimization of public scrutiny towards corporate business: the financial sector was the foremost object of criticism, but resentment against publishers has been growing since then, too.

6. Chapter conclusions

The changes in the field of humanities scholarly publishing over the last hundred years have been profound: academic publishing appeared from the mixed lists of trade publishers, and grew on the favourable tides for academia until around 1968. Then, the emerging divide between the sciences and the Humanities translated into a dichotomy between STM-publishers and all others. This schism has only widened in the last fifty years: Big Publishing now focuses almost exclusively on electronic journal publishing for the STEM disciplines and the empirical Social Sciences.[219] Publishing in the Humanities resembles it only to a limited extent: it is much smaller in total size and average business scale, and boasts a variety of organisation types that produces a wide range of monographs, edited volumes, reference works and journals, both in print and in digital formats. The current chapter has identified these trends and provided them with ample statistical and narrative support from business and practice. Yet in order to get a clear view on these historical developments, it is helpful to transpose them to the conceptual Bourdieusian theory. In section 2.2, I have outlined Bourdieu and Wacquant's directive method for the analysis of a specific field in three steps: via first a reconstruction of the field and its position versus other fields, then its agents and their capital, and last the *habitus*.[220] The section concluding this chapter will follow these three steps, first in a brief analysis of the field of academic publishing at large as it existed roughly until 1968, and subsequently in a more extensive recapitulation of the specifics of humanities scholarly publishing as it formed into a publishing field in its own right in the latter half of the twentieth century.

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[215] Laakso et al,, 'The development of open access journal publishing from 1993 to 2009'.

[216] Adobe Corporate Communications, 'Who invented the PDF?'.

[217] Laakso et al., 'The development of open access journal publishing from 1993 to 2009'.

[218] Bob Nardini, 'A long tale: Why book selection is always up for debate (Part 1)', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (9 October 2018), n.pag.

[219] These would be fields like psychology and cognitive sciences, geography and demographic studies, and economics. Their increasingly empirical method and emphasis on quantitative results would shift them more into the epistemically 'hard' category of Becher & Trowler's classification (see ch. 1.3), which renders their practices different from those in the Humanities.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the development of universities in the Humboldtian philosophy helped shape a structure for professional academic careers. Scholars employed in this new academia found themselves in need of publishing beyond its traditional means of disseminating knowledge: published texts would form proof of their academic merits, as the investment and support of a publisher implied (and implies) inherent acknowledgement of the quality of those texts. Over a span of several decades, new and existing publishing firms began specializing in the academic market; its demands, for instance for increasing specialisation, international audiences, and stringent quality control through peer review, began to diverge so widely from the trade that it became difficult for publishers to further both trade and academic interests. In Bourdieusian terms, the field of academic publishing seceded from the field of publishing in general. This move may have been instigated by publishers, but it was heavily influenced by developments in academia.

The then-established field of academic publishing remains symbiotic to academia: publishers exchange capital with scholars on both the market for manuscripts and the market for published texts, and they include academic involvement in the review and editorial processes. Through its direct link with academia, the field of academic publishing has unintentionally moved into closer and more subordinate position to the 'field of power', especially for its acquisition of economic capital: unlike other fields of publishing, the markets for scholarly texts (both in manuscript and in final, published form) are heavily influenced by legislation and educational policy, as well as sociocultural developments. The national policies for the founding of new universities in Europe and the United States are a straightforward example: these affected the supply of manuscripts to publishers to such an extent that new presses were founded, and raised the demand for current publications as well as backlists. The increasingly international orientation of academia from the beginning of the twentieth century, but particularly after World War II furthermore implies a relationship between the field of academic publishing and the Anglo-American field of power specifically, because it has become internationally dominant. It exerts financial pressure, but its cultural and political influences are also important. The move of many young European academics to the United States in the 1950s is an apt illustration of this influence, as is the international expansion of many firms in the following decade.

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[220] For an extensive discussion of Bourdieusian theory, see chapter 2 of the current work.

The close relationship between academic publishing and academia itself has provided perhaps the most distinct characteristic of the field in comparison to trade publishing: the foregrounding of symbolic capital.[221] With the development of professional academia emerged a market for prestige, as this is the main currency that could gain scholars employment. Over the course of the twentieth century, academia implemented an increasingly formal and structured prestige system, for which it used publishing to deliver the main stream of capital. Scholarly publishers have certainly done so. Yet given the fact that their own primary orientation remains economic, they have also optimized profitability in the process. For instance, they fostered specific publication venues for disciplines and subdisciplines by strategically attracting both eager junior as well as eminent established scholars from specific research; and they capitalised on exclusivity by tactically rejecting publications and thereby opening up new markets.[222] Many publishers thus combined academia's primary orientation on symbolic capital with their own economic expansionism, typical of business at the time. They have done so by shaping their *habitus* to fit the needs of specific research disciplines: from the increasing focus on journals in the science fields at the beginning of the century to Elsevier's deliberate business policies of speed over quantity.

For university presses, most of which are financially dependent on their home institution, the alliance with academia is even closer than that of independent firms. They have therefore always oriented themselves more strongly towards symbolic capital than to economic capital. This also explains their persistent *habitus* of monograph publishing: monographs earn symbolic capital for the press as well as its alma mater by direct prestige transfer from the authoring scholars. When monograph publishing came to demand specific production processes due to technological innovations in the 1960s, publishers implicitly had to choose between following primarily business logic, i.e. foregrounding economic capital, or the logic of academic prestige, i.e. symbolic capital. Around 1968, this gave rise to the split of the field of academic publishing into two distinct fields: that of publishing for the STEM disciplines (which later came to include some of the Social Sciences) and publishing for the Humanities.

Although Bourdieu and Wacquant recommend analysing the position of the field as a whole as the first step, I believe an analysis of the emerging field of scholarly publishing for the Humanities should start at a description of the agents that have come to collectively form it. The publishers specializing in humanities disciplinary publications are, more than STEM publishers, a heterogeneous amalgam of organisations. Large corporate publishers have a relatively low combined market share of 10%; a variety of smaller commercial firms, university presses, learned societies and institutional collaborations make up the rest of the field. All these publishing agents provide services specifically tailored to humanities research processes: these often deliver stand-alone publications with a national or regional sphere of influence, which require one-off production processes and specific expertise at local offices.[223] It is therefore very difficult to set up large-scale, internationally valid business models for these disciplines. For this reason, a common characteristic of the variety of humanities publishers is the fact that they have *not* undergone the corporatisation with which the international STEM publishing businesses answered the economic downturn of the 1970s.

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[221] This is not to say that symbolic capital is absent from trade publishing: it is present there, too, but it is a less crucial part of the capital exchange processes.

[222] This refers to Springer's strategy at the dawn of the twentieth century, and Elsevier's deliberate twigging tactics after the Second World War, respectively. See sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively.

The specific mix of capital at their disposal shaped a particular *habitus* of humanities publishing, and thus gave rise to a separate field. Other than with the secession of academic publishing from general publishing, the diverging *habitus* of humanities publishers was already apparent before the field emerged as distinct. For instance, the limited implementation of technological innovations, national or regional focus, and the continued emphasis on strong relationships with individual authors are direct consequences of the disciplinary characteristics of humanities research. These traits were present at some publishing firms while the field of academic publishing as a whole matured after the Second World War. The post-1968 economic downturn, with its subsequent shrinking demands for publications, was a trigger for a re-orientation of publishers towards the capital already at their disposal. Whereas the large commercial firms catering to STEM research improved their position by focusing on economic capital and economies of scale primarily, the smaller firms involved in the Humanities aligned themselves even more closely to academia's economy of prestige to stay in business.

Several specifics of humanities research render the economic capital of its dedicated smaller presses relatively unstable and particularly vulnerable to macro-economic fluctuations. The cumulative nature of humanities research in combination with the lack of a clear research front and the 'rural' distribution of researchers over topics, firstly, render its publications price-elastic. This means that in times of shrinking budgets or rising prices—or the frequently seen combination of the two—libraries can temporarily or permanently decide to put off buying some of the humanities publications, whereas they cannot afford to cancel publications from the STEM disciplines. After all, STEM's substitutive contributions towards moving research fronts cannot be missed. Humanities' research, secondly, enjoys longer windows of relevance. This can be advantageous because libraries may set up retrospective acquisitions programmes; however, it also renders sales monitoring less effective and market predictions insecure. The issue is exacerbated because, lastly, especially monograph publishing still requires the production of physical, print-on-paper copies: needless to say, this commands upfront investment as well as warehousing and distribution costs.

To compensate for the instability of their economic capital streams, humanities scholarly publishers have sought to harness the other forms of capital within their reach. They maintain close relationships with individual scholars as well as disciplinary communities in academia. For instance, there is intensive communication between publishing professionals and scholars in editorial boards, and between manuscript authors and editors in the review and publishing processes. University presses especially stand in close relation with their home institution—because of financial dependency, but also because presses have as their core mission to support their alma mater's prestige. In the United States, in particular, these university presses aim to publish works by their 'own' faculty, as well as trade and textbook titles that are relevant to local non-academic communities and thus support the university's mission.[224] Neither of these trends is observed on the other side of the Atlantic, although in Europe, local academic communities working in another language than English may centre on specific university presses. In any case, university presses worldwide have sought closer alliance with universities and their local audiences—academic or otherwise relevant—because of the presses' unstable economic positions. Structural subsidies and increased managerial control have indeed brought more stability, but also low financial reserves (as subsidies are often granted only to the break-even point) and restricted autonomy.

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[223] For instance, the use of English is still far from universal in humanities publications. See: Engels et al., 'Changing publication patterns in the Social Sciences and Humanities', pp. 384–386, esp. table 3; Esposito, 'The market for Social Sciences and Humanities publications', n.pag.

The field of humanities scholarly publishing is thus characterised by a heterogeneous population of generally small organisations. They are catering to idiosyncratic research disciplines and small communities, and for this reason they cannot aspire to gain substantial economic capital as leverage. Instead, they focus on the exchanges of symbolic capital, in which they continue to be key players. Due to the relationships between agents in this field, symbolic capital is also widely distributed over disciplinary and local communities: this means that, with a few exceptions that boost overall renown, the esteem for individual publishers varies depending on the research communities they serve most actively. Publishers therefore have a *habitus* of targeting particular communities, for instance by specialising in publishing in a subdiscipline, at the expense of not being involved in others; they invest in individual relations with authors and one-off production processes. This pattern of distributed symbolic capital thus directly derives from social capital. This renders it particularly elusive as it can hardly be quantified, unlike symbolic capital in the STEM-publishing field, which has become connected with technology and economic power, and is expressed in quantified parameters.

This is not at all problematic to agents in the field whom it directly concerns; depending on their age and experience, they have internalised their disciplinary communities' patterns of prestige in their *habitus* and seek relationships with presses accordingly. It is an issue beyond the confines of the field's esteem exchange, however. As humanities scholarly publishers do not make clear which specific mix of economic, social and symbolic capital they strive for, the heterogeneity in their field leads to misperceptions in the public opinion. Outsiders who do not understand specific prestige patterns of small humanities publishers often equate them with the symbolic capital that they do know: that of corporate publishing for the STEM disciplines. Here, bibliometric indicators, Impact Factor most importantly, that are supposed to represent esteem have notoriously come to be used as marketing tools to boost the publishers' economic position, often at the economic expense of academia. This has already sparked reactions from the 'field of power', and even academia at large, that want to curb the publishers' power for instance through pushing the Open Access agenda.

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[224] See: Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 142–159; Givler, 'University Press publishing in the United States', pp. 112–115.

Outside agents in the ‘field of power’, as well as academia itself, can thus deliberately and unwittingly intervene in the streams of capital exchange in the field of humanities scholarly publishing. Such interventions affect the balance between symbolic, social and economic capital at the publishers’ disposal. Moreover, external forces that influence the field of power also directly and indirectly shape publishers’ business. The rise of the online medium is perhaps the most formative external force of the last three decades, and the following, final chapter of this study is therefore dedicated to the direct and indirect socio-technological consequences for the field of humanities scholarly publishing.

4

The current field of scholarly publishing for the Humanities

The previous chapter presented an overview of inventions and innovations in hardware, software and coding standards that have collectively enabled the rise of digital publishing since the 1990's. Among these are the WWW, XML, and PDF most importantly, which have been applied and recombined in varying iterations and frameworks. Assessed from the publishing industry's perspective that was adopted in the previous chapter, the implementation and uptake of these technologies illustrate the continuous innovation processes in production and business management. Yet it is not only technology that influences the socio-economic activity of publishing: publishers as well as the related agents in the field in turn shape the technologies, through patterns of uptake and appreciation. Publishers are perhaps central in this iterative socio-technological shift, because they act as technology brokers—using and adapting technology provided by third parties, and bringing technology to academia. Nevertheless, the reactions from the other agents in the social environment, or field of scholarly publishing, are also crucial in this process. These other agents include academic authors (the current study's primary focus), but also readers and libraries, research institutes, and policy makers. It is to an analysis of their attitudes and perceptions surrounding the uptake of digital publishing, and the subsequent response of publishers towards these attitudes and perceptions, that this final chapter will turn.

In the iterations of socio-technological change in scholarly publishing, esteem, by scholars, institutions and society in general, is crucially important, as I have argued (section 2.3). It shapes the streams of symbolic capital that publishers may possess, obtain, and transfer. Because symbolic capital is critical in publishers' dispositions, the attitudes of other agents towards them determine the viability of publishing enterprises to an important degree. Prestige becomes attached to publications that are produced by publishing agents in a chain of activities: for instance, selection and filtering add to the perceived value of exclusivity; thorough review and editorial help build a publisher's reputation for quality; and effective brokering to the appropriate audiences and markets demonstrates a publisher's acute awareness of disciplinary communities and discourse. Yet the shift towards digital publishing changes some of the publishers' traditional activities and resulting products. Publishers themselves and the closely related agents in the field will adjust their attitudes towards these changes in response, and then again iteratively to each other's changed attitudes. Therefore, modification in the acquisition and exchange of publishers' symbolic capital are immanent.

Such iterations of changing attitudes, perceptions and expectations may be illustrated with a close analysis of publishers' selection and editorial activities. Scholarly publishers have invested in training in-house professional editors, as well as maintaining relationships with influential and prominent academics, who are willing to sit on editorial boards and act as peer reviewers because they expect to gain prestige from that for their own career. Because of this social and cultural capital at their disposal, publishers are capable of scrutinizing submissions through extensive, if disciplinarily idiosyncratic review procedures. Subsequently, they can be trusted to carefully edit the texts that make the grade—thereby guaranteeing a degree of quality for each of their published products. The perception of this degree of quality serves as the publisher's reputation: readers and libraries rely on this in their acquisition and reading decisions, and authors rely on it when they decide where to submit their next manuscript. Publishers know this, and they aim to spread their reputation.[1] The current chapter will analyse such dependencies between publishers' practical activities, attitudes towards to these activities, and the implications of this for publishers' symbolic capital against the important current context of digitization and transition towards the online realm.

In this chapter, I will portray publishers' activities, but I will not strictly adhere to any of the models that describe publishing as a set of tasks or functions, such as Bhaskar's combination of filtering and amplification, or the traditional quartet of registration, certification, dissemination, and archiving.[2] However adequately such functional models may describe the activities of publishers in the scholarly communication business, they fail to take into account the dimension of symbolic capital that has become inextricably entwined with its business values.[3] The functional approach does not suffice to highlight all complexities in the publishing industry, especially not when economic demands and the logic of prestige may conflict.[4] However, I will not strictly adhere to Brennan and Pettit's economy of esteem either: the symbolic dimension may be important for publishing, but cultural, intellectual, political and financial pressures are absent from their model, while these pressures all contribute to shaping exchanges that take place. Neither does the Bourdieusian framework of a field with types of capital suffice to address the changes in publishing. These have been propelled by technological innovations and their subsequent sociocultural uptake (and consecutive technological innovation, in iterative cycles).[5] The Bourdieusian framework solely focuses on sociocultural change, and lacks the descriptive tools and temporal orientation needed for the current analysis. I will therefore make eclectic use of all these previously discussed theories and models instead, to come to an optimally precise analysis through a mix of concepts and terminologies.

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[1] However, as Brennan and Pettit note, the extent to which an agent can promote its own esteem is by definition limited; publishers therefore rely on scholarly authors and readers to spread their reputation for them; *The Economy of Esteem*, p. 5. See also section 2.3.

[2] Bhaskar, *The Content Machine*, see the discussion in the introduction of this work. The four functions of publishing are arguably described by Henry Oldenburg in his preface to the first issue of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1665); for explicit formulations and modernisations of the concept, see: Hans Roosendaal & Peter A.Th.M. Geurts, 'Forces and functions in scientific communication: An analysis of their interplay' (CRISP 1997); Prosser, 'Researchers and scholarly communications'; Suber, *Open Access*, p. 62

[3] This has happened through the professionalization of scholarly publishing and academia over centuries, and in the twentieth century in particular, as has been argued in chapters 1 and 3.

[4] See also: John Maxwell, Alessandra Bordini & Katie Shamash, 'Reassembling Scholarly Communications': An Evaluation of the Andrew W. Mellon Monograph Initiative', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 20.1 (2017), pp. 20–24.

Inherent properties of the digital medium, such as virtuality, machine-readability, flexibility and multimodality, shape the affordances of technological innovation.[6] The current argument must therefore start with a discussion of them. With this comes the caution that, contrary to digital evangelism, technological innovation is by no means linear; many publishing activities feature affordances shaped by the properties of the digital medium, but also retain values of print. Because the uptake of digital technologies is thus characterised by simultaneously existing disruptions and continuities, the juxtaposition of changes and constants is the structure for the current chapter, too. The disruptions are analysed first: important ones are caused by the ease of digital reproduction and quantification in the online realm—an inherent affordance that shapes the daily practices of publishers as well as by other agents, readers most notably. They change their behaviour, and with it also their attitudes: most importantly, the transition to online reproduction overall diminishes the appreciation for publishers' activities and products. This causes various changes in the mechanisms of symbolic capital exchange: the widespread rise of metrics as proxies is a very visible example of such change, but pressure exerted by governments on publishing business models should also be regarded as one.

The continuities in humanities scholarly publishing are the focus of the second part of this chapter. Among these feature, consecutively, the close relations between publishers and scholarly authors; the publishers' role in assisting academics using technology and digital tools; and the dissemination of texts to appropriate audiences. All these activities by publishers have got symbolic capital attached to them over the course of centuries—and while the practicalities of these activities may currently change due to digitization, the esteem exchange mechanisms attached to them remain quite constant. The continuity extends so far, as I will argue, that publishers' symbolic capital may help modify scholars' existing hesitation towards technological change and promote the transition to digital formats, for instance for monographs; the prestige of (certain) publishers may sway authors to accept digital publication despite their preference for paper.

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[5] To begin with, that history [of textual communication] is a history of technology, with clearly observable technological change, taking place in the form of various 'punctuations' in the evolution of text technology. The invention and adoption (followed by the slower evolution) of a succession of "technologies of the intellect" has led to the general recognition of several distinct periods in the history of textual transmission. [...] This meant that the history of technological innovation was followed at some remove by its shadow: a history of the—much more diffuse—social effects of evolving text technologies. It is the elusive connections between the adoption and social integration of text technologies and the consequences for our literate mindset and mentality that book history as a sociology of texts crucially attempts to identify and elucidate.' Adriaan van der Weel, 'Book studies and the sociology of text technologies', in: Simon Rosenberg & Sandra Simon (eds.), *Material Moments: Essays in Honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 262–282; pp. 267–268.

[6] Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, p. 143: 'It will be helpful to do so [examining the properties of the digital textual medium] by ordering the features that characterise the medium into a kind of hierarchy. At the top tier of this hierarchical ontology are the inherent or core properties of the computer; below them on the second tier are the technological features of the digital medium made possible by the computer, and at the bottom the social consequences that in turn derive from these technological features.'

The current chapter zooms in on the position and activities of scholarly publishers for the Humanities. Yet STEM publishing also features in the analysis, as its dominance on the academic publishing field renders it impossible to pass STEM publishing by completely: the most recent estimates value the global STEM-publication market at over 25 billion dollar, and the SSH market at 5 billion dollar (of which a minor share is constituted by humanities publications).[7] Of the more than 42,000 peer reviewed journals in existence, only 5% belongs to the Arts & Humanities.[8] Besides this, the comparison of activities across scholarly disciplines works as an analytical tool to highlight the precise workings of the mechanisms of symbolic capital exchange by scholarly publishers in the Humanities in contrast with practices in STEM research.

The rise of the online medium has brought the opportunity for alternative service providers to practically imitate the activities that have traditionally been undertaken by publishers, such as the production or dissemination of texts. The number of new entrants to the field has indeed proliferated in recent years. Yet although they are technologically, economically and sometimes also socially successful, they have overall not emulated the publisher's propensity to obtain and transfer symbolic capital—as demonstrated by the fact that they have still not been able to build similarly strong relationships with scholarly authors. Because their position is therefore still not comparable to that of the traditional publisher, such alternative service providers are not a point of focus in the current chapter; they will feature in the Coda instead.

Publishers thus retain the opportunity to continue to occupy their role even in the face of technological disruption and its sociocultural consequences, by focusing on their unique capacity to act as esteem engines (ch. 2), predominantly in services directed towards authors. For this reason, the relationships between academic authors and publishers, and the interests these are based on are central to the following analysis. The perceptions of these relationships and interests by other agents, such as research institutes and governments, are a driving factor in the iterative cycle of socio-technological change, and will therefore also be included in the argument.

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[7] Figures differ slightly: Johnson et al. assess the global STM market for books and journals at 29 billion dollar in 2017; Rob Johnson, Anthony Watkinson & Michael Mabe., *The STM Report: An Overview of Scientific and Scholarly Publishing*, 5th edition (International Association of Scientific, Technical and Medical Publishers, October 2018), p.5. Rick Anderson quotes a 2015 Outsell report for the STM market at 26.2 billion dollar, and a 2015 Simba report for the SSH (I could not access those reports by dependable commercial analysts, as they are prohibitively expensive); *Scholarly Communication*: p. 25.

[8] This number comes from August 2018 from Ulrich's Web Directory, which is the narrowest in scope (compared to for instance Informa's wizard.ai, and 1Science's 1findr). Of the 42,291 journals in this directory, 33,119 are in English; Johnson et al., *The STM Report*, pp. 25–26.

Investigations into scholarly authors' needs and wants with regards to publishing are rather circuitous. The epistemic and social characteristics of the scholarly disciplines heavily influence all communication processes, formal publishing centrally among them (ch. 1). Yet this disciplinary *habitus* is not usually explicitly described, but implicitly built and transferred among scholars—again, through iterations of exchange, competition and mutual appreciation in a discipline. Paradoxically, publishing conventions are such an integral part of this *habitus* that explicit expectations for it are not frequently to be found in disciplinary literature. An exception to this rule is the disciplinary reflection by scholars in the Digital Humanities (DH), who frequently have been characterised as attentive self-observers with regards to their research practices and communication methods.[9] However, the matter is significantly complicated by the fact that the DH have only recently emerged as a subdiscipline from the traditional humanities scholarship their research originates in.[10] DH scholars can therefore be considered to be in the process of cordoning off their own, recently established subgroup by actively distancing themselves from traditional disciplinary practices to give them an independent status.[11] This renders many reflections from DH practitioners ideologically laden, and they should therefore be approached critically. Nevertheless, DH's juxtaposition of its self-reported revolutionary practices vis-à-vis traditional humanities scholarship may prove insightful. This is especially so because DH scholars enthusiastically embrace new digital technologies and communication opportunities, but also continue to engage in traditional publishing as an important formal part of their communication practices.[12]

Besides the formative debates in the Digital Humanities and occasional reflections on academic practices from other scholarly disciplines there are also reports in which academics have been canvassed about their considerations, attitudes and opinions with regards to their profession. Some of these come from a policy perspective: the British Research Information Network, for instance, has set up a wide investigation in search of

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[9] Matthew K. Gold, 'Introduction: The Digital Humanities moment', in: Matthew K. Gold (ed.), *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. ix–xvi; esp. pp. ix–xi.

[10] Gold & Klein in fact suggest that the DH have 'arrived' as a discipline sometime between 2012 and 2016. Matthew K. Gold & Lauren F. Klein, 'Introduction', in: Matthew K. Gold & Lauren F. Klein, *Digital Humanities: The Expanded Field* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press | Manifold, 2016), online, n.pag.

[11] Becher and Trowler describe these activities as disciplinary genesis and maintaining the discipline's livelihood; they describe strategies for it, such as portraying a strong academic image via uttering mission statements; using specific nomenclature; claiming an external utility; and maximally attracting students or junior scholars—all of which can be observed in the DH: *Academic Tribes and Territories*, pp. 168–175.

[12] Spiro poses such a typical juxtaposition of DH and traditional humanities scholarship: 'Whereas the traditional Humanities typically value originality, authority, and authorship—an ethos based in part on the scarcity of information and the perceived need for gatekeepers—the *DH Manifesto* instead promotes remixing, openness, and the wisdom of the crowd. For the DH, information is not a commodity to be controlled, but a social good to be shared and reused.' Spiro, 'This is why we fight', pp. 21-22.

'evidence' on publication and citation practices among academics, and the influence on them of the then-current national Research Assessment Exercise (RAE).[13] The analysis encompasses a literature review and a bibliometric output analysis as well as an online survey, supplemented with interviews through focus groups. Its primary goal is a reflection on national research evaluation policy, but since publications are an important parameter for such policy, the survey data unintentionally grants additional insights in scholars' disciplinary communication and publication strategies. Other countries have similarly evaluated their research assessment frameworks through interviews and surveys.[14]

There are also extensive exploratory reports on scholars' disciplinary attitudes, conventions and behaviour with regards to core issues in academia, but without direct links to research policy. The most in-depth example is a study by the Berkeley Centre for Studies of Higher Education, financed by grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. It is based on extensive conversations with 160 interviewees, selected from seven disciplines and working at 45 American elite research institutions. History has been selected as the humanities case study.[15] This method provides abundant qualitative coverage of disciplinary practices, but its attention to detail is also its downside, especially because case-study findings are extrapolated to 'the Humanities' in general. As has been argued, in this heterogeneous amalgam of disciplines, attitudes from one discipline do not necessarily align with others; therefore one humanities discipline does not, and cannot, represent the array of relevant scholarly practices.

In contrast with the CSHE's approach of extensive interviews, research non-profit Ithaka S+R has collected quantitative data in mass surveys, with over 9000 respondents in the United States and over 6500 in the United Kingdom.[16] In these studies, data is mostly presented in rather unrefined form: the report distinguishes Humanities, Social Sciences, Science (which here includes Technology and Engineering) and Medicine. Depending on the issue at hand, it does also distinguish by employment position or respondents' age groups. Ithaka's studies in the United States and the United Kingdom follow a similar (although not identical) template; moreover, they partly repeat earlier studies. They thus offer a wealth of data as well as the possibilities for historical and international comparison, albeit on broad trends only.[17] Such reports are useful in bringing to light relevant themes in today's academic communication and scholarly publishing and in foregrounding disciplinary differences.[18]

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[13] Fry et al., *Communicating Knowledge*. Note that the last RAE was undertaken in 2008; it has since been succeeded by the Research Evaluation Framework, which was first implemented in 2014 to assess the period 2009–2013. Methodologies for evaluating research in the Humanities remained largely similar.

[14] For an overview of recent studies, see: Sarah de Rijcke, Paul F. Wouters, Alex D. Rushforth, Thomas P. Franssen & Björn Hammarfelt, 'Evaluation practices and effects of indicator use: a literature review', *Research Evaluation*, 25.2 (April 2016), pp. 161–169.

[15] The other selected case-study disciplines are archaeology, astrophysics, biology, economics, music, and political science. Diane Harley, Sophia Krzys-Acord, Sarah Earl-Novell, Shannon Lawrence & C. Judson King., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication: An Exploration of Faculty Values and Needs in Seven Disciplines* (Berkeley [CA]: Center for Studies in Higher Education, UC Berkeley, 2010). There may be similar issues with extrapolating the case-study findings to the larger groups of Arts (music), Social Sciences (archaeology, economics, political science), or STEM (astrophysics, biology), but these are beyond the scope of the current analysis.

[16] These surveys have been sent out to as many academics as could be reached; in the United States, approximately 6% responded, and in the United Kingdom the response rate is around 10%. Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey*, pp. 9–10; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, pp. 7–9.

However, most investigations do not separate between the roles of authors, teachers and readers that researchers alternately occupy. This could be considered a disadvantage, especially for the use of these reports for the current study of the relationships between scholarly authors and publishers, because the interests of readers and authors diverge and sometimes seem to conflict. For instance: authors benefit from seeing their work published, even if it would not be top-quality, but readers benefit from careful filtering by the publisher because that prevents them from having to wade through mediocre texts. On a practical level, these seem conflicting interests that publishers have to find a compromise for. Yet on the level of symbolic capital, authors' and readers interests turn out to be more aligned: publishers' selective policies are beneficial to authors as they add value to the act of publication; and readers use publishers' reputations for selectiveness as a heuristic in their literature search. This alignment stems from the shared *habitus* between disciplinary peers: scholars share specific values they appreciate in publishing, which will influence their attitudes both in their roles of readers and authors. Moreover, scholarly authors will be aware of their peer-readers' attitudes and vice versa. From this, it is safe to say that the author's interests can be inferred from either of the other perspectives, as long as there is keen consideration for the potential conflicts of interest in practice.

In addition, some recent efforts aim to gain insight in the deliberations of scholarly authors in particular. The German Academy of Sciences has installed an interdisciplinary working group to develop recommendations on the future of academic publishing, which held an online consultation for the main stakeholder group of scholarly authors to collect their opinions about publication services and infrastructure.[19] The survey attracted 697 respondents, 24% of whom work in the Life Sciences, 22% in the Natural Sciences and 9% in Engineering. Curiously, and in contrast with the refined division in the STEM-disciplines, the 43% of respondents working in the Social Sciences and Humanities have not been grouped in disciplines any further. This may reflect the general social and financial dominance of STEM-disciplines which predisposes research policy towards them, which can be observed in the survey's set-up and specific formulations of questions. Scholars duly complain about such real or perceived bias; despite the emancipatory goal of this consultation, many respondents did not feel quite heard. [20] It is therefore certainly a missed opportunity to generalise the heterogeneous SSH-population under a blanket term with one broad sweep. This critical note aside, a useful contribution from this consultation is the repeated assertion from academia that scholars want disciplinary self-regulation in their research communication practices. This supports the notion that disciplinary habitus strongly influences quality standards and attitudes towards collaboration, attribution, and authorship.[21]

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[17] Preceding iterations of both reports date from 2012: Roger C. Schonfeld & Ross Housewright, *US Faculty Survey 2012* (New York: Ithaka S+R, 8 April 2013); Ross Housewright, Kate Wulfson & Roger C. Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics 2012* (London: Ithaka S+R, Jisc, RLUK, 8 May 2014).

[18] It is therefore all the more curious that there seems to be little interest for such large-scale, multi-discipline surveys outside the Anglo-American countries (note that the Ithaka reports are usually commissioned by research institutes or government bodies). National reports exist for EU countries, but they are seldom quantitative and never as extensive. The Dutch example of such a less extensive report is: Salman et al. (eds.), *Kennis over publiceren*.

[19] Niels Taubert & Kevin Schön, 'A participatory experiment in science policy: Results and evaluation of the "Publication System" online consultation', in: Peter Weingart & Niels Taubert (eds.), *The Future of Scholarly Publishing: Open Access and the Economics of Digitisation* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2017), pp. 113–131; pp. 119–120.

A recent Canadian survey, lastly, explores the opportunities for digital publishing in the Humanities specifically, yet from the new trend of having the library acting as publisher.[22] In 29 open and multiple-choice questions, 250 humanities scholars have disclosed their experiences with and attitudes toward digital publishing. The survey's predilection for library publishing perhaps colours its conclusions, but its data is certainly useful for an analysis of publishing in general. However, the survey had unfortunately left digital publishing 'intentionally undefined', to allow for each scholar to come up with their own definition.[23] This is bound to breed confusion, which is indeed demonstrated by some respondents reporting that they publish printed blogs and websites—which in all likelihood is not the case.[24]

In recapitulation, argumentation on the considerations and interests of authors may be inferred and reconstructed from a variety of sources, each with their own advantages and drawbacks. Reflexive accounts illuminate hitherto implicit and even unconsciously formed attitudes from scholars in a discipline, but should be critically interpreted as they are often part of discourses of advocacy for advancing a particular type of agent (junior scholars, for instance) or the discipline as a whole. Policy reports are helpful because of their wide scale, but should be read in light of their, not seldom primary, political goal. And even the reports by research institutes or independent consultants may carry bias—not infrequently with more lavish attention on STEM research, because of its larger size and accompanying higher visibility. Considering these limitations, the following analysis of the relationship between academic publishers and authors will draw on observations from all types of sources discussed, but only complementarily. The main gist of the argument is based on publishers' known activities and the mechanisms of capital exchange, extending the theory constructed in the three earlier chapters.

1. Push and pull breed disruption and continuity

As I have argued in the introduction to this chapter, the analysis of scholarly publishing is often reduced a set of functional activities, which underplays the implicit expectations and cultural practices that shape scholarly authors' relationships with it. The digital medium is often analysed in a not dissimilar fashion, with the analytical description of its functional properties the objective of analysis, and a myriad of expectations—from evangelical optimism to reactionary caution—in more ideologically laden predictions and warnings. Here is not the place to extensively engage with either type of discourse, although it is wise to note that all agents in the field of scholarly field retain their particular expectations regarding the digital medium, and the sociocultural changes it may bring.

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[20] Taubert & Schön, 'A participatory experiment in science policy', p. 127.

[21] Ibid., esp. pp. 121–122, 124–127.

[22] Katrina Fenlon, Megan Senseney, Maria Bonn & Janet Schwatscheno, 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing: New forms of publications, new audiences, new publishing roles', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 50.3 (April 2019), pp. 159–182.

[23] Ibid., p. 178, footnote 11.

[24] Ibid., pp. 165–166, fig. 3.

The salient properties of the digital medium have usually been described in comparison to their print equivalents, in binary, contrasting pairs.[25] Yet I would argue that this widely-employed frame clouds the observer's receptiveness for nuance in the effects of the rise of the digital medium. After all, a semantic frame that focuses on polar opposites can hardly be expected to also cover the middle ground. John Thompson's perspective may therefore be conceptually helpful as an alternative: he does not identify binary pairs in the properties of media, but describes relevant aspects of media and expresses their difference in degrees.[26] Although his perspective is not without fault in the application for the analysis of digital text,[27] it stimulates the observation of practical similarities alongside the potential conceptual differences between the functioning of digital text and print. Such functional similarities are intricately bound up with the uses of texts in social fields such as academia; uses that print has assumed over the course of centuries, and that the fields' agents cannot, and do not want to, abandon for digital text, despite economical or other advantages.[28]

For instance, digital texts exist only virtually, which means their usability relies on a combination of hardware carriers and installed software at both the producer's and user's side. Compared to the stand-alone, device-independent usability of paper books, this dependency has hindered digital text in its initial stages (see ch. 3, esp. sections 4 and 5). Yet with the implementation of industry standards, the affordance to be mediated by different software and systems brought new use cases for digital text beyond the possibilities of print; and the low-cost, lossless copying of digital files now renders digital publications almost unlimitedly reproducible.[29] As an often-observed effect in the economy of publishing, the scarcity of supply of print copies has been relieved, resulting in a much larger and widely available total output now vies for readers' attention.[30] This is certainly a radical break between print and digital, and as such confirms the binary framework. It has usually been overlooked, however, that there is still scarcity in the economic sense in the production capacity for texts, the acquisition and editorial processes that turn manuscripts into polished publications. This remaining form of scarcity stems from the use of texts for specific purposes in specific fields, such as academia. It is expressed in production costs, but also in symbolic value that accompanies formal publications but is lacking from informally distributed texts—to which, I maintain, adherents of a radical, binary contrast between print and digital tend to be less attentive.

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[25] For instance: Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*; Bhaskar, *The Content Machine*; Cope & Kalantzis, 'Changing knowledge ecologies and the transformation of the scholarly journal'; Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*.

[26] John B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), pp. 18–23.

[27] Thompson in *The Media and Modernity* uses the word 'degree' for the aspects he identifies for his analysis of all media types, including mass broadcasting media. For text, not all those aspects *can* actually be modified by degree.

[28] For an initial exploration of this notion, see: Praal & Van der Weel, 'Taming the digital wilds'.

[29] Thompson: 'the degree of reproducibility', which is directly related to control over reproduction, and therefore opportunities to commodify and commercially exploit texts: *The Media and Modernity*, p. 20.

[30] Kathleen Fitzpatrick, P*lanned Obsolescence: Publishing, Technology, and the Future of the Academy* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), pp. 37–38.

As a second example, both digital texts themselves and accompanying metadata are machine-readable, which means they can be indexed, crawled, stored, and retrieved by automated services instead of effort expended by the human reader. Compared to print, this saves effort and potentially increases the scale and speed with which digital text may be processed.[31] Computer-processing, of metadata especially, is indispensable for modern indexing and cataloguing services and has undoubtedly afforded quicker and easier search and retrieval of publications. In some disciplines, experiments are underway to have algorithms connect texts and datasets based on shared vocabulary.[32] Yet there is the danger that the focus on automated reading and processing also diminishes awareness of variability in expressions,[33] and layers of meaning within a text deliberately constructed by its author—the highly complex functions of text, that artificial intelligence cannot (yet) grasp but that are especially important in humanities scholarship and therefore in the field of scholarly publishing.

These two examples serve to illustrate that a characterisation of the properties of print and digital as opposing binaries is useful for outlining disruptions, but perhaps a wider frame of reference is necessary for balancing change and continuity in their actual use. Important for the use of digital texts is the architectural flatness of the networks in which they are created and spread. Whereas the field of print relied on a relative small number of producers, the barriers to producing digital texts are much lower and little upfront investment is thus needed to commence; digital text-production can be considered more democratic. Whereas print texts are rendered in a stable, fixed form—in Thompson's analysis, they have a high 'degree of fixation to a symbolic form'[34]—their digital equivalents need not be: they can be altered, updated and expanded. Besides, they can be positioned and repositioned in a network through adaptive links. As a last example, the digital medium allows the combination of many modalities alongside text, such as sound and moving images, but also raw data,[35] while the printed form only allows the combination of text and still images, and the latter often in limited numbers due to technical and financial constraints in the production process.

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[31] Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*, pp. 146-147, 159; Thompson describes this as a 'degree of space/time distanciation [*sic*]' for access to texts; *The Media and Modernity*, p. 21;

[32] For a review of many experiments in this domain: Petar Ristoski & Heiko Paulheim, 'Semantic web in data mining and knowledge discovery: A comprehensive study', *Journal of Web Semantics* 36 (2016), pp. 1–22.

[33] Evans, 'Electronic publication and the narrowing of science and scholarship'.

[34] Thompson, *The Media and Modernity*, p. 19.

[35] While datasets can be shown in textual and numerical representations (in tables, charts, lists) in print, distribution via the digital medium allows data content to flexibly take multiple forms, for instance in interactive visualisations in articles, and/or to be reused.

This brief overview of the salient properties that have been ascribed to the digital medium demonstrates some significant differences with the properties of print. Yet here, too, it should be noted that digital properties need not be implemented to the same degree in all digital product manifestations. The digital realm has provided extended possibilities for multimodality, for instance, yet it accommodates uni-modal, predominantly textual products equally well—in fact, such textual products allow for much easier storing, indexing and processing. The various salient properties of the digital medium can, and do, occur in different degrees and combinations in various digital products; moreover, as argued in the previous paragraphs, some of these salient properties differ more radically from those of scholarly communication in print than do others. This brings about a multi-faceted process of transitioning from scholarly communication in print to digital alternatives, which is often overlooked. Granted, the very potential of the affordances that stem from the inherent salient properties of the digital medium exerts a push force: the potential of the digital medium's salient properties shapes the expectation that these properties will be used. However, the specific functions of texts in the *habitus* of specific social fields act as a brake for the actual implementation of digital affordances on the other hand. The combination renders digitization certainly not a unitary process.

Despite the wide acknowledgement of a variety of its salient properties, and despite the ideological weight that is attached to the arrival of the online medium in general, many older as well as current sources describe the 'digitization of publishing' as if this is a precisely demarcated shift in the production process.[36] This is a misrepresentation; scholarly publications do certainly not embody all properties of the digital medium. Some developments in scholarly publishing demonstrate maximal embracement of a specific set of them, but these are most often still in the experimental stage. Nanopublications are an advanced example of such experiments: the smallest meaningful units that are technically grounded in semantic web-technologies, they are essentially statements that relate a subject to an object with a predicate, published online in code.[37] An added layer of metadata about the provenance and creator then captures its origins; a header of metadata contains attributes about the publication itself, so that it can get cited. Nanopublications, also called micro-attributions, are mostly used in data-intensive, discovery-driven fields such as pharmacology or genetics, where publishing factual findings is useful even without accompanying contextualization, and where new discoveries deliver data in unprecedented quantity.[38] These nanopublications fully depend on the networked property of the digital medium, because each statement gains meaning only through its connection to others. Nanopublications are also completely virtual; even if their code would appear in print, it would lose the meaning it has in the online realm. Although it should be noted that nanopublications do not embody all of the properties of the digital medium (they are, for instance, not multimodal), it can be argued that they constitute an example of a digital product without precedent or equivalent in the realm of print.

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[36] Weingart & Taubert, 'Foreword' to *The Future of Scholarly Publishing*; Adams, 'Technology in publishing'; Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing*.

[37] 'What is a Nanopublication', *Nanopub.org*.

[38] Geneticists have been encouraged to list their findings in nanopublications, to open up information about the human genome, in particular, via the Public Domain. See: Barend Mons & Jan Velterop, 'Nano-Publication in the e-science era', *Workshop on Semantic Web Applications in Scientific Discourse* (SWASD), Netherlands Bio-Informatics Centre, 2009.

The digital edition can be considered an example of a truly digital product for humanities scholarship.[39] It maximises the affordances of the salient property of fluidity as opposed to print's finite form: the digital medium allows not just representing one edited version of a text, but to present the text as a data-collection with a tailor-made interface. Versions can be viewed side-by-side or alternatingly, in layers or via hovering, and users may jump through a text in non-linear fashion and by switching perspectives for instance via links and pop-ups.[40] In this case, the text does not deliver a finished, fixed argument as a product of scholarship, but it is raw data through which the reader can, or in fact must, construct his own interpretation.[41] The range of possibilities for that interpretation are still shaped through the editorial choices for the interface, but the interpretative freedom for (or: burden on[42]) the reader is unparalleled in the print realm, and cannot be reproduced in print:

> A digital edition cannot be printed without a loss of information and/or functionality. The digital edition is guided by a different paradigm. If the paradigm of an edition is limited to the two-dimensional space of the "page" and to typographic means of information representation, then it's not a digital edition.[43]

It should be noted that digital editions seem not yet to have been widely incorporated in scholarly practice, with self-reported usage remaining far below the scores for print or digitized editions.[44] This underscores the notion that even truly digital products with a radically disruptive potential only incrementally gain implementation in social fields.

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[39] A typical (yet magnificent) example of a digital edition: Danis Rose & John O'Hanlon, *James Joyce Digtal Archive* (2018).

[40] For the crucial yet often misconceived distinction between digital and digitized editions, as well as an exploration of current and also potential future use of digital editions, see: Dot Porter, 'What is an edition anyway?', keynote at conference: *Digital Scholarly Editions as Interfaces*, (Graz, 23 September 2016), n.pag.

[41] Adriaan van der Weel, 'Explorations in the Libroverse', in: Karl Grandin (ed.), *Going digital: Evolutionary and revolutionary aspects of digitization*, Nobel symposium 147, (Stockholm: Centre for History of Science, 2011), pp. 32–46.

[42] On this 'deferral of the interpretative burden' from editor to reader, see: Adriaan van der Weel, 'New mediums: New perspectives on knowledge production', in: Wido van Peursen et al. (eds.), *Text Comparison and Digital Creativity*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 253–68.

[43] Porter, 'What is an edition anyway', n.pag. cites: Patrick Sahle, 'A catalog of: Digital Scholarly Editions' (version 3.0, 2008), http://www.digitale-edition.de/vlet-about.html.

[44] Porter, 'What is an edition anyway': '[...](almost) all 337 self-selecting survey respondents report using print and digitized editions (100% and 99.6%, to be precise), versus 91% for digital editions. These differences may not be that striking, but difference in use frequency is: print and digitized editions are used 'more times than I can count' by 75-80% of users and up to 'a handful of times' by 20–23%; digital editions score 41.7% and 40%, respectively'.

These examples of digital products aside, the most recent wave of digitization in the publishing field at large has not been as fundamental: rather than the construction of digital alternatives, it entails the transformation to digital end-products alongside or instead of their print originals. Such digital end-products by no means maximise all properties of the digital medium at once: far from fluid multimodal nodes in networks, they still are finite, predominantly textual results of outcome-oriented production processes—typically downloadable PDFs , usually accompanied by XML-based 'web-versions' of the text that can be browsed online. Even though they are not primarily produced on paper, these textual products still inhabit most of the characteristics and the recognisable forms of their print archetypes, namely books and articles, and they are positioned in traditional print-based channels, journals and series. This is necessary in scholarly publishing in particular, because academia still heavily relies on some characteristics of print: most notably stability of the final text and fixity of its form—both of which are necessary for referring to specific text passages. Moreover, these 'digital surrogates', as Adriaan van der Weel and I have dubbed them, also include features of print within, such as page-numbering, typographic lay-out, and structured, self-contained references through footnotes or endnotes.[45] In the broad range of possibilities the digital medium has to offer, the most widely proliferating digital text types thus still strongly mimic the print tradition. The discrepancy between expectations and reality is far from coincidental, as the print-based characteristics have, over the course of centuries, gained a reputation of trustworthiness and quality—symbolic capital, or prestige that is now being heavily, albeit usually implicitly, relied upon by scholarly authors and readers.

2. Movement: The digital medium disrupts the field

The majority of digital publications thus only incorporates a limited set of properties of the digital medium, as established contention in the scholarly disciplines significantly slows the uptake of any of them. Nevertheless, the initial focus-shift away from physical, printed products has already shown to be quite disruptive to the field of scholarly publishing. For one, the diversion from print to electronic copies, which depends on one singular property of digital text, lowered the barriers to large-scale, low-cost reproduction and dissemination, both by publishers, through institutional repositories, and via alternative providers (not all of them legal).[46] Moreover, machine-readability, of metadata even if not of digital full-text yet, has allowed the development of new indexing and aggregating services, most importantly Google Scholar. This has resulted in increased interconnectedness of the literature and prompted significant changes in users' discovery and access strategies, as they became aware of the new affordances the digital dissemination structures have to offer.[47]

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[45] Praal & Van der Weel, 'Taming the digital wilds', p. 99. Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash call those products 'electronic proxies' for print; 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 2.

[46] John Wright, 'Open Access for monograph publishing: Operational thoughts and speculations', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 49.2 (January 2018), pp. 175–192.

[47] Ibid.; Origgi, 'The new markets of academic reputation'; Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing*, p. 66.

Theoretically, argued from the Bourdieusian framework, changing strategies of users are to be expected: if new agents, in this case for instance content-storing platforms and search engines, enter the field, extant core agents—scholars—will redirect some of their capital to form new, advantageous relationships with these new entrants. In this case, the advantages afforded by online communication include easy discovery, speedy delivery, and low-cost access that benefit readers. However, agents will only engage in such new relationships if that is beneficial to them; typically, they will not if they risk losing capital in the transaction. The position of scholarly authors in the field depends on the bestowing of symbolic capital on their work, and the most dependable route to obtain that is still through traditional publications, since readers have come to associate traditional publications with the values of science over the course of centuries (see ch. 1).[48] The amount of symbolic capital associated with a traditionally published text therefore renders scholars-as-authors more hesitant to abandon this form of communication for digital alternatives.

If the rise of the digital medium has indeed initiated a transition to an online mentality, academia currently displays a hybrid mind-set at best: researchers overall retain a conservative attitude towards publications, as products with significant symbolic value that is deeply rooted in the affordances of print. Yet this attachment is twinned with a more progressive, or arguably opportunistic, attitude towards the affordance of lossless copying that the digital medium offers for the practical processes surrounding published products, such as their discovery, dissemination and delivery.[49] This explains the discrepancy between authors' and readers' practices, even though they have similar attitudes to the symbolic capital of published texts: authors still must publish via the formal and recognised channels, because this is the only way they can obtain prestige for their communications otherwise lacking symbolic capital. Readers rely on the prestige-transferring mechanisms of publishing as well, but their demand for symbolic capital to be attached to texts has already been met as soon as those are formally published. It is not relevant to them whether they subsequently access these texts via formal or informal distribution—through circulating proofs, preprint versions or even illegal copies, via personal networks, institutional repositories or anonymous servers—is not relevant to them, as the symbolic capital has been bestowed to the idea of the text, and not to a particular instance or *manifestation* of it.

It should be noted that the development and uptake of such digital dissemination services has advanced more quickly and more pervasively in the STEM disciplines than in others, even if STEM disciplines, too, still primarily make use of print-based digital products like PDFs. The explanation for this is twofold. Firstly, as argued in chapter 3, STEM publishing has developed into an oligopolistic market dominated by agents specialised in mass-scale production at significant profits. These financial resources could be invested in the development of digital services that could then in turn be applied at the same mass-scale. Secondly, such services in digital publishing yield maximal results in 'economies of scale' with large collections of relatively similar texts. Articles in such journals are usually uniformly set-up, with largely the same structural components being repeated in fixed order across document instances.[50] This facilitates automated indexing and even full-text crawling, as algorithms can be taught to expect these structural components across a large corpus of texts. Besides, the acceptance of English as the *de facto lingua franca* of STEM-research has contributed to machine reading options, as services do not have to cope with translation difficulties.[51] These, again, can be found in the mass quantities of STEM-articles, produced in 'fleets' of similar journals. In an intricate relationship, communication practices, business structure, and digital services iteratively help strengthen one another in the STEM-disciplines, because research in them depends on a large number of relatively similar formal publications.

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[48] Praal & Van der Weel, 'Taming the digital wilds', pp. 97–98.

[49] Different balances between these contrastive attitudes have been struck in different disciplines, that result in differing degrees of digital publishing (this I explain below). The balances partly reflect the position of text in academia's disciplines. Humanities scholars hold academic writing in high esteem and perceive it as an acculturated skill; this may render them more aware of the properties of text in print and in digital versions, and it may affect their attitude towards traditional and less conservative modes of communication. See also ch. 1, esp. section 5.

The publishers that are active in these STEM-research disciplines have been on the forefront of developing technological support systems for the digital dissemination, discovery and delivery of publications, as they have traditionally possessed the economic capital available to invest in such systems and they became quickly aware that there was market demand for them.[52] Assisted by the technology that they developed in-house (or obtained through acquiring other companies), the large, stock-listed corporations such as Elsevier and Springer have streamlined publishing processes in the quest for more efficient production of their intellectual capital, i.e. journal articles. Initially, at the dawn of digital developments, they aimed for this to result in lower overhead costs and therefore potentially larger returns-on-investment for their shareholders (ch. 3.3–3.4). Since the opening-up of the Web and the resulting shift to online publishing, technology has made it easier to monitor business performance: the traditional scientometrics databases that index citations since the print era have more recently been complemented by alternative metrics like page view and download counts.[53] Publishers have effectuated such quantitative performance reports to optimise business both in production and sales. Governments, research institutes and even departments and individual scholars increasingly rely on metrics too, but then as indicators of research performance. Publishers have responded to this demand by creating tools for performance analysis through measurements, which they now sell alongside publications.[54]

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[50] Alan G. Gross, Joseph E. Harmon & Michael S. Reidy, *Communicating Science: The Scientific Article from the 17th Century until the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), esp. ch. 10 'Explaining the development of the scientific article', pp. 214–228.

[51] Likely, the reverse holds true as well: because of automated indexing facilitating searches in English, English literature is easier found and retrieved, which may incentivize authors to write in English instead of in other languages. Ronald Snijder has observed the increasing tendency to use queries in English and connects these to reader's expectations, although he does not connect this to the rise of automated indexing and retrieval systems: 'Modes of access: The influence of dissemination channels on the use of Open Access monographs', *Information Research* 19.3 (2014), n.pag; section 'Language and dissemination channels'.

[52] Joseph J. Esposito, 'How traditional publishing works', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (17 September 2018), n.pag; the ensuing discussion is perhaps even more informative than the article itself, and especially David Crotty's contributions in it are valuable.

[53] In scientometrics, the Impact Factor (IF) is the longest-standing and overall accepted indicator of the status of a journal. Here, the IF carries much more weight than other data like download counts, partly because most alternative metrics have only become available much more recently. However, for publishers' marketing strategies, such a hierarchy between proxies is less relevant: any quantification that reveals use patterns and uptake by academia may help to develop business plans.

Consequently, although perhaps not initially fully intendedly, automated logging, tracking and counting has also resulted in the generation of symbolic capital through technology in this industry: automated quantifications such as use statistics and the Impact Factor are its current tokens of prestige, and they can only be generated through digital technology. Symbolic capital remains indispensable to science publishing, but the digital infrastructure has attached it to digital publication channels and infrastructure, i.e. journals and platforms. This process has quantified symbolic capital so that it can be used in economic exchanges, made it openly visible and therefore more explicitly present, and simultaneously remoted it from the reputation of the company itself. Through their commercial orientation, or their primary focus on economic capital, science publishing companies have thus transformed into mass-scale technology corporations over the last two decades, specialising in quantifying and then monetizing symbolic capital. This has been facilitated by the research practices of the STEM-disciplines that had already converged towards a strong preference for relatively uniformly structured journal articles in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In the neighbouring field of humanities scholarly publishing, by contrast, the consequences of the rise of the digital medium have been markedly different. Argued from the conceptual framework presented in chapter 1, this is the result of disciplinary characteristics: most importantly, the cumulative nature of research and the wider, 'rural', distribution of agents over their discipline give rise to small markets for humanities research. Besides, humanities scholars, the institutions buying on their behalf and their publishers have much less economic capital at their disposal, in a Bourdieusian term, and depend less on this form of capital too.[55] As demonstrated in the previous chapter (esp. 3.3–3.4), the heterogeneity in the publication practices of humanities scholarship have helped shape the publishing field as an arena for many smaller organisations, including many not-for-profits. For such agents, that overall have limited, if any, financial reserves to spare, structural investment in digital innovation has not always been feasible—and not always strategic either, as it is difficult to develop systems and services that suit the variety of humanities disciplinary communication practices and the different genre-specifications of essays, articles, reviews, chapters, and monographs (to list the most proliferated text-types).

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[54] Elsevier, for example, sells Entellect, Pure and SciVal, three metrics-based tools and services for performance analysis (all marketed to research management). Thomson Reuters built its business partly around the Science Citation Index (Web of Science); since 2016, its spin-off Clarivate Analytics owns this data and sells subscriptions to derivative performance analysis tools. Altmetric is a data service company selling tools and services that monitor online use of publications to researchers, publishers and institutions.

[55] For the analysis of the Bourdieusian conceptual framework, see ch. 2. The specific dispositions of agents in the field of humanities scholarly publishing are in themselves the result of socio-economic developments, mainly those after the Second World War, as I have extensively argued in ch. 3.

Humanities publishers have, of course, developed digital services, but overall much later than the large corporations that are active in the STEM-disciplines, and inherently not in economies of equal scale. New, non-publishing agents with expertise in digital technology have been more successful in developing online infrastructures.[56] Because large-scale digital production systems have long been absent from or external to the humanities disciplines, the symbolic capital of their publications has not got as heavily mediated by digital technology. Even though some publications, journals in particular, have now moved to predominantly online distribution, their prestige remains usually unquantified and closely connected to the publisher's reputation as a result of the diversified array of mostly small-scale, specialist publishing firms that occupy the field. Humanities scholarly publishers are still experts in transferring symbolic capital, but they do this via traditional mechanisms of producing quality products—be they in print or digital form.

However, the rise of the digital medium, and especially its affordance of lossless copying, has rendered the production of print economically less viable. After all, physical source materials, printers' expertise, and storing and transport of paper products all incur costs that can be avoided with digital end-products, as these can be reproduced immediately and automatically through network connections. Such cost-saving efficiency might initially seem an attractive business perspective for publishers and their shareholders. Among the other agents in the field of academic publishing, the consumer-side—readers and their supporting institutional libraries—logically tends towards digital publications as well: this stems from economic incentives as well as practical considerations regarding access and delivery. Yet in their practical acceptance of the digital products, publishers as well as consumers have tended to subordinate the symbolic capital attached to publications—a type of capital which, in the Humanities, does not have a strong presence in any online form. This causes uncertainty, as humanities scholarly publishers as well as the other agents in the field are unsure if and how symbolic capital should be represented digitally so that it can be recognised.

Moreover, the publishers' activities in the exchange of symbolic capital, such as quality control, marketing and maintaining relationships, are inherently not very visible; especially not compared to the very visible production, distribution and warehousing of physical, tangible products, all activities in the realm of economic capital. Because of the prominent physical presence of printed books and journals, the costs for publishing them had long been accepted by the other agents in the field; authors, institutions and readers had acknowledged that they could never bear the production and distribution costs by themselves. They had therefore also acquiesced that publishers need economic capital for upfront investments, and that they can potentially obtain profit, which they can funnel into subsequent investments. Because such investment always precedes publication, publishers are inherently unsure if investments will be recouped; through selection of what they estimate to be high-quality, in-demand texts, publishers seek to minimize their risks. It is through this estimation by their publisher that selected texts get assigned symbolic capital. Through a cycle of mutual, interdependent expectations and perceptions of other agents in the field, this symbolic capital gains importance: scholars—both as authors and readers—are aware of the publishers' selection efforts and the symbolic capital thus bestowed to texts; and publishers recognize academia's sensitivity towards esteem, on which they continue to build their reputation by emphasizing their strict selection criteria.

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[56] Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 3.

Compared to the traditional paradigm of print, the costs for the production of digital publications have indeed become somewhat lower due to the absence of physical end-products, although they are certainly not as low as is commonly believed.[57] Despite the shrunken costs for the production of print, the largest cost category for humanities scholarly publishing has always been that of staff time, especially in the activities of acquisitions and list-building, quality control, and editing.[58] In the changed economic reality combined with the relative invisibility of—or disregard for—publishers' activities in acquiring and bestowing symbolic capital, the transition to digital production has thus caused an underestimation of the importance of publishers by other agents in the field. Paradoxically, this is despite the fact that scholars in many academic disciplines, for instance in the Humanities, continue to appreciate physical books.[59] Publishers moreover seem to have difficulties foregrounding their prestige-enhancing activities to the other agents in the field. As a result, publishers are increasingly defined conceptually by their value contributions in the upfront investment of economic capital—which is erroneously deemed less significant in the digital realm than with print.[60] The accompanying disregard for symbolic capital has understandably caused existential uncertainty, especially among those small publishers in the Humanities, for which dealing in prestige is relatively important as they do not have substantial reserves of economic capital to compensate with.[61]

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[57] The scholarly publishing field has since long estimated that moving to electronic-only publishing (for journals) saves 20-25% of costs compared to print; for an early such estimate, based on previous explorations, see: Sally Morris, 'The true costs of scholarly journal publishing', *Learned Publishing* 18.2 (2005), pp. 115–126, esp. p. 124. Nevertheless, the misperception persists that digital publishing would be far less costly. Ball demonstrates the wide-spread misguided view on the proportionality of publishing expenses, 'Open Access', pp. 166-167: 'In the print world, a large part of the cost of a scholarly journal of any size arises from its distribution: its physical creation, production, and delivery. These and other costs (for example, marketing, collecting subscriptions, contributions to overheads, and surplus or profit for commercial publishers), have generally been met by subscriptions: selling physical copies to individuals and libraries. In the electronic world, the costs of distribution, given the infrastructure of the Internet, are virtually non-existent.' Contrastingly, several veterans of scholarly publishing list the underestimation of the costs for online publishing as an important misconception that hinders their business: Ann Michael, 'Ask the chefs: What is the biggest misconception people have about scholarly publishing?', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (23 March 2016). See also the comment by 'Sarah' (17 September 2018, 3:20pm): 'Except what are the costs of online publication? Very little'—sparking a lively discussion about the costs of online publishing in the comments section under this blogpost: Esposito, 'How traditional publishing works'.

[58] Maron et al., *The Costs of Publishing Monographs*, p. 5; Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash accurately remark that a significant allocation of press time and energy goes to the evaluation of manuscripts that are *ultimately not published*' (original emphasis); 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 8. Also, it used to be analogue publishing wisdom that the cost of book production was to be multiplied times five to arrive at the retail price: Adriaan van der Weel, private conversation, 8 July 2019.

[59] Print retains importance in humanities scholarship, especially in monographs with extended and long-lived argumentation (for the discipline-intrinsic reasons behind this, see ch. 1.4–1.5). For book publishers, digital publishing does therefore not replace physical production, but is added to it.

[60] As Joseph Esposito remarks: 'Publishing is the investment of capital, usually directed by editorial choice. [...] It is important to reflect on just what is meant when someone talks about 'disintermediating

In this conceptual repositioning of scholarly publishers in their field, a compounding factor presents itself in perceptions of publishing among academics. Some consider publishers' economic power inversely proportional to their notoriety in a significantly deteriorated image of publishing.[62] This negative image of publishers can perhaps be explained from the conceptual framework of the Mertonian norms in academia. In the system of science of the print age, publishers' activities unequivocally helped to uphold and propagate the norms of universality and communality, as their printing and distribution where the only means that could allow new knowledge to spread widely. Online, however, there are alternative production and dissemination routes. Although publishers' activities still clearly further the goals of knowledge sharing, it must be acknowledged that they do not, and cannot, facilitate or allow all online options—and thus that they do not maximally uphold academia's norms.[63] Whereas publishers had been designated, natural and constant partners for academia throughout the print age, from the Mertonian perspective they could now be considered useful, or even necessary, but fundamentally suspect outsiders by academia in the digital age. Jefferson Pooley demonstrates this sentiment in a militant blogpost calling for alternative, non-profit, scholarly-led initiatives to be pitted against the existing publishing infrastructures:

> We know how it happened [that we delegate publishing to for-profit firms]: a more costly and specialised service, in the era of print production, was outsourced to small firms which, by merger and acquisition, gave way to the publishing conglomerates. [...] We have the chance to disrupt (to repurpose a stale verb) the strange, if explainable, joint-custody arrangement we currently have: non-profit universities and for-profit publishers. A publishing ecosystem centered on *scholarly values*—rather than 30 per cent, Elsevier-style profit margins—is within reach. For that to happen, we have to throw our weight behind the non-profits, before it's too late. [...]

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the publisher'. You can easily disintermediate production (publishers do this all the time), or warehousing, or sales, or just about anything, but *the one thing you cannot disintermediate is that which makes publishing publishing*, the investment of capital.' Original emphasis. Esposito, 'The Wisdom of Oz', n.pag.

[61] Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing*, p. 79.

[62] Stephen Tötösy de Zepetnek & Joshua Jia, 'Electronic journals, prestige, and the economics of academic journal publishing', *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 16.1 (2014) article 12, n.pag.

[63] Publishers *cannot* allow all online options, for instance that of free and unlimited copying and sharing, from the inescapable economic reality in which they do their business, of course—yet from inside the Mertonian concept of a self-contained and autonomous system of science, business logic is irrelevant. Besides, Merton simply took the economic reality of the production of physical books for granted—as would be expected in the 1940s, when the theory was formulated.

> So it's a fair question: if everyone is working for the same "open" future, why carp about earnings and shareholders? The main reason is that *the profit motive is misaligned, fundamentally, with the core values of academic life*. The market's restless rent-seeking corrodes ideals like unfettered inquiry, knowledge-sharing, and cooperative progress. […] We rightly resist the market's campus incursions; there's no reason why we should exempt scholarly communication—the thing that knits our institutions together—from that same scrutiny.[64]

As my italics highlight, the premise of this argument, or call-to-action for the scholarly community to abandon traditional publishing, hinges on the presupposed normative system in academia, that would be fundamentally irreconcilable with profit motives. It also reproaches publishing for transforming intellectual and symbolic capital in academia for economic capital—while it has been precisely this traditional exchange that enabled publishers to invest in channels for intellectual and symbolic capital to be disseminated and accrued in academia in the first place! While such reproachful suspicion by academia may hold some justification against large STEM-publishing corporations with double-digit profit margins, it offers little or none to the more heterogeneous and less unilaterally profit-driven publishing entities that mostly cater to the Humanities. They suffer from it regardless, because of the dominance of the commercial STEM-publishers in terms of social, intellectual, and economic capital, and therefore in public and academic perception.

The relationship between academia and academic publishing is thus shifting because academia no longer perceives their interests as being aligned. Yet the position of academia itself in society at large has also undergone significant changes, with the rise of New Public Management and the ensuing climate of accountability at universities (ch. 3.4). Observed through the lens of the Bourdieusian conceptual framework, the field of academia has grown less autonomous, and the subsidiary field of academic publishing is inescapably affected by that change. As I have argued in chapter 2 (esp. 2.2), the field of publishing has traditionally been economically stronger than academia, but culturally subordinate to it; this results in a mutual dependency that is necessary for the exchange of symbolic capital. In the twentieth century, academia's limited possession of economic capital has provided an opening for the Bourdieusian 'field of power' to take control over it, via the instrumental economic capital that is provided through government funding.[65] NPM legitimizes this move to dominance over academia: its philosophy dictates that the supplier of funding may set values and performance standards, as well as control spending on resources.[66] The field of publishing is inherently intertwined both in the symbolic dimension of academic performance as measured through productivity and citations, as well as with the economic market for publications on which its businesses depend. Any move of the field of power over academia therefore directly affects publishing as well.

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[64] Jefferson Pooley, 'Scholarly communications shouldn't just be open, but non-profit too', *LSE Impact Blog* (15 August 2017), n.pag; my italics.

[65] The 'field of power' is in this work defined as the dominant, ruling force in society: national (and supranational) governments, representing public majority views with significant economic, social and cultural capital to enforce its will. For an extensive discussion of this and related Bourdieusian concepts, see ch. 2.2.

[66] Origgi, 'The new markets of academic reputation', p. 68.

The field of power's struggle for control over academia and its adjacent agents results in conflict when pitted against the economically powerful and therefore relatively autonomous field of corporate publishers, typically active in the STEM-disciplines. In such a conflict for power, Bourdieusian theory suggests that the field of power would aim to deflect both symbolic and economic capital from those publishers in an attempt to weaken their position. Given the publishers' financial autonomy, it would do so with tools that it has available and that business has not: institutional regulations and legislation. The recent rise in Open Access mandates can be viewed as intentionally enforced disruption of the publishers' traditional business model by the field of power, in the shape of national governments and research funding institutions. In 2013, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) was the first to mandate Open Access publishing for all results of projects it funds; many national and international funding bodies have followed suit since then.[67] Most mandating institutions present their new policies singularly for the benefit of science, but an analysis of social expectations and reputation will demonstrate that they are weapons in a conflict of power.

The previous chapter described how the rise of the online medium and, to a lesser extent, the establishment of a *de facto* digital publishing standard (PDF), technologically enabled the development of Open Access infrastructure, with computer science and physics not coincidentally among the pioneering disciplines. However, broad support for Open Access as a means to curb publishers' profits could not have risen without sociocultural internalization of the affordances of the digital medium, in an online mentality across academia.[68] Firstly, and as a direct consequence of the digital medium's salient properties, the intangibility of digital product manifestations and the possibilities for their lossless and immediate copying led to expectations of free (*gratis*) availability of them, in general[69]—and publications are no exception to this rule, as publishers struggle to demonstrate the still significant efforts and costs dedicated to creating digital products. Academia has been highly receptive to this perspective, because of the typical structure of the academic publishing field in which readers are not buyers: researchers have traditionally depended on institutional library collections, and they have thus been accustomed to accessing, but not owning publications even in printed form.[70] Moreover, librarians and researchers had already legitimately been worrying about the perpetually rising journal subscription costs.[71] Optimistically, many believed that the digital medium would provide the solution for the issue of ever-growing expenses.

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[67] A comprehensive database of all optional and obligatory initiatives is provided in the *Registry for Open Access Repository Mandates and Policies* (ROARMAP): http://roarmap.eprints.org/ [accessed 3 June 2019].

[68] I would concur with Sherer's assertion that 'Open Access does not solve an economic problem; it solves a cultural and social problem by (ideally) maximizing the dissemination of knowledge'. Quote from interview on 8 April 2016 in: Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 10.

[69] Adriaan van der Weel, 'The Trojan horse of open access', *Exploring the Boundaries of the Book: TXT 2* (2014), pp. 82–87; pp. 84–85. This expectation pertains not only to books and articles, but to all digital media, including music, film, games, the news, etcetera.

[70] Individual book ownership and journals subscriptions have always been more common in humanities disciplines than in others. Researchers did, however, use to have larger private collections in the twen-

In the twenty-first century, this belief has got combined with indignation about high profit margins in corporate publishing. Protest against this is often expressed, in a simplification of the digital medium's salient properties, that 'information wants to be free'—alluding to Stewart Brand's statement that information is becoming increasingly valuable, but the costs of disseminating it are ever-shrinking.[72] This has become a motto in the conflict between the field of power and academic publishing.[73] In this, academia generally supports open access from an extended interpretation of the Mertonian norms of universality and communality, which has only been made possible by the rise of the online medium; open access advocate Peter Suber even connects the movement to the very reason for the Internet's creation.[74] As Rick Anderson puts it: 'During the print era [...] it was difficult to make a cogent moral argument for universal free access to scholarly information for the simple reason that such access, however abstractly desirable, was manifestly impossible.'[75] Online infrastructure has now made that desirable universal access theoretically possible, but the current abstract, ideological support for it generally disregards the practical aspects of such infrastructure that still requires significant investments for its production and subsistence.

The same motto, 'that information wants to be free' was expressed, for instance, in the Cost of Knowledge-boycott against Elsevier in 2012 that lists both the excessive subscription costs as well as Elsevier's support for restrictive legislation as its main grievances.[76] In addition, open access is increasingly framed as a call for accountability in

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tieth century than they do now; and older generations tend to have more extensive collections than juniors: Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015*, pp. 25–26; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, p. 31, fn. 16. The digitization of sources is likely to have caused private acquisitions to diminish, as are price rises that render sources less affordable to individuals.

[71] De Vries, *Four Windows of Opportunity*, pp. 234–235; Andriesse, *Dutch Messengers*, pp. 208–209.

[72] 'On the one hand information wants to be expensive, because it's so valuable. The right information in the right place just changes your life. On the other hand, information wants to be free, because the cost of getting it out is getting lower and lower all the time. So you have these two fighting against each other.' Brand allegedly said this to Apple's Steve Wozniak at the first Hackers Conference in 1984; the argument is paraphrased in: Brand, *The Media Lab: Inventing the Future at MIT* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), p. 202. Despite the allusion to the costs of dissemination, 'free' should not be interpreted as '*gratis*' here, but as 'unrestrained'.

[73] Interestingly, Adrian Johns links the adage back to earlier academic discourse: 'We still live amid the legacies of these mid-century debates about science and society. We inherit their terms, and the culture of science that shapes our world is the one left to us by them. If we think "information wants to be free," then we voice a sentiment championed by Wiener, Polanyi and Plant.' Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 429.

[74] Peter Suber, 'Opening access to research', *Open Society Foundations - Voices* (2 September 2012), n.pag.

[75] Anderson, *Scholarly Publishing*, p. 199.

[76] Tim Gowers, 'Elsevier – my part in its downfall', post on *Gower's Weblog: Mathematics related discussions* (21 January 2012), n.pag; The Cost of Knowledge-website www.thecostofknowledge.com, and its 'Statement of Purpose' at: https://gowers.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/elsevierstatementfinal.pdf.

the discourse among the general public: since science is fuelled by public funding raised by taxpayers, the taxpaying public should have access to its results.[77] A more nuanced argument in the same vein defends open access even if it would only lead to easier access to publications by researchers (which its proponents suppose it does):

> Science and scholarship are activities funded from the public purse because society believes they will lead to a better future in terms of our health, environment, and culture. [...] Anything that maximises the efficacy and efficiency of research benefits every one of us. Open Access is a major tool in that quest.[78]

Regardless of who precisely should *read* scholarly texts, all variants of this open access advocacy boil down to the same premise: because public access to academic publications could be beneficial to society at large, NPM-doctrine furthers the argument saying that it is not only justified, but even necessary for governmental or institutional control to intervene in the field—thereby legitimizing the field of power's grasp for control over academia and academic publishing.[79]

University presses find themselves in an especially dire predicament in this regard. With two notable exceptions, the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, they have never been economically powerful incumbents in their field, but most enjoyed enough autonomy and social support from their institutions to continue to acquire and transfer prestige via small-scale, tailored publishing, predominantly in the Humanities. NPM at universities directly disrupted their autonomy across the board, as many university presses have been subordinated and held accountable, by reporting to another 'unit' of management which controls their funding—increasingly often the library, which itself is under budgetary scrutiny.[80] This external control removes business initiatives, as it renders publishers risk-averse; combined with the short-term, unpredictable funding cycles that academia at large is subjected to, university presses are also left very vulnerable to managerial and policy shifts.[81] Moreover, universities under NPM-doctrine display a schizophrenic attitude towards their university presses: presses are expected to enhance institutional prestige through the production of excellent, preferably openly accessible publications, yet they should also operate as self-supporting, economically viable businesses. This is paradoxical in general at best, but especially hard in their specialism, tailored, small-scale monographs and journals for the Humanities. Thompson illustrates the dilemma:[82]

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[77] Philip M. Davis, 'How the media frames "Open Access"', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 12.1 (February 2009), n.pag.; esp. Table 2.

[78] Quote by Heather Joseph, executive director of the Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition (SPARC), in 'Scientists, Foundations, Libraries, Universities, and Advocates Unite and Issue New Recommendations to Make Research Freely Available to All Online', Open Society Foundations press release (12 September 2012), n.pag.

[79] It should be noted that academia acts as a willing accomplice, as many researchers are flattered by the suggestion that the general public would read their publications, if only they would be openly available. This pro-OA argument holds little truth, as the general public overall is neither capable nor interested to do this. See also: Daniel Allington, 'On open access, and why it's not the answer', post on *danielallington.net* (15 October 2013); Fleur Praal, 'Open Science: A necessary call for action?', post on *Leiden Arts in Society Blog* (23 June 2016), n.pag.

[80] Moreover, such an arrangement further compounds interest, as the library must then divide its resources over production as well as acquisition activities.

[81] Wright, 'Open access for monograph publishing', p. 184.

> [G]iven the deterioration in the market for scholarly books, the expectation that university presses should contribute to the symbolic capital of the university while making little or no demand on its economic capital was unrealistic. Something had to give. Either the presses had to persuade their host institutions to continue to support them (albeit on reduced levels) or they had to find other ways of generating cash (for example, by shifting the emphasis of their publishing programmes towards more lucrative fields of publishing). And in many cases, they had to do both (as well as other things).[83]

Among these 'other things' Thompson hints at, applications for public or philanthropic funding are important. There are resources available, albeit on a larger scale in the United States than in Europe; yet they are usually intended for innovative publishing experiments and not for daily business in general.[84] And of course, a more fundamental dependency on external parties means further erosion of the publishers' autonomy—and in case of government funding, a closer adherence of publishing to the public field of power, which brings the development to full-cycle. The encroachment of the field of power brings university presses' economic, social, and symbolic capital under tighter managerial control, as the presses, as well as their home institutions, lack the economic capital to offer much resistance.

3. The constant: Humanities scholarly publishing's prestige

Regardless of the technological advancements and the socio-cultural struggles surrounding them, researchers are still relying predominantly on traditional publications to obtain symbolic capital, or prestige, as academic authors. In the Humanities especially, the values of the print era remain, because the crucial symbolic capital has not been otherwise intertwined with digital publications and their infrastructure. Humanities scholars and their publishers are thus looking for ways to retain the activities of formalizing communication, which bring about the values rooted firmly in the affordances of print, while combining them with the economic and technological conveniences of the digital medium. The heterogeneity of humanities scholarship and the diversity in its scholarly publishing agents render it likely that the transition to fundamentally digital products will be idiosyncratic for each of these disciplines; all the more so, because 'translating traditional practices to new media will often bring to light important but implicit organizational and disciplinary values'.[85] Because of the fundamental importance of publications in disseminating the outcomes of research, communication practices and disciplinary culture iteratively shape each other; and because research communication is essential, its platforms, publication channels and tools will have to be developed in line with scholars' evolving needs.[86]

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[82] Thompson curiously uses the past tense, but this problem remains pertinent today.

[83] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, p. 109.

[84] The A.W. Mellon Foundation is perhaps an exception to this rule; it funds projects and experiments in digital publishing, but also helps permanently sustaining structural initiatives such as Manifold Press, Open Library of the Humanities, and Humanities Commons. All its grants can be searched in a database: the search for grants since 2000 in the programme 'Scholarly Communications', with 'digital publishing' as a keyword amounts to 83 grants for a cumulative total exceeding $28 million: https://mellon.org/grants/grants-database/ (19 September 2019).

Moreover, in this continued development of digital communication systems, the publisher remains a crucial collaborating partner for humanities scholarship. Research processes in other disciplines typically encompass a hypothesis and a research plan plus subsequent use of laboratories, equipment, or respondents to obtain data to validate that hypothesis—and usually all this is done in a team effort, with intermediary products and raw data usually shared between co-authors.[87] In more solitary disciplines like those in the Humanities, there is often no collegial consultation in the research process and no such shared infrastructure; much of humanities scholarship consists of individual reading, thinking, and writing. Only the latter aspect leaves any trace at all: text is the literal objectification of ideas that renders it possible for those ideas to be systematically examined by others besides their conceiving author. The Mertonian norm of organized scepticism prescribes that research should be constantly scrutinized by peers; in the Humanities, this scrutiny must thus regard the textual manifestation of research, as it is the only trace that could be checked by others. An external, disinterested agent that validates these textual manifestations, a scholarly publisher, can thus be considered an instrumental part of the humanities research infrastructure—and in many research endeavours, it is almost the only infrastructural component.

It is therefore no coincidence that authors in such solitary and textually oriented disciplines are known to rely more on individual arrangements with external parties, like learned societies and publishers, than that they depend on arrangements with their institutions.[88] For instance, humanities authors are found to comparatively rely more on publishers for the inclusion, embedding and preservation of data, images, and media files accompanying their publications than researchers from other disciplines.[89] One rare account of usually implicit disciplinary *habitus* emphasizes the importance to junior humanities scholars of establishing and maintaining individual relationships with (university) press editors for the purpose of book publishing;[90] a similar attitude speaks, although often equally implicitly, in accounts from or about publishing.[91] Given their limited scale of business, tailor-made publishing processes and attention to individual scholars' needs, the heterogeneous smaller publishing firms are optimally equipped to take up an infrastructural role, in close service relationships with authors in the humanities scholarly process. The fact that publishers traditionally enjoy significant symbolic capital moreover renders them able to function as prestige engines for academics that online alternatives cannot yet compete with. Paradoxically, their roots in the paradigm of print and its associated values equip publishers to occupy an essential position in digital academic communication.

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[85] Kathleen Fitzpatrick & Katherine Rowe, 'Keywords for open peer review', *Logos* 21.3–4 (2010), pp. 133–141.

[86] See also: Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, US Faculty Survey 2015, p. 75; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, pp. 2, 27–28.

[87] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 26; Schonfeld offers a model for 'the research process', many elements of which are non-existent in the Humanities: Roger C. Schonfeld, 'Big Deal: Should universities outsource more core research infrastructure?', Ithaka S+R Issue Brief (4 January 2018), 10 pp.; p. 3.

[88] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 26.

[89] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015 & UK Survey of Academics 2015*; sections 'Research Dissemination', pp. 38–57, esp. p. 54 fig. 34 & pp. 45–72, esp. p. 70 fig. 44 resp.

For scholarly authors, the most vital relationship with a publisher lies in the initial stage of acceptance of written research contributions and their subsequent editing into publishable, finite forms. Traditionally, the uptake of a manuscript by a publisher and its subsequent production into a book or article signifies the transition between informal communication and formal publication; in its published manifestation, the text becomes finite and stable, and even gets legally protected by copyright. For researchers in the problem-driven, 'urban' STEM-disciplines that produce substitutive knowledge, speedy registration of a contribution is important for establishing primacy;[92] the emphasis is therefore on the contents of a publication—the reporting of usually data-intensive research results. Here, acceptance of an article after review (and usually revisions)[93] constitutes the registration of a knowledge contribution, and it therefore marks a transition. This is an act of service by the publisher; the fact that the publisher is willing to formally register a research product attaches esteem to it, and simultaneously to its author.[94]

In the 'rural' field of humanities research where contributions are cumulative, however,[95] primacy is not such an important aspect, because peers are rarely focusing on one shared research front, and moreover contributions to humanities discourses are inherently interpretative and therefore remain open for subsequent re-interpretations.[96]

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[90] Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, 'Strategies for publishing in the Humanities: A senior professor advises junior scholars', *Journal of Scholarly Publishing* 48.4 (July 2017), pp. 199–220; esp. pp. 210–211.

[91] Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communication', esp. pp. 8, 19, 24–25; Alison Muddit, 'University Presses in Decline… Not so fast', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (9 November 2015), n.pag., especially the views of Niko Pfund, Jon E. Cawthorne & Leila Salisbury; confirmed in a private conversation with Stephanie Paalvast, program manager at Brill (15 March 2019).

[92] See ch. 1.3 for the analysis of these terms, in the conceptual framework of knowledge practice studies.

[93] Additionally, insistence on revisions following thorough peer review validates the role of the reviewer; by proxy, this recognition for reviewers enhances the publisher's prestige.

[94] For STEM-journal publications, the esteem attached to an accepted article is the Impact Factor of the journal in which it will be published—it is not directly connected to the publisher's reputation in the digital age.

[95] See ch. 1.3–4 for extensive explanations of this terminology.

[96] It should be noted that the lack of speed is lamented, but nevertheless not considered a crucial aspect in the publishing process, even by STEM-researchers; humanities researchers consider speed the least important factor when choosing a publisher. Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based

Precisely because each research contribution is an interpretation, an idea put to text, the particular phrasing of that interpretation is crucial—and it is this particular phrasing that humanities authors are anxious to have registered verbatim. For humanities scholarship, publishers are therefore not only fundamentally important in the act of formally registering a text, by accepting it as a publication and bestowing esteem through doing so; they are also crucial partners for authors in the *process* of turning the text into its definitive manifestation that is suitable for registration. Through this process, the text gets its definitive form, and attracts esteem bound up with the publisher's.

This is not at all to say that publishers outside the humanities field are not involved in shaping submitted manuscripts into publishable articles; they, too, are heavily invested in the organization of peer review that underpins the acceptance process, and they offer editorial services in the production stage. However, the publishers of humanities scholarship are by necessity more fundamentally involved with the texts they acquire and send out for peer review, because reviews of interpretative, hermeneutic texts are inherently interpretative and hermeneutic themselves and thus merit close reading and discussion; reviews at humanities publishers rarely return binary accept-or-reject decisions.[97] The acquisitions and editorial stage from first submission of the manuscript to final published product therefore merits involved stewardship by the publisher (as well as editorial boards of peers acting on its behalf).[98] It should also be kept in mind that, due to the solitary and interpretative nature of humanities research, submission of a text to a publisher is the first formal presentation of research taking place at all; authors may informally consult friends and colleagues to proofread a text before submission, but other than in collaborative projects, they do not usually share the full intricacies of their research—their ideas—prior to publication. The feedback from the publisher in the registration process can therefore also be of fundamental importance in fine-tuning the text—which, due to the nature of humanities research, essentially constitutes part of the research itself.

Humanities scholarly authors as well as their publishers are therefore more deeply and more inherently attached to the texts they produce than are researchers and publishers in other disciplines. Authors want to retain control over the precise formulation of their ideas in text, because this is the only objectification of those ideas that they could ever produce—there is nothing beyond the idea and the words in which it is written. They are generally anxious to demonstrate originality, and eager to claim ownership of their text and demand attribution.[99] Because of this attitude, confidentiality in the consultation with a publisher (including any peers acting on behalf of the publisher, for instance as editors or reviewers) in the registration process is crucial for humanities authors, and for each publication it is a tailor-made, dialogical process that cannot easily be automated or

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digital publishing', pp. 161–164, 170–172; Fry et al., *Communicating Knowledge*, p. 18; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communications*, p. 10.

[97] Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 24.

[98] Ibid., p. 24.

[99] Fitzpatrick, *Planned Obsolescence*, p. 50.

streamlined.[100] In the acquisition, selection and editing stages of publishing, publishers thus continue to add value in working towards a stable final version of a text—a characteristic of publishing firmly rooted in print.

The digital medium adds its own properties to the process of formalizing and finalizing the manifestations of research, and publishers can be of tremendous value for humanities scholars in the practical implementation of digital technologies. This starts perhaps with relatively simple assistance in formatting text and references for varying online formats that many (junior) scholars would appreciate.[101] Moreover, scholars report that they would want to include typical digital elements in their publications, for instance multimodal elements (sounds, moving images); however, they also indicate that they do not consider themselves technologically equipped to publish in such non-text formats, and that the current, competitive research climate does not allow them sufficient time and opportunity to educate themselves either.[102] Moreover, surveys indicate a discrepancy between scholars' self-reported enthusiasm for digital technologies, and their perception that these technologies have low status in their disciplinary field at large.[103] This too indicates lagging prestige for digital products and is an explanation for low uptake of new technologies and multimodality based on symbolic capital.

Kathleen Fitzpatrick attributes this insecurity about publishing in non-linear arguments or non-textual formats to the humanities' epistemic attachment to text, as its scholars inherently 'translate' cultural heritage of all modalities (including text) into text, by describing and interpreting them. She argues that the digital affordance for multimodal research products in the Humanities blurs the boundaries between research objects, tools and products—and that the disciplines still have to adjust to this alternate paradigm.[104] If the scholarly community were to follow her argument, such adjustments would have to be made in practice first, developing into new standards before esteem would be attached to them. This process is analogous to the historical development of books and journal articles as the gold standards of scholarly communication, in which publishers have had an important role: their scrutiny prior to investment bestows esteem to individual texts they select, and to the genres as a whole. It is probable that publishers can play the same role in the esteem-accruing of digital products.

Whether the underlying cause is symbolic, epistemic or practical, or most likely a dead-locking combination of these three, humanities scholars currently only cautiously explore the possibilities of digital publishing, and in doing so rely on other agents' help—with multimodality, but also with the integration of data, and with flexible presentations. Partly due to funding constraints, scholars currently turn to institutional support staff, usually from the library; yet authors generally indicate they would prefer scholarly colleagues to assist them.[105] This preference again reflects humanities authors' sense of ownership over their intellectual products, in other modalities as strongly as in text. It also suggests there is a need to exchange views on the manifestation of ideas, in whichever mode or form, with independent others who are acutely aware of the disciplinary discourse, to allow for the attachment of symbolic capital to these new forms. This is the position for the scholarly publisher in his esteem-bestowing capacity.

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[100] Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communications', pp. 9-10.

[101] Anna O'Brien, Chris Graf & Kate McKellar, How publishers and editors can help early career researchers: Recommendations from a roundtable discussion, *Learned Publishing* 32.4 (October 2019); pp. 383–393; p. 387.

[102] Illustratively, none of the interviewed historians could name any available tools or outlets for multimedia publishing; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, pp. 12–13, 27.

[103] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 161–164; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 1.

[104] Fitzpatrick, *Planned Obsolescence*, p. 86.

The digital medium's networked capacity allows for easy, quick and affordable collaboration, even with colleagues at a distance. Yet the cautious uptake of this affordance by humanities scholars demonstrates another example of the lingering reliance on values from the print paradigm. Research funding schemes increasingly steer towards larger, collaborative research projects, adding social pressure to technological affordances, but humanities authors do not yet take up collaborative projects on the same scale as STEM-researchers or social scientists do. Likely, this is at least partly due to the interpretative and therefore inherently individual nature of much humanities research work. This can however not be the decisive factor: the majority of scholars indicate they would want to collaborate or have done collaborative projects already.[106] Compared to researchers from other disciplines, though, they are hesitant in their adoption of digital technologies to make collaborations possible: very few use controlled versioning tools or in-progress repositories such as GitHub for their projects. Despite the supply of free or inexpensive shared file systems and cloud computing solutions, the overwhelming majority still uses nothing but email or FTP-clients to send files back and forth. All indicate that real-time, face-to-face contact is still important in their team efforts.[107] Such observations may point to gaps in digital literacy as well as to authorial anxieties about the precise phrasing of a text in its final form (as discussed in the previous sections). Regardless of the cause, scholars' limited investment in digital collaboration tools and processes renders team efforts prone to versioning mishaps and inefficiency.[108]

Since publishers are already involved in turning manuscripts into final published versions, and since they routinely invest in the technological support systems for this process, they could relatively easily extend their role to assisting in projects of humanities collaborative scholarship. STEM-publishers may have realized this opportunity to position themselves as indispensable service providers, and are currently observed to be increasingly investing in tools that support the entire research process from hypothesis to publication.[109] Humanities scholarly publishers could seek a similar pivotal position in their own field and integrate the publishing and the research processes more closely.[110] To occupy such a strategic role in research development is not a novel approach: Berkenkotter and Huckin present a detailed descriptive analysis of how the Modern Language Association (MLA), a trusted service provider, was instrumental in developing *Reader* from an informal newsletter to a full-fledged journal, shaping a disciplinary community in the process, between 1977 and 1988.[111] From a comparably strategic perspective, The University of California Press and the California Digital Library are developing a web-based content management system (CMS) that will be able to support collaborative authoring as well as peer review and subsequent editorial development, in an attempt to gain flexible tools that can combine new, digital working methods with traditional publishing processes.[112] By capturing the by-products of scholarly research as well as final publications, publishers could extend their current roles as registrars and certifiers of the scholarly record. This is especially relevant in the current time in which the boundaries between formal and informal texts are already moving and digital sources are reappraised by scholarly communities.[113]

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[105] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 27.

[106] Ibid., p.16; Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 167-170.

[107] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 167-170; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 16.

[108] It also, more ironically, suggests that scholars' self-reported interest in digital technologies (as mentioned above) should not be taken at face value.

[109] Schonfeld, 'Big Deal'; for instance Elsevier's product page demonstrates the multitude of products currently available for supporting the research process: https://www.elsevier.com/solutions [accessed 28 August 2019].

Publishers are thus in the position to bestow esteem on publications with digital properties alongside traditional ones, and scholars are aware of this and therefore deliberately seek alliance with them to obtain symbolic capital for themselves through their research output. Verified publishing platforms and channels thus come to function as 'esteem catalysts' that bestow their own and each other's symbolic capital to academics. However, they are directly dependent on esteem and trust, too, which they obtain via authors who work with them, and via the market demand for their products.[114] Because of this mutual exchange of prestige, publishers cannot enforce technologically innovative products to take hold in humanities scholarly communications, even this would be preferable from their business perspective. Publishers have an interest in maintaining steady streams of symbolic capital attached to their own reputation.[115] Therefore, they instead move slowly by creating new products and giving them time to attract esteem of their own (helped by the existing reputation of the publisher's brand). The University of Michigan Press demonstrates a prime example of such deliberately cautious progress. It is developing a platform, named Hydra, for media assets and data that accompany monographs.[116] Yet although the press director ultimately envisages a future of fully digital data management applications for which the monograph text will only be an overlay structure, he is acutely aware that such implementation would be too radical a shift:

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[110] Fitzpatrick even argues that 'understanding the way texts circulate within and give rise to communities will be a necessary component to any successful electronic publishing venture'; *Planned Obsolescence*, p. 107.

[111] Berkenkotter & Huckin, *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*, chapter 5, 'Reader', pp. 79–96.

[112] Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 18. This report cites the University of California's original project proposal to the Andrew W. Mellon foundation (2014), which is not publicly accessible.

[113] Brian Lavoie, Eric Childress, Ricky Erway, Ixchel Faniel, Constance Malpas & Titia van der Werf, *Stewardship of the Evolving Scholarly Record: From the Invisible Hand to Conscious Coordination* (Dublin [OH]: OCLC Research, 2014), pp. 12–13, 27–29.

[114] Gloria Origgi & Ivana Pais, 'Digital reputation in the mutual admiration society', *Studi di Sociologia* 2 (2018), pp. 175–194; p. 185.

[115] This is different in the STEM-disciplines, because esteem has become attached to individual channels rather than the publisher as a brand. This renders digital innovation for STEM-publishers less risky, because other than humanities publishers, they do not stand to suffer reputation loss if digital experiments result in disesteem by the academic communities they engage with—only the channel would suffer, and could then be easily discontinued.

> In the project proposal, University of Michigan Press Director Charles Watkinson notes: "while there currently is some disciplinary resistance in the humanities to the presentation of entirely digital publications, we view the 'companion website' concept as a culturally acceptable stepping stone to achieving such integrated presentations of narrative and data."[117]

Here, Watkinson articulates an awareness of technological possibilities as well as cultural sensitivities, reputation building and esteem exchange. The development of carefully tailored digital applications and infrastructures outlines the publisher's role as a broker, fitting technological change into existing disciplinary habitus of scholarly communication.

Besides the stature of the publication outlet, surveys consistently show that scholars value the publisher's ability to reach appropriate audiences equally highly.[118] It should be noted that the appropriate audience is not necessarily, or rather, not usually, the most sizeable one: peers in the same subdiscipline or specialism are considered the ultimate targeted readers, regarded 'very important' by at least 90% of scholarly authors in the Humanities.[119] Disciplinary peers are also deemed very important by three quarters of authors. Specific professional communities and students may be important to authors, but are not always; and the general public and non-disciplinary academics are not considered very important by the majority.[120] Publishers have invested in building relationships with disciplinary communities, and marketing their publication venues among specific target audiences; scholarly authors are aware of this, because they are part of those disciplinary target audiences in their capacities as readers.[121] Publishers' reputation for effective dissemination is thus a symbolic return-on-investment for them; they enjoy esteem from readers, and therefore also from authors, who know that readers will turn to certified outlets to avoid spending valuable time on resources of uncertain quality.

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[116] Hydra project website: https://projecthydra.org (accessed 18 June 2019).

[117] Maxwell, Bordini & Shamash, 'Reassembling scholarly communications', p. 11.

[118] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 10; Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 170–172; Fry et al., *Communicating Knowledge*, p. 20.

[119] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 170–172; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015*, p. 39 fig,24; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics* p.47 fig. 27.

[120] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 170–172; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015*, p. 39 fig. 24; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, p. 47 fig. 27. Survey responses display significant different attitudes; this may be affected by the phrasing of the survey question (which varies between Fenlon et al., and Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld). However, since the two Ithaka-surveys also deliver different patterns, there may be national influences at play too, for instance from the structure of education systems, or the research evaluation frameworks. For a brief review of explorations of the latter's influences, see Franssen & Wouters, 'Science and its significant other', pp. 9–10.

Overall, humanities scholarly readers are found to indeed rely comparatively heavily on the publisher's brand for trusted quality. For instance, 30–40% of them reports regularly checking publishers' catalogues of new materials to keep up with developments in their discipline, a significantly larger proportion than in the Social Sciences and STEM-disciplines.[122] Moreover, the majority of humanities scholars read book reviews, whereas this text genre is certainly much less common in other academic disciplines.[123] The importance of book reviews supports the earlier argument that humanities scholarly publishers enjoy esteem attached to their entire organization, as opposed to (a selection of) their products. Of course, book reviews are a form of quality assessment of individual products that help shape publishers' reputations. Yet they should simultaneously be regarded proxies for existing reputations of publishers, because the reputation of the publisher is an important parameter in the selection of monographs considered for review.[124] There are few other mechanisms than publishers' reputation for upfront quality assessment for books, because monographs remain one-off publications that do not appear in channels (except occasionally, series).[125] In the Humanities, the systemic esteem thus attached to traditional publishers puts them at a considerable advantage over new technology companies that may offer superior digital products but cannot emulate this prestige.

Despite the developments of alternative publication formats online, the humanities disciplines retain an exceptionally strong attachment to sustained argument in traditional book forms. Over 90% of humanities authors reports that they are or have been producing monographs and edited volumes, far more than in other disciplines.[126]

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[121] Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, pp. 10–11.

[122] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015*, p. 16 fig. 5; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, p. 20. Survey scores are consistent across the United Kingdom and United States.

[123] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015*, p. 16 fig. 5; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, p. 20.

[124] Similarly, the even more prestigious 'requested endorsements' for books are double-edged weapons of esteem: they are used to boost the author's and publisher's reputation by adding support from prestigious peers, but being invited to endorse also adds prestige to the endorser!

[125] For this reason, there is a small-scale but persistent call to include book reviews (as proxies for publisher reputation) in bibliometric evaluation in Humanities scholarship. See for instance: J. Hartley, 'Reading and writing book reviews across disciplines', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 57.9 (2006), pp. 1194–1207; Zuccala & Van Leeuwen, 'Book reviews in humanities research evaluation'.

[126] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey 2015*, p. 41; Wolff, Rodd & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics 2015*, p. 51 fig. 30. Unfortunately, these surveys do not distinguish between monographs and edited volumes; the data for monograph production in the Humanities undoubtedly differs even more extremely from that in other disciplines. Harley et al. remark on the book-culture observed in the discipline of history, but they do not support this with quantitative data: *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, pp xiii–xv.

Several epistemic characteristics of humanities scholarship have already been addressed as factors in the preference for books: the slowness of this type of publishing is lamented more for personal reasons by authors, but simultaneously not regarded particularly important. After all, speed is not crucial, because the humanities disciplines usually do not have research fronts and scholarly interpretative argument therefore typically does not go out of date quickly. There is thus a continued demand for the full records of older scholarship.[127]

Interestingly, recent exploratory research suggests that the attachment to books may fulfil another specific function in the disciplinary *habitus* of the Humanities. Explorative mapping of citation patterns, first in data from the discipline of history and repeated for others, indicate strongly international and wider readership for monographs, against much more local, targeted and discipline-specific clusters of references to journal publications.[128] As Franssen and Wouters point out, conceptual explanations for these patterns are slow to develop, especially because scientometrics seems instead engaged in methodological debates whether causal relationships should be assumed between the use of languages other than English, intended audience, and publication outlets.[129] Yet the suggestion that monographs do not only have a specific epistemic goal, but also occupy a distinct position in the international social communities of scholarship may indicate that publishers' dedication to monographs, specifically, helps to maintain their reputation in those communities, and is thus vital for the publishers' continued success, despite the financial investment that monographs require—a thought well worth exploring.

Together with strong preference for the book form comes the Humanities' at least equally tenacious attachment to print. The Ithaka S+R surveys ask scholars in their capacity as readers about their behaviour and preferences, for six activities: close reading of sections; or of the book as a whole; comparing the treatment of ideas between texts; skimming; exploring references; and topic searches.[130] Even in their use of journals, humanities scholars report to be less comfortable with electronic versions than researchers from other disciplines. Questioned about their use of monographs, scholars acknowledge that topic searching (by keyword) and exploring references are easier in electronic versions, but they prefer print for all other activities. Moreover, they indicate that they still prefer print outright: over 65% of US scholars and more than 80% of UK peers say that print monographs remain very important in their teaching and research.[131] Fewer than 20% of US humanists would accept e-only collections of monographs in their institutions—perceptions are far more negative than in the other academic disciplines.[132]

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[127] Hall, *The Business of Digital Publishing*, p. 63; see also ch. 1.4–1.5 of the current work.

[128] Franssen & Wouters, 'Science and its significant other', pp. 1133–1134.

[129] Ibid., p. 1135.

[130] Sections 'Access': Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey*; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*.

[131] Wolff, Rod & Schonfed, *US Faculty Survey*, pp. 17–24; Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, pp. 26–32.

[132] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *US Faculty Survey*, pp. 17–18.

The preference for print may be practical for readers, but there are signs that the attitude is shaped by more than just ease of reading. For instance, whereas attitudes towards other digital tools and products generally become more positive over time, the reverse is happening for monographs:

> We observed equally in the US and the UK that academics' preference for using scholarly monographs in various ways in print format rather than in digital format has only increased since the previous cycle of the survey. The consistency of this finding across both side[s] of the Atlantic should give pause to the enthusiast for a full transition to digital monographs. This finding does not mean that a full transition will not play itself out but[,] as one of us has reflected[,] it absolutely will influence how libraries, publishers, and distributors should position themselves.[133]

Attitudes towards most digital media are shaped predominantly through exposition and use. Thus, a pattern of lessening attachment to paper over time would be expected, if not within the generation raised with print, then certainly among younger cohorts of scholars—but this pattern remains curiously absent. There must therefore be a salient property of print, or a combination of several of them, that apparently outweighs the efficiencies of digitally distributed books for readers in specific settings, such as humanities scholarship.

Research into the differences between reading from print and screens is still in an exploratory stage: many empirical studies have been conducted, but their different methods, selection groups and experiment set-ups have so far yielded widely diverging results. A recent meta-analysis does point to limited reading comprehension from screens in comparison to print; although it cannot single out a root cause for this 'screen inferiority', it seems that the physical manifestation of sustained linear argument in a printed book assists cognition.[134] It remains to be explored further which property, or set of properties, of print determine these attitudes most strongly. It should then also be considered whether these attitudes are epistemic, or that they also have a symbolic component—that print books may carry prestige that their digital equivalents lack, which could, for instance, evoke concentration and sustained attention from readers. Both epistemic and symbolic factors may help explaining why many disciplines in the Humanities retain a consistent role for print, at least for specific text forms. Lastly, such understanding could help countering simplistic stereotypes of humanities scholars' obdurate nostalgia and conservatism.[135]

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[133] Wolff, Rod & Schonfeld, *UK Survey of Academics*, p. 101; the reference to one of the authors' reflections points to: Roger C. Schonfeld, 'Will the monograph experience a transition to e-only? Latest findings', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (4 April 2016), n.pag.

[134] Pablo Delgado, Cristina Vargas, Rakefet Ackerman & Ladislao Salmerón, 'Don't throw away your paper books: A meta-analysis on the effects of reading media on reading comprehension', *Educational Research Review*, 25 (November 2018), pp. 23–38.

[135] Volker Gerhardt, 'Methodological optimism regarding the digital future: Critical remarks on the Recommendations on the Future of Scholarly Communication Systems', in: Peter Weingart & Niels

In conclusion, the scholarly publisher for the Humanities remains a constant companion for the academic author, even if the possibility of unlimited, unmoderated online communication has challenged the traditional view of them as symbionts. Popular criticism of publishing tends to target the potential profitability of its production capacity, the activity that has always, both in the print and in the online realm, generated economic capital necessary for publishers' survival as independent entities.[136] Yet especially in the humanities scholarly disciplines, the publisher's significance extends far beyond economic activities. Publishers actively servicing the humanities disciplines, especially, have built symbolic capital through their demonstrated expertise in producing final, formal, texts and having them reach prime audiences. This expertise derives from deep involvement with the disciplinary scholarly *habitus*, generated in cycles of capital exchange that have lasted for centuries and have grown only closer in the last fifty years. It currently puts the publisher in the position to help bestow esteem to new, digital manifestations and channels, and thus help scholarship navigate the ongoing journey of discovery and implementation of the properties of the digital medium into new communication forms. In scholarly communication in the Humanities, esteem is not bestowed on the *manifestation* of a published text, print or digital, it is bestowed on the very *notion of it being published* and therefore inextricably linked to the scholarly publisher.

Regarding the scholarly publisher as an esteem engine, as conceptually outlined in chapter 2 (esp. 2.3), thus facilitates analysing the role of the publisher in the current age of digitisation. Two factors are particularly important in this regard. Firstly, there are consequences to Brennan and Pettit's observation that each transaction in esteem contributes to shifting the standards and expectations in the field as a whole.[137] This highlights the dynamic capacity that publishers harbour in the implementation of digital technologies in scholarly communication. As they engage in many consecutive transactions of esteem with various parties, in the publication process and after, they create manifold opportunities for the reassessment of standards. Without publishers' intervention adding capital to research communication, the direct interactions between scholars (authors and readers) in disciplinary communities would offer fewer such moments for exchange, which could render scholarly communication more static, or slower to change.

Finally, publishers' pivotal role remains crucial. Publishers are active in many fields simultaneously: they generate, distribute and acquire symbolic capital through engaging with scholarly communities, but also invest and collect economic capital through negotiations with academic institutions and governments. Given the feedback effect of each individual transaction, this means that publishers act as 'translators' of feedback from one field to another: values of disciplinary communities of scholars may be

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Taubert, *The Future of Scholarly Publishing: Open Access and the Economics of Digitization* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2017), pp. 255–264; p. 259.

[136] It also tends to focus on the small set of dominant STM publishing corporations, disregarding the differences between them and the diverse population of scholarly publishers.

[137] Brennan & Pettit, *The Economy of Esteem*, pp. 79–80; see also the analysis of this 'feedback-effect' at the end of section 3.3 of the current work.

communicated to policy-makers through the products and processes of publishing; vice versa, publishing makes political pressures and economic trends trickle down towards the values and expectations of scholarly communities as well, and so gives rise to new patterns in communication and publishing.

CODA

Extending the study of the field

This study's objective has been to interpret the position of the scholarly publisher for the Humanities in its field, in particular its relations with its principal agents, i.e. scholars. Its current state of turmoil has perhaps been initiated by the invention of digital publishing technologies, but more importantly continues to evolve with practical implementation of those technologies in the research communication processes, as well as the interpretation of them and reaction to them by society at large.[1] The previous chapter has established that the publisher remains absolutely essential to the scholarly author's permanent need to accrue esteem in his discipline, beyond the mere 'technical' activities of production and dissemination. The digital medium may have brought the democratized potential for universal authorship in general, but academia's specific value system caused the retention of strong attachment to publishers' intervention in the formalization of the fruits of research. In the Humanities, in particular, publishers also act as guides through new, digital channels, tools, and publication forms: both by offering practical assistance to scholars who want to start using them, and by symbolically validating them through aligning them with their brand. Publishers thus function as catalysts of symbolic capital for humanities scholarship in the digital age on several fronts simultaneously: by validating individual texts through publication, by boosting authors' reputations via relationships, by transmitting expectations of third parties, and by using their brand in brokering new technologies to authors and readers of formal scholarly communication.

While this conclusion answers the fundamental query at the basis of this dissertation, its underlying theoretical frameworks have also shed light on current developments that could not be treated extensively in the four main chapters. In this coda, I will highlight these related, but to the current study peripheral developments as potential areas for future explorations of the field. Their exposition will feature in the order of the previous chapters, recapitulating their main theories while also setting markers for possible directions of further research. This will underscore the advantages of my approach, which borrows eclectically yet deliberately from the sociology of science and knowledge practice studies, field theory and esteem economy, and cultural and economic studies of publishing. Through this, the coda will also reassert my main argument.

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[1] 'Society at large' could here be interpreted as the Bourdieusian 'field of power' (see ch. 2.2), but in this coda I will deliberately not return to the discussions of theoretical terminology that featured in the main chapters (1–3).

1. Returning to disciplinary *habitus* in the Humanities

The first chapter of the current study posits that the scholarly publisher should be regarded as a symbiont of academia: inseparable and complementary, despite occasionally diverging interests and fundamentally differing functions in the field. Publishers are deeply involved in the disciplinary idiosyncrasies that shape scholarly ideology as well as working practices. An understanding of the disciplinary idiosyncrasies in the Humanities is therefore vital to a comprehensive analysis of scholarly publishing. A lot of ground still is to be covered in this area, as the Humanities remain understudied in comparison to their counterparts in science (that have been the object of knowledge practice studies, and enjoy relatively wider attention by funders). More explicit knowledge about the specific epistemic values, social conformity and implicit norms guiding humanities research practices may benefit scholars as well as publishers: it may play an emancipatory role in the general discourse about the similarities between STEM, Social Sciences, and the Humanities, and it may help in formulating justifications to retain autonomy and allow idiosyncrasies in scholarship and publishing, for instance vis-à-vis funders.

The traditional norms and values for scholarly communication, including publishing, have been organically growing since, and along with, the rise of textual culture based on the inherent properties of print. In the process of becoming established as an intrinsic part of the *habitus*, the specific requirements and characteristics of formal publication have long remained implicit in all academic disciplines, including the Humanities. However, the rise of a new medium for textual communication, with its own set of distinctive properties, has prompted re-evaluations of the traditional publication processes to investigate their possible transition to the online realm. Theoretical explorations usually focus on the inherent properties of digital media in general and juxtapose those with the inherent properties of print.[2] To infer which print-based norms and values are considered important in humanities scholarly communication in particular, it could be fruitful to examine more outspoken advocacy for new publishing trends and methods, like e-only publishing, data-publications, or universal open access. Because such advocacy tends to portray the disruptive potential of digital technologies as revolutionary, by contrast it also simultaneously reveals values considered traditional, and associated with print. Phil Davis has analysed rhetoric and framing in the discourse on open access from a political perspective.[3] Similar analysis yet with the focus on researchers' attitudes towards socio-technological innovations in the publication process at large may render latent values in the disciplinary *habitus* more explicit.

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[2] See ch. 4 for a discussion of both these types of literature. Conceptual analyses include: Thompson, *The Media and Modernity*; Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*; Van der Weel, *Changing Our Textual Minds*; Van der Weel & Praal, 'Taming the digital wilds'; Weingart & Taubert, *The Future of Scholarly Publishing*.

[3] Philip M. Davis, 'How the media frames "Open Access"', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 12.1 (February 2009), n.pag.

Further explication of the disciplinary *habitus* may be especially important in the current times of medial change and external pressures on the fields of scholarship and publishing. Scholarly publishers for the Humanities have, over time, adapted their strategies to best serve communities of researchers through producing predominantly books and journal articles. These are the text types through which researchers prefer to communicate their findings, and this preference is at least to a significant degree inherent to the disciplinary culture of research (see ch. 1). The optimisation of publishing to these disciplinary cultures is, in Bourdieusian terms, the cultural adaptation to academia (see ch. 2). Yet in the economic reality that publishers also navigate, current tendencies like NPM, accompanying quantitative research evaluation, and budget considerations pressurise precisely the production of such labour-intensive, one-of-a-kind long-form linear narratives. If publishers react to these external pressures by shifting their strategies, this would mean the Bourdieusian field of power would indirectly affect the nature and content of humanities research. The desirability of such an effect may be contested, towards which the description of the mechanisms at work would be a first step.

Secondly, publishers' experiments of the last two decades, successful or not, could be reviewed from a similar angle looking for clues on traditional values that academia expects publishers to uphold. John Thompson's analysis describing the early initiatives in e-book publishing for research and higher education in the late 1990s and early 2000s is exemplary in this regard. Reviewing several publishing experiments and programmes, Thompson aims to distil mitigating factors and expectations by authors and readers that limited innovation despite publishers' and funders' eagerness to invest in it.[4] This extensive analysis not just of technology and business propositions, but also of underlying relationships and value systems adds to our understanding of the scholarly publisher's position in the field. Such critical reflection requires a certain distance, both in time and in technological progress, to draw conclusions beyond the success (or failure) of initiatives; it could shed light on properties of newly proposed technological solutions that turned out to be crucial in the scholarly publishing process, even though they may not have been fully understood as such at the time of their launch. Even though many of the earlier initiatives have been discontinued or migrated and merged into currently existing products, much of the contemporary literature is still available for critical reflection, such as reports to funders, press coverage, and reviews from the field. The rise and subsequent implementation of digital and online technologies has been particularly turbulent in the first two decades of the twenty-first century, and retrospective analysis of them has only just begun.

Thirdly, and perhaps most evidently, reflections from scholarly disciplines themselves are important testimony to norms and values for communication and publishing. The propensity to reflect varies per discipline and depends on several social, cultural and epistemic characteristics (ch. 1). For instance, disciplines tend to turn to reflection when they experience paradigm shifts that reshape their epistemic object, and therefore their methods and social relationships: this has happened after new discoveries in the empirical STEM disciplines, as has been observed in the sociology of science.[5] In the Humanities, the rise of Digital Humanities to a mature discipline should be regarded as such a major shift, and the DH have indeed delivered a particularly interesting reflexive discourse. Reflections from the DH are not only interesting because the discipline has newly emerged, but moreover because its communities' attitudes towards the use of digital media for research and communication deviate—by definition—from the traditional attachment to (the values of) print in more traditional humanities research. DH scholars may seem naturally inclined to implement digital technologies to their maximum capacity, but nevertheless need to accrue esteem like all other scholars, and therefore still lean heavily on traditional publishing, too.[6] This tension renders their reflexive disciplinary discourse particularly interesting for further analysis.

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[4] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, chapter 13: 'Academic publishing and the digital revolution', pp. 330–376.

Regardless of specifically disciplinary contexts, it is generally held that cultural changes begin with younger generations breaking with the habits and practices of their elders; especially so with the uptake of technologies, as younger people tend to adopt them more quickly and more widely. With younger generations reaching maturity, it is thought, so will new technologies. However, academia's specific value system, contrary to society in general, renders junior scholars particularly unfree to experiment with new, online publication forms and technologies. In order to climb the ranks, novices must prove that they are as competent as their seniors in upholding the academic norms —and these norms have become embedded in traditional publishing in journals and books. Deviance from the norm is particularly hard for early career researchers (ECRs),[7] who, illustratively, report on struggling to get research published if it has been done with unconventional approaches, or has delivered unexpected results.[8] That a strong adherence to traditional normative practices exists had already been demonstrated in various surveys, reporting discrepancies between respondents' personal attitudes towards digital technologies and the perceived attitudes of peers.[9] A recent survey on the attitudes of ECRs towards publishing moreover indicates that they tend to 'play the game, even if they don't like the rules', presumably because they feel that they are powerless to instigate changes.[10]

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[5] See ch. 1.3–1.4.

[6] Van der Weel & Praal, 'Publishing in the Digital Humanities'.

[7] Definitions vary, but ECRs are generally considered researchers in their twenties or thirties, who have either obtained their doctorate up to five years ago, or 'have been in prior research positions but are currently undertaking a doctorate': David Nicholas, Cherifa Boukacem-Zeghmouri, Blanca Rodríguez-Bravo, Anthony Watkinson, Marzena Świgoń, Jie Xu, Abdullah Abrizah & Eti Herman, 'Early career researchers: observing how the new wave of researchers is changing the scholarly communications market', *Revue française des sciences de l'information et de la communication* 15 (2018), n.pag; par.1. See also: O'Brien, Graf & McKellar, 'How publishers and editors can help early career researchers', p. 384.

[8] O'Brien, Graf & McKellar, 'How publishers and editors can help early career researchers, p. 387.

[9] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 161-164; Harley et al., *Assessing the Future Landscape of Scholarly Communication*, p. 1; for a discussion of this phenomenon, see also ch. 3.3.

[10] David Nicholas, Anthony Watkinson, Abdullah Abrizah, Cherifa Boukacem-Zeghmouri, Jie Xu, Blanca Rodríguez-Bravo, Marzena Świgoń & Eti Herman, 'What publishers can take away from the latest early

The position of junior generations in academia is further complicated by the fact that disciplinary *habitus* is usually not explicitly taught, but instead acquired through engagement with existing research practices.[11] In a recent, extensive consultation by academic publisher Wiley, an—admittedly, small—panel of ECRs indeed reported feeling that they are expected to have an inherent knowledge and understanding of the publishing processes and best practices in their discipline.[12] Moreover, they indicated that their own interests into embarking on new forms of research and publication, for instance in intensive collaboration, at times conflict with their senior colleagues' established agendas.[13] Such generational tensions in interests would render it harder for juniors to explicitly ask for senior peers' advice and guidance.

Publishers could use situations in the disciplinary cultures where such tensions arise for their development of new services and assistance to academia. Publishers are, after all, acutely aware of disciplinary *habitus* in the different scholarly communities they engage with, and are academia's natural partner for formal communication among peers. This position is underscored in Wiley's consultation, where the ECR panellists unanimously say that they would want to meet with publishers and editors for detailed publishing advice and explanations of processes.[14] The author-services that publishers have already developed apparently remain quite unfamiliar to junior scholars with little experience in the publishing process, especially.[15] Publishers would be wise to take this cue for more intensive engagement with junior scholars. ECRs do still appreciate traditional publishing, but there are signs that they perceive a distance from publishers that is not helping either party.[16] Research on the rise of new, online technologies in scholarly publishing should thus take into account the atypical hesitance of younger generations to instigate new practices in academia.

Returning to the broader discourse on the sociocultural effects of technology, this phenomenon of necessary conservatism among juniors helps refuting the determinist notion of digitization as a linearly progressive transition that will be at some point completed (when we will have abandoned print), since it demonstrates that, and explains why, younger generations will not necessarily engage more with new technologies than their forebears. Publishers as well as scholars continue to explore the affordances of online technologies and their implementation in the scholarly communication processes. However, these explorations are demonstrably erratic and haphazard—certainly not all experiments are successful, and it is hard to foresee which will be, because they are

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career researcher research', *Learned Publishing* 31 (2018), pp. 249–253; p. 251. In an earlier consultation, ECRs indicated to see opportunities to and benefits of change in scholarly publishing, but felt unable to instigate change themselves because of the current competitive, insecure and unforgiving reward system in academia: Nicholas et al., 'Early career researchers', par. 18.

[11] See ch. 1.2 for a perspective from knowledge practice studies, and 2.1 for the Bourdieusian concept.

[12] O'Brien, Graf & McKellar, 'How publishers and editors can help early career researchers', pp. 388–389.

[13] Ibid., pp. 386, 391.

[14] Ibid., p. 388.

[15] Nicholas et al., 'What publishers can take away from the latest early career researcher research', p. 250.

[16] Ibid.; O'Brien, Graf & McKellar, 'How publishers and editors can help early career researchers', p. 388.

shaped not only by the affordances of technology, but also strongly by the norms of academia in general, and the specific requirements in scholarly disciplines. These norms and requirements in their turn have become embedded in the traditional publishing *habitus* bound up with the centuries-old affordances of print. It remains to be seen how the properties of the online medium may mimic the properties of print to maintain existing academic norms on the one hand, and how they may also further the adoption of new values on the other. In any case, the disciplinary cultures will continue to be crucial in the formation of new, online publishing practices.

2. Other agents' transactions in symbolic capital

The last two chapters of this dissertation have described the traditionally close relationships between academia and scholarly publishing, but have also pointed out divergent interests between these two types of agents, and shifting patterns of capital exchange due to technological innovations and, slightly later yet more pervasively, due to their socio-cultural uptake. If traditional patterns of capital exchange are shifting in a field, Bourdieusian theory suggests that there would be other agents eager to turn such occasion to their own advantage, be they existing agents that alter their position, or new entrants to the field. Conceptually, agents continuously seek dominance over the field to shape it to their *habitus*, and simultaneously develop their *habitus* to equip themselves optimally for the field's ever-shifting conditions (ch. 1.2). In the field of scholarly publishing, research libraries are the most important group of existing agents changing their *habitus*; examples of new entrants would include online giants such as Google, but also scholarly communication networks like ResearchGate and Academia.edu, repositories like DASH, and preprint servers such as ArXiv.[17] Of course, scholarly authors themselves are not passive either: they can deliberately redirect their relationships away from publishers and towards other parties, if these could better further their interests.

All these alternative agents and relationships may replace publishers in traditional streams of capital exchange, or instigate new patterns of capital exchange in the field; both movements could theoretically, following Bourdieu, lead towards ousting publishers from the field (ch. 1.2). In the previous chapter, I have nevertheless argued that publishers remain crucial agents for scholars, especially because their role in symbolic capital exchange. That analysis solely focuses on the nature of the relationship between academia and publishing, to fit the scope of the current project. Contrastingly, this coda will briefly outline important developments by competing agents in Bourdieusian terms of capital exchange. This does not subtract from my earlier argument that publishers continue to dominate the generation and distribution of symbolic capital for academia. Yet it analyses how other agents' interventions in the streams of capital exchange are gaining traction, and how they may therefore prompt publishers to shift their field position.

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[17] There are also the so-called 'shadow libraries', illegal repositories to which papers are uploaded in breach of copyright: Sci-Hub and Library Genesis (LibGen) are the two most important ones. They may present a threat to publishers and research libraries, but do not change the proposition of publishing for authors. For this reason, they are outside the scope of this project.

Firstly, research libraries have been shifting their position in the field by providing publishing services to scholarly authors, usually of their home institutions.[18] Initially, the libraries did so for economic and mission-driven reasons. In the words of one college librarian-turned-publisher: '[i]t's time for libraries to begin producing for themselves what they can no longer afford to purchase and what they can no longer count on university presses to produce.'[19] Because they had already been developing digital infrastructure for archiving and providing access, libraries find it increasingly economically feasible to digitally produce textual research output and to make it available in open access. Of course, electronic publications still come with marginal costs, but these are regarded relatively low in the total library budgets. The financial consequences are therefore considered negligible, although the sector seems to collectively hope their efforts will ultimately reduce the financial pressures on library acquisition budgets.[20] Moreover, it is argued that their curatorial mission has driven libraries to produce content themselves as a means of ensuring permanent access.[21] This type of activity is not new: libraries have been electronically publishing journals and stand-alone texts (monographs, essays, dissertations, reports) since the beginning of the twenty-first century, mostly in repositories.[22] Often, such publishing efforts were instigated upon request by scholars, who found it hard to secure publication through traditional channels.[23]

More recently, these existing activities have been complemented by a more ideological movement by libraries deliberately seeking to substitute the traditional publishers in their position of service providers to academia. Here, too, libraries deliberately sought to respond to scholars' needs. Investigations showed that scholars experience discontent with publishers' lagging support for new forms of scholarly communication, for instance iterative versioning of texts or 'complex digital publications', as well as for novel collaboration patterns in authorship and review.[24] It should be noted that these are all aspects of communication that are directly linked to the inherent properties of the digital medium, in contrast with print, such as infinite updating, flexible presentations, and networkedness. These properties are, as my analysis has shown (ch. 4), indeed usually not at the centre of publishers' strategies, especially in the Humanities, because they have not been widely implemented in the reward structures of academia (yet), as these are still strongly bound up with traditional, print-based publishing. In conceptual terms, these are new manifestations of intellectual capital that enjoy disciplinary interest, but as of yet little prestige. Libraries' *habitus* seem to fit the value-profile of such products: they possess the technological know-how and infrastructure to create digital innovation, yet they do not have to worry about their reputation if they engage in experiments, because this reputation is built on providing storage and access to readers, instead of functioning as an esteem service to authors. From such a perspective, libraries may seem to pose a threat to the innovative capacities of publishers.

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[18] Library publishing can be defined as 'the set of activities led by college and university libraries to support the creation, dissemination, and curation of scholarly, creative, and/or educational works': Katherine Skinner, Sarah Lippincott, Julie Speer & Tyler Walters, 'Library-as-publisher: Capacity building for the library publishing subfield', *Journal of Electronic Publishing* 17.2 (spring 2014), n.pag.

[19] Quote by Bryn Geffert, college librarian upon the launch of Amherst Press, in: Janneke Adema & Graham Stone, *Changing Publishing Ecologies: A Landscape study of New University Presses and Academic-Led Publishing* (Bristol: Jisc Report, 2018), p. 8.

[20] Skinner et al., 'Library-as-publisher'.

[21] Ibid.; Karla L. Hahn, *Research Library Publishing Services: New Options for University Publishing* (Washington [DC]: Association of Research Libraries, March 2008).

[22] In a survey among American college libraries in 2007, already 65% said to engage in publishing, or to have plans to do so in the near future: Hahn, *Research Library Publishing Services*.

[23] Skinner, 'Library-as-publisher';

[24] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based publishing', p. 159; Maria Bonn & Mike Furlough (eds.), *Getting the Word Out: Academic Libraries as Scholarly Publishers* (Chicago: Association of College and Research Libraries, 2015).

Yet despite the self-reported wide uptake of library publishing and the ideological advocacy accompanying the movement, closer investigation of libraries' subversive activities reveals a much less distinctive trend. Firstly and methodologically, this is a result of the recent blurring of the demarcation between libraries and publishers in recent times. Due to organizational restructuring and the rise of New Public Management at universities (ch. 3.4–3.5), an increasing number of university presses ultimately reports to the librarian. Conflicting views exist regarding the desirability of such restructuring (ch. 3.5–3.6),[25] but regardless, it renders it more complicated to separate the activities of these two entities; many university presses for instance do not publicly report on their finances, but are allotted a budget via the library. Dependent on their specific selection of respondents, categorization criteria and the wording of questions, investigations into the publishing activities of libraries risk indiscriminately including university presses' efforts in their results that may be formally part of library's responsibility, but that enjoy independent reputations regardless.

Secondly, and conceptually much more importantly, it remains quite unclear what is meant by 'publishing', precisely. If the definition would simply span all making-public for dissemination via online infrastructure, including repositories, the phenomenon is certainly widely spread.[26] Yet far fewer libraries actually engage in the processes of selecting, reviewing, revising, and editing texts—the active role as a partner to scholarly authors to maximize symbolic capital, in which the publisher demonstrably excels (ch. 4). The Bourdieusian conceptual framework may offer an explanation for this phenomenon, as the library has built a reputation in academia based on its archival function, in close relationship with the academic reader. In an extension of this capacity, the online medium has rendered it easier to also disseminate texts in library collections. However, a successful role in registration and certification depends on the slow accumulation of prestige in these areas, which libraries cannot boast.

Libraries in all probability lack the reputation to enhance the success of specific texts or channels for publication. Even proponents of library publishing acknowledge this, although they attribute it mainly to libraries being new to this task.[27] I would argue moreover that the curatorial mission of libraries fundamentally hinders the development of such a reputation for publishing on a conceptual level, as it is helping *readers* whereas publishers' esteem services must benefit *authors* most importantly. In Bourdieusian terms, the disposition for optimally valuable capital exchange with one type of agent comes with a limitation for the potential relationships with others. Libraries have a historical tradition and mission of providing permanent storing and wide access to as much content as possible; libraries' reputation among scholars is based on their achievements in this vein. Scholars intuitively, habitually, understand that these missions are fundamentally distinct from esteem services to authors; they may come to view the library as a partner in experimental communication forms that it may also store and keep accessible, but to which it can add little status. Further analysis of the exchanges in the different types of capital, but especially in prestige, could prove of value in the developments of publishers and libraries alike.

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[25] Unsurprisingly perhaps, publishers overall champion the independence of university presses, whereas libraries emphasize the advantages of merging. See, respectively: Joseph J. Esposito, 'Having relations with the library: A guide for university presses', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (16 July 2013), n.pag.; versus Watkinson, 'Why marriage matters'.

[26] Adema & Stone, *Changing Publishing Ecologies*, p. 9.

In such analysis, it remains crucial to distinguish between the roles that scholars occupy as authors and readers. For individual scholars, reading and writing are complementary sides to their work, and therefore to their *habitus*; they generate esteem as authors, and use other authors' and publishers' esteem to select their reading which, in turn, generates more prestige for publishers and authors. From a Bourdieusian perspective, there are separate, but related circuits of esteem between authors, publishers, and readers in a disciplinary field of publishing, in which the publisher plays a pivotal role. An analysis of the relationships between publishers and readers remain outside the scope of this thesis, but further explorations along the lines of the current framework could provide insights on the indirect influence readers have on the publishing field.

As has been mentioned, readers in academic publishing do not exert market pressures on publishers, as they are not the principal buyers of publications—libraries are. Libraries may thus put pressure on publishers by changing their demands on the market for published products, as they increasingly do. Publishers (of STM especially) had come up with bundle deals since the 1990s (ch. 2.4), starting as an efficient licensing system for large arrays of journals, but evolving into standing subscriptions to ever-growing amounts of content of varying usefulness against steeply rising package prices. Growing discontent on the libraries' side did not immediately alter the agreements, yet in recent years, more libraries and library coalitions seem to have become willing to reject bundle deals.[28] The informal SPARC-data shows most of these institutions have 'unpacked' their bundle deal, i.e. replaced them with continued subscription access to a limited, hand-picked selection of journals; some have cancelled agreements altogether and now depend on open access repositories, interlibrary loan systems (ILLs), or a combination of those. In some cases, university boards or library management unilaterally decided to cancel a bundle deal without entering renegotiations with a publisher; more often, deals were only cancelled after renegotiations failed to deliver an agreeable result. Some library consortia, like the German Projekt Deal and the Dutch VSNU, aim to replace bundle deals with so-called 'read-and-publish' agreements: one-off payments that cover both access to subscription content and article processing charges, the author-fees for open access publishing.[29]

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[27] Fenlon et al., 'Humanities scholars and library-based digital publishing', pp. 174–175.

[28] The Scholarly Publishing and Academic Research Coalition (SPARC) keeps a database of bundle deals rejections by libraries. Even though the database does not pretend to be comprehensive, since 2015 the rising number of rejections is illustrative; it should also be noted that smaller and less prestigious libraries have also dared rejecting deals. Perhaps unsurprisingly, turned-down agreements with the large, corporate STEM-publishers (Elsevier, Springer, Taylor & Francis, Wiley, SAGE) dominate the list, but for instance Oxford University Press, Cambridge University Press and large learned society presses also feature. For a brief introduction and the link to the dataset, see: 'Big Deal Cancellation Tracking', SPARC (n.d., n.pag).

The growing tendency to reject bundle deals could be interpreted straightforwardly as a sign of the hard limits of libraries' purchasing power having been reached. This is not fully satisfactory, however, since libraries have been bearing structural budget cuts and subscription fee increases since the 1970s, long before the arrival of the bundle deals (ch. 2.3)—the financial aspect is thus a necessary condition, but not a sufficient one. Neither is the digital medium in itself: libraries have had digital ILL systems in place for decades, and open access repositories have also existed for some time. Here, sociocultural shifts—secondary consequences of the rise of digital technologies—thus play the decisive role in altering an agent's behaviour in the field: publishers' loss of esteem in academia as well as in society at large due to their reputed greed has now provided libraries with enough support, or social capital, to disrupt relationships with them, even if those disruptions come at a cost to the end-user (of materials being not instantaneously, not in final published form, or not at all available).[30] Publishers would be wise to recognize the shifting allegiance from scholarly authors and society at large for a more critical threat to their reputational position in the field than the loss of revenue that is the direct result of cancelled deals.

Besides the changes observed in libraries' attitudes towards publishers and content subscriptions, researchers' behaviour is also encroaching on publishers' traditional tasks. Some analysts even argue that it is the main driver of current change in academic publishing: researchers increasingly bypassing publishers and instead sharing texts and data directly online.[31] This would then be a result of dissatisfaction with publishers' services: scholarly authors would have to believe they can further their own interests as well, or better without intermediation from a publisher. It should be noted that researchers would use platforms and communication networks for the majority of such activities. This phenomenon is therefore not just a rise to power of a field-internal agent:

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[29] 'Big Deal Cancellation Tracking'; see also Francis Dodds, 'The future of academic publishing: Revolution or evolution revisited', *Learned Publishing* 32.4 (2019),pp. 345–354; p. 347.

[30] Dodds recognizes that the big deal cancellations are the result of a collective stance of scholars and libraries against publishers, but he attributes this singularly to the rise of open access (and supports his argument with a fallacy ab auctoritate), which I believe does not suffice; 'The future of academic publishing: [...] revisited', p. 347.

[31] Francis Dodds, 'The future of academic publishing: Revolution or evolution?', *Learned Publishing* 31.2 2017), pp. 163-168; Dodds, 'The future of academic publishing: [...] revisited', esp. pp. 345, 347, 351; Mark Allin, 'The future of publishing is about connections', weblog post on *Zapnito* (11 March 2019), n.pag.

rather, the Web has offered authors the capacity to partly redirect their streams of capital exchange away from publishers and allow new agents to enter the field of scholarly publishing. Examples of such new entrants that engage in publishing activities are preprint servers like ArXiv and PeerJ; institutional or disciplinary repositories in which authors can upload documents such as DASH or hprints; and scholarly communication networks (SCNs) like ResearchGate, Academia.edu and Humanities Commons through which papers can be shared.

Such platforms are often collectively regarded for their disruptive potential, especially now that they are all increasingly effectively indexed by search tools (Google Scholar foremost).[32] However, their positions in the scholarly publishing field vary, as does their disposition and ability to engage in symbolic capital exchange, because of the difference between preprint and postprint sharing.[33] Preprint articles have not yet been peer reviewed; they are uploaded to a preprint server for public access roughly in the same shape as they would be offered to a journal, and may or may not be typeset and formatted by the author. Postprints, on the other hand, are peer-reviewed, accepted versions of papers; if they have also been copy-edited and formatted by the publisher, they are called 'versions of record'. Preprints and postprints thus originate from a fundamentally different point in the accumulation of capital.

Having been vetted by peers and a journal's editorial board endows a postprint with significant prestige already. Sharing happens usually through SCNs or uploading via repositories, and it does not subtract from the symbolic capital still provided via the traditional author-publisher relation: the author displays the publisher's branded endorsement alongside the postprint to attract readers. While the publisher enjoys additional visibility in the author's network through postprint sharing, open access availability of the version of record poses a risk to content subscriptions. For this reason, publishers have traditionally included copyright terms that allow only limited sharing, for instance after a specific embargo period, or in just one network or repository of the author's choice, or without the final formatting. This logic is derived from the fact that scholarly readers usually need the final version of record for citing current texts in their own work, which leaves a consumer market for formally published content alongside (and before) postprint sharing. Postprint sharing therefore modifies the power of the publisher to a degree, but due to the mechanism of symbolic capital exchange attached to the formal publishing process and protected by copyright, the publisher is not rendered indispensable.[34]

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[32] Dodds, 'The future of academic publishing: [...] revisited', p. 347.

[33] Preprints and postprints are often grouped together under the term 'eprints'; definitions of these three labels continue to be used in variants among academic disciplines. Here, I use definitions shared between for instance the Open Access Initiative and CrossRef, see: Bob Hecht & Carol Richman, 'CrossRef Glossary Version 1.0' (15 June 2006). The earliest definition of all three terms I found is by Open Access advocate Steven Harnad: 'Eprints: Electronic preprints and postprints', in: *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* (2003), n.pag.

[34] That is, if authors comply with copyright restrictions, such as embargo periods and the sharing of not-formatted texts only. Publishers are investing in providing information on the restrictions to authors—and have also taken legal actions against the platforms on which articles had been illegitimately shared: Dodds, 'The future of academic publishing [...] revisited', p. 347.

Preprint sharing, in contrast, does not necessarily involve a scholarly publisher at all: it is simply the authors' research product put in draft text. These drafts are uploaded to dedicated, usually discipline-specific servers (arXiv and BioarXiv being the best known). Consequentially, there is only little symbolic capital attached to a preprint, as it is dependent solely on the authors. For this reason, preprint sharing is attractive only in cases where the author's other considerations outweigh the interest in esteem: speed of communication being foremost. Authors may choose to submit texts for formal publication after sharing, but not all do. Moreover, not all publishers accept submissions that have been shared already; this is the only action they can take against preprints—effectively denying the authors their services. Preprint sharing is therefore an alternative route to disseminating research, with its own streams of capital attached: it disintermediates the publisher, which may enhance speed of communication and so further the authors' interests, but at the loss of symbolic capital to be gained through traditional publishing.

The author's choice whether to engage in preprint or postprint sharing is thus strategically bound up with the interest to acquire different forms of capital. To an extent, these may be specific for each text in each publishing instance, but, as this dissertation has argued, they are also importantly shaped by the author's *habitus* based on the epistemic and social characteristics of his discipline. Humanities scholarly authors have little to gain from speedy publication (ch. 1.5); humanities scholarly publishers are deeply involved in the process from draft text to final publication—and the esteem acquired through formal publishing remains vital to both authors and publishing firms (ch. 4.3). It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that humanities scholarly authors do not display a broad tendency towards preprint sharing: few preprint servers for the Humanities exist, and their collections are not extensive.[35] Because of their intensive engagement in the review and editorial stages, I would also consider it unlikely for humanities scholarly publishers to modify submission requirements and allow preprint-shared texts—but to my knowledge, this is not even an issue of tension between authors and publishers in the Humanities. Disintermediation of publishers due to preprint sharing is not a factor of importance in the Humanities, nor is it likely to become one given the current disciplinary context.

Postprint sharing via repositories and especially via SCNs, however, is gaining traction in the humanities disciplines like in the rest of academia.[36] Due to its moment in the publishing process, with the publication having required an exchange of economic, intellectual and symbolic capital with authors already, postprint sharing presents a more complicated challenge for publishers.[37] For authors, postprint sharing provides an attractive value proposition because it provides an opportunity for direct exposition of their work including, vitally, its approval by the publisher; since sharing postprints does not devaluate the symbolic capital of publishing, authors only stand to gain from it. Authors can therefore be persuaded to refrain from sharing postprints only with difficulty, yet it is up to publishers to continuously renegotiate their relationship and capital exchanges with authors to make that proposition attractive.[38] One strategy for publishers in this regard is to continue to offer the services they excel in, and also explicate which these are: much-needed practical assistance as well as significant symbolic value bestowment (see also 4.3). That there is room for improved education of and information to authors is signalled in reports: especially new generations of scholars do not clearly discern differences between traditional publishers and postprint sharing tools, and therefore tend to use the latter indiscriminately.[39]

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[35] Examples are: hprints (https://hal-hprints.archives-ouvertes.fr/), initiated in 2006 and launched in 2008 by a consortium of Scandinavian institutions and currently hosted by the French CNRS; and SocArXiv, launched for the SSH in 2016 by the Open Science Foundation in 2016 (https://socopen.org/welcome/). Despite their own descriptions as preprint servers, both hprints and SocArXiv host preprints as well as postprints and a variety of undetermined document types. It could not be assessed how many texts each server has aggregated, let alone what proportion of these are preprints, but the practice is certainly not wide-spread in the Humanities. See also: Angela Cochran, 'What is SocArXiv?', *The Scholarly Kitchen*, 25 July 2016 (n.pag.), and also the comment by Philip N. Cohen, (25 July 2016, 9.37 am).

[36] Humanities scholars engage most through Academia.edu; competitors like ResearchGate and Mendeley are much less popular, see: José Luis Ortega, 'Disciplinary differences in the use of academic social networking sites', *Online Information Review* 39.4 (2015), pp. 520–536; Mike Thelwall & Kayvan

Moreover, it should again be noted that postprint sharing is only effective because of the publisher's prior involvement and endorsement; further weakening of their relationships with publishers is therefore ultimately not in authors' best interest either. In their exploitation of existing relationships, scholarly publishers in the Humanities could integrate authors' presence in SCNs in their own publication interfaces, in imitation of STM-publishers (ch. 4.2). This may open up the potential to gain from authors' reputations more directly through enhanced visibility and so add a benefit to the alterations in capital streams.[40] Yet maintaining the exchange of capital between

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Kousha, 'ResearchGate articles: Age, discipline, audience size, and impact', *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Techology* 68.2 (2017), pp. 468–479; Jeroen Bosman & Bianca Kramer, 'Swiss Army Knives of Scholarly Communication—ResearchGate, Academia, Mendeley and Others', Presentation for STM Innovations Seminar (7 December 2016), slide 14. Perhaps this is due to the mistaken assumption that Academia.edu is not commercial, see: Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 'Academia, not edu' (26 October 2015), n.pag.

[37] There is also a distinction between not-for-profit and commercial postprint sharing platforms; institutional repositories belonging in the former category, but most SCNs (including Academia.edu and ResearchGate) in the latter—unbeknown to most scholars, besides. Publishers tend to react more harshly against the commercial entities than to not-for-profits, although this distinction should not matter so much to them: the important feature is that both can redirect streams of capital exchange with authors.

[38] Currently, publishers maintain the legal limitations set in copyright agreements, but this is more a stick to coerce authors with than a carrot to make them willing to accommodate the publishers interests, and it is losing effectiveness. In general, it is not at all unlikely that copyright will get less restrictive as a result of the continuously shifting relationships between scholars and publishers. The intricacies of the various national and international legal systems and routes to implement changes in them go beyond the scope of this project, however.

[39] O'Brien, 'How publishers can help early career researchers', p. 389; Nicholas et al., 'What publishers can take away from the latest early career research', p. 250.

[40] It is suggested that STEM researchers favour ResearchGate over Academia.edu, because the former offers better functionalities for representing quantitative metrics alongside article texts. Bosman & Kramer, 'Swiss army knives of scholarly communications'.

publishers and scholarly authors is crucial for publishing's position as an esteem service (ch. 2.3).

3. Responding to shifts in the field of scholarly publishing

Reconciling the dimensions of economic capital and esteem has traditionally been publishers' specialism, as has been argued throughout this dissertation. Conceptually, social shifts caused by the invention, discovery and sociocultural uptake of the digital medium have disrupted the esteem that related agents have for scholarly publishers. In practice this means that researchers, institutions, funders and governments can imitate the practical activities of publishers and therefore do not automatically appreciate publishers' traditional fulfilment of those tasks and esteem services anymore, let alone the economic rewards that publishers reap from those. The corporatization and ruthless profit orientation of STM publishing in particular has harmed the reputation of scholarly publishing; the large conglomerates now dominate the public discourse to the extent that smaller organisations struggle to make themselves sufficiently visible. The push for open access instigated by funders and governments constitutes a very visible arena for conflict with publishers; researchers display diverging attitudes, but must ultimately obey funders' demands.

As has been argued in the previous section as well as chapter 4.3, publishers may, and increasingly do, explicate their functioning as esteem services for authors to present a countering force in this shift in the field as they become more aware of a need for this. Jasmin Lange, Chief Publishing Officer at Brill, formulates the necessity:

> Over the past 12 months I have come to understand that, no matter how small and mission-driven we are, we too need to take responsibility for restoring the reputation of the industry and trust in academic publishers. In order to achieve this, a constructive and open dialogue with all our stakeholders is just as indispensable as making transparency one of our key business principles: transparency of our peer review processes, transparency of our policies to avoid double-dipping and transparency of the value we add to a researcher's work, to name just a few. The business we are in is far from broken as some on the outside think it is, but it is a big black box and this needs to change.[41]

As portrayed here, publishers usually propose transparency of principles and practices in the hope that other agents in the field come to understand the symbolic value generated in exchange for economic capital. However this dialectic seems hardly sufficient against the conflicts that the large STM corporations engage in, that are well-covered by the popular press and provide continued cause for outrage in academia.

Perhaps providing additional insight into the economic dimension of scholarly publishing for the Humanities (or: outside the large STM corporations) may be needed to further combat unfounded stereotypes, as these are based on the underestimation of symbolic value in combination with an overestimation of publishers' financial gains. Society may be sensitive to detailed business information, especially because economic self-sufficiency has become a standard setting. Moreover, New Public Management has established accountability and transparency as important characteristics for most social fields, including academia and scholarly publishing. In Thompson's words, 'an awareness of the importance of the market had increasingly become part of their habitus, of their practical schemes of judgement and evaluation and of their way of understanding the nature of their role and task as editors'.[42]

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[41] Jasmin Lange, 'Guest post: Plan S and humanities publishing', *The Scholarly Kitchen* (2 July 2019), n.pag.

Scholarly publishers seem hesitant about providing insight in business and finance processes, maybe from the fear of spilling 'trade secrets' and sensitive information to competitors. That may not be untrue, but this consequence is minor compared to the collective harm done to humanities scholarly publishing by *not* opening up more. Besides, transparency need not be delivered by individual firms, but can also be made available on an aggregate sector level. Stuart Lawson, Jonathan Gray and Michele Mauri have proposed that insight in the finances of scholarly publishing would help institutions' and funders' collective decision making;[43] I would add to this that it could also help publishers' position in the field, as it would demonstrate that organisations are relatively small in humanities scholarly publishing, and their profit margins overall modest and reasonable—and thus that they cannot exert undue pressure on other agents.

Finally, it should be noted that social and symbolic capital are not very strongly developed 'horizontally', i.e. between humanities scholarly publishers of similar disposition. Publishers commonly align in bilateral partnerships with institutions (as university presses do most visibly) to profit from their reputation by association, as well as with prominent scholars whose oeuvre they publish; and even with funders and innovators to gain prominence. However, there are few organisations that unite leagues of smaller scholarly presses, in an equivalent to the STM Association. One may be inclined to explain this from the view of publishers as competitors on the markets for manuscripts and for published texts. That is true, yet publishers associate with other agents despite divergent interests in the economic dimension, because this furthers their symbolic capital. Moreover, publishers are agents of like dispositions and therefore also each other's natural allies as well as competitors in the bigger discourse about the symbolic value of publishing.

The Association of University Presses (AUP) has been an example of a horizontal network since 1937, with the mission 'to assist its members through professional education, industry representation, and public advocacy'.[44] Its members collectively produce about 14,000 books and 1,100 journals annually, in a skewed distribution;[45] its largest members are, naturally, most visible. Its smaller members currently increasingly refocus on local and regional publishing as well as textbooks, in a diverging interest from the international players; worldwide public advocacy to them is a secondary goal.[46] There is an Association of European University Presses (AEUP), but it is markedly less developed than the AUP: it was founded only in 2010 and currently counts 35 members, predominantly from north-west Europe.[47] It has held a survey on publishing activities among its members and has gathered twice so far; its goals are still quite broad. It should moreover be noted that only one AEUP member, the University of Westminster Press, is based in the United Kingdom, despite there being around twenty presses active there.[48] The British university presses in their turn have apparently been gathering in their own association (ABUP) since 2017, but information on the association's activities remains scant.[49] National languages and idiosyncratic publication cultures (notoriously, for example, those in France and Italy, but also in Germany)[50] may complicate EU-wide collaboration, but it seems that technological innovations and its subsequent social shifts pose universal issues for publishers worldwide, although perhaps for international scholarly publishers most immediately and most pervasively.

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[42] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, pp. 137–139; quote from p. 138.

[43] They even propose a model for setting up such structural insights. This could be critically commented on, but not in this place—the gist of their argument holds. Stuart Lawson, Jonathan Gray & Michele Mauri, 'Opening the black box of scholarly communication funding: A public data infrastructure for financial flows in academic publishing', *Open Library of Humanities* 2.1 (2016), paper e.10, n.pag; see also Johnson, Watkinson & Mabe, *The STM Report*, pp. 24–25.

[44] Association of University Presses, http://aupresses.org (accessed 9 October 2019); the association was founded as the Association for American University Presses (AAUP) but changed its name in 2017. The association currently has 151 members, most of which are American or Canadian, but 15 are based in other countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

Besides permanent organisations for representation and advocacy, small humanities scholarly publishers collaborate occasionally in voicing their concerns about policy, as for instance through the open letter 'An HSS perspective on Plan S'.[51] In this letter submitted in the open consultation on Plan S, 46 signatory presses active in the Humanities argue why they support open access in general, but oppose the EU funders' Plan S as it does not suit humanities and social sciences publishing. It should be noted that the signatories include university presses as well as for-profit, privately and publicly owned, commercial publishers, which is exceptional. A variety of economically different entities has recognized that they share common interests—in this case, to sustain the variety of publishing businesses and publishing models in the field and their tailored relationships with specific disciplines in the Humanities. However, the open letter constitutes a stand-alone reaction to an issue raised by another agent in the field; this is a united response only exerted under considerable pressure from the field of power. From the perspective of struggles for power that are immanent in fields like scholarly publishing, it is perhaps beneficial to aim for a shared, long-term, pro-active strategy in this regard, as there are certainly shared strategic interests for these agents.

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[45] This means that a few larger presses publishing proportionally more, and many very small ones publishing only a few titles. Statistics from AAUP website.

[46] Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age*, esp. pp. 155–159.

[47] Association of European University Presses, http://www.aeup.eu/aeup/ (accessed 9 October 2019).

[48] Adema & Stone, *Changing Publishing Ecologies*, p. 6.

[49] Association of British University Presses website: https://abup.org/about-abup/ (accessed 9 October 2019); it contradictingly states that the British foundation was founded on the request for an association by 22 international university presses. Its Board of Directors counts no fewer than 22 members, some of which curiously are from large and influential American university presses (Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, and MIT), and others from Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

[50] Heiko Hartmann, 'Academic publishing in the humanities: Current trends in Germany', *Logos* 28.2 (2017), pp. 11-26; Jean-Louis Soubret, 'Humanities and social sciences publishing in France: Are journals public enough?', *Logos* 27.4 (2016), pp. 18–35.

[51] 'An HSS Perspective on Plan S'. Signatories include twenty German presses, twelve firms from the United Kingdom, five from the Netherlands, and some from Austria, Belgium, France, Canada, and the United States.

It is quite well-documented how digital technologies were introduced in the practice and business of scholarly publishing in the Humanities, and it has even been argued that the consequences of that digital shift in the industry are known and understood. Yet this understanding then pertains chiefly to the economic, material services of publishing. Insights in its processes have given rise to the notion that the much more elusive symbolic capital is of crucial importance in the field, too. Symbolic capital is generated and exchanged in relationships between agents in a field, and it is therefore not subjected to technological innovations, but more to their social implementation, in iterative patterns of changing attitudes and actions. In the field of scholarly publishing, publishers depend on endorsements from academia to maintain their reputation as an instrument of their business; authors depend on publishers' esteem services to succeed in their disciplines. These disciplines in their turns are also cultural systems with heterogeneous *habitus* due to their diverging epistemic and social characteristics.

Publishers have traditionally intuitively adapted their own *habitus* to fit their constituencies in the implicit paradigm of print. The current technological innovation provides a new medium, alternative modalities and unprecedented forms through which scholarly content may be communicated. Research communities in the Humanities are demonstrably relatively slow to embrace new digital forms, at least with radical characteristics such as multi-modality or non-linearity (ch. 4); rather, scholarly communication has shifted to digital equivalents of age-old long-form text types. Academia's hesitance to employ drastically different communication patterns should at least partly be attributed to the esteem-bestowing associated with traditional publishing. Given the fact that shifts in publication formats will undoubtedly affect the content of publications (due to their inherent embedding in disciplinary cultures, ch. 1), this should perhaps be considered a blessing in disguise.[52] It should be noted that decoding, interpretation, comprehension—or indeed, any consequences of the implementation of the digital medium for individual readers and for knowledge communities on the receiving end of the publishing process—have been delineated as outside the scope of this dissertation. An analysis from the current framework, yet centralizing the reader's *habitus* may, however, be complementary to the current research.

Beyond the direct effects of digital technology on communication, the digital medium's long-term sociotechnical consequences are certainly affecting author-publisher relationships. The position of the publisher as an esteem service for authors usually remained implicit in the age of print, but in the current age of medial change, it should be explicitly articulated to have its existence confirmed. This dissertation has commenced such an articulation of scholarly publishing as a catalyst of esteem for scholarship in the Humanities, and offered a model that is to an extent predictive for its workings. Crucially, it argues that agents' rooting in disciplinary research cultures shapes their behaviour in the field of scholarly publishing. Lastly, it demonstrates that our understanding of academic cultures and the functions of publishing, despite their centuries-old relationship, is only just dawning.

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[52] Beyond the realms of academia and scholarly publishing, the role of the long-form linear text for human cognition in general has only relatively recently come into focus of extensive research, perhaps also prompted by the advent of online alternatives. An important project on the impact of digitization on reading is E-READ: https://ereadcost.eu/ It is still uncertain what humanity stands to lose, and to gain, from abandoning the role of the long-form linear text as key constituent in knowledge transmission. Given their principally textual nature, however, it is evident that the Humanities would be severely impacted by more extensive medial change and a shift away from linear text.

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Curriculum Vitae

Fleur Elise Willemijn Praal (Rotterdam, 1985) finished secondary school (*gymnasium, Cultuur en Maatschappij*) at the Rotterdams Montessori Lyceum in 2003 with honours. She then enrolled in the B.A. in History at Leiden University, from which she graduated in 2010. This was after having attended an Honours Class and after having obtained another B.A. degree, in English Language and Culture, from the same institution in 2008. In 2012, she graduated from the M.A. Book and Digital Media Studies (BDMS) *cum laude*.

She initially took on subsequent part-time positions as a teaching assistant and junior lecturer under supervision of prof.dr. Adriaan van der Weel in the department of BDMS, at the Faculty of Humanities. She combined these with temporary project work at the Centre for Science and Technology Studies (CWTS), which included data research for the CWTS Leiden Ranking and project coordination for ACUMEN, an EU-FP7 research project. By getting acquainted with science and technology studies (STS), she became convinced that qualitative research on scholarly practices from a humanities' perspective could contribute to a better understanding of the role of text, and especially publications, in scholarship. This inspired her to straddle the fields of publishing studies and STS, a combination of interests that lies at the basis of the current dissertation. When the opportunity arose, in 2014, to embark on this Ph.D. project while continuing to teach as a junior lecturer (*docentpromovendus*), Fleur embraced it wholeheartedly.

Since the summer of 2019, Fleur has been appointed as a university lecturer at the Leiden University Centre for the Arts in Society (LUCAS), where she teaches courses on media philosophy, publishing in recent history and current times, and on the transition from print to digital text, in the B.A. Minor 'Boek, boekhandel en uitgeverij' and the M.A. BDMS. Fleur is married and has two sons.

Samenvatting

Symbolisch kapitaal en wetenschappelijke communicatie in de Humaniora: Sociotechnologische verandering geanalyseerd

De wetenschappelijke uitgeverij biedt al drie eeuwen de voornaamste route voor de formele verspreiding van onderzoeksresultaten in tekstvorm. Tegenwoordig is het een internationale bedrijfstak met een jaarlijkse omzet van ongeveer dertig miljard dollar en werkgelegenheid voor 110.000 mensen – mede vanwege zijn omvang een onderzoeksobject op zich. Studies naar de wetenschappelijke uitgeverij bestaan wel, maar reduceren het uitgeven onterecht tot een economische activiteit: ze zijn veelal praktisch van aard, met de focus bijvoorbeeld op procesinnovaties of businessmodellen. Wetenschappelijke artikelen, monografieën en andere uitgaven zijn echter weliswaar handelsproducten, maar tevens manifestaties van het culturele discours in gebruik bij gemeenschappen van onderzoekers. Dit proefschrift biedt een conceptuele analyse van de wetenschappelijke uitgeverij die juist ook de socioculturele dimensie in ogenschouw neemt.

Eerdere studies van de uitgeverij, zoals die door Michael Bhaskar en John Thompson, bieden al een kader voor een dergelijke dimensie op basis van de 'veldtheorie' van socioloog Pierre Bourdieu. Het uitgeven is als veld te bestuderen omdat uitgeverijen specifieke, maar onderling vergelijkbare omstandigheden, drijfveren en uitdagingen ervaren. Zo bezien kunnen dan ook kleinere subvelden worden aangewezen die nog meer gelijkvormig zijn: uitgeverijen gespecialiseerd in de humaniora, bijvoorbeeld, die de specifieke geesteswetenschappelijke communicatiepraktijken combineren met de algemene context van de wetenschappelijke uitgeverij.

Die context verandert steeds, zoals bijvoorbeeld door oprukkende corporatisering en globalisering, maar de laatste twintig jaar wel bijzonder ingrijpend, door de komst van het digitale medium met al zijn toepassingen. Wetenschappelijke uitgevers, maar ook beleidsmakers, universiteiten, onderzoeksinstellingen, lezers en auteurs reageren allemaal anders op die veranderende economische, sociale en technologische omstandigheden; acties van anderen lokken in een keten van onderlinge verbondenheid weer nieuwe reacties uit. Sommige van deze acties en reacties zijn zeer zichtbaar, zoals de praktische veranderingen die veroorzaakt worden door de implementatie van nieuwe technieken: bijvoorbeeld van boekdruk naar online uitgeven. Maar de doorwerking van die veranderingen op de sociale processen, attitudes en percepties van onderzoeksgemeenschappen is indirect en minder zichtbaar, terwijl die grote consequenties heeft voor de dynamiek van het veld. In het verwerven van onderzoekssubsidies, bijvoorbeeld, is de publicatielijst van wetenschappers belangrijk; als financiering wordt toegekend, is dit vaak met specifieke voorwaarden voor de resulterende publicaties. Dit proefschrift biedt meer inzicht in juist die socioculturele veranderingen in het geesteswetenschappelijk uitgeefveld, door middel van analyse van de interacties en uitwisselingen tussen de belangrijkste betrokken partijen in de huidige tijd van snelle technologische veranderingen.

Alle partijen in het geesteswetenschappelijk uitgeefveld worden (deels) gedreven door immateriële doelen. Uitgevers, bijvoorbeeld, zijn op zoek naar hoge kwaliteit werken om te publiceren, om zo een goede reputatie op te bouwen en daarbij, en daardoor, op de lange termijn financieel rendabel te blijven. Wetenschappelijke auteurs verwachten juist helemaal geen inkomsten uit uitgeefactiviteiten, maar hopen des te meer op prestige door het publiceren. Hoe dat prestige te behalen is, verschilt subtiel per onderzoeksdiscipline: bij sommige is een kort artikel in een vooraanstaand en frequent geciteerd tijdschrift het hoogst haalbare, terwijl bij andere een lijvige monografie bij een gerenommeerde uitgeverij meer gewaardeerd wordt door vakgenoten. Hoe dan ook hebben uitgevers een belangrijke functie in het genereren, vergroten en verspreiden van prestige – ook wel reputatie, of symbolisch kapitaal genoemd. Die functie staat daarom, specifiek voor de humaniora, in dit proefschrift centraal: ondanks de belangrijke technologische veranderingen is deze onverminderd belangrijk in het socioculturele veld van uitgeven voor de geesteswetenschappen.

Deze studie neemt duidelijk, zij het impliciet, een tamelijk deterministische positie in het debat rond de socioculturele doorwerking van technologische innovatie. Het feit dat onbedoelde gevolgen van digitalisering uitgebreid aan bod komen, spreekt in die zin voor zich: technologieën zijn niet alleen praktische instrumenten, maar hebben ook een bepaalde status voor de gemeenschappen die ermee werken. De humaniora bezien digitale communicatie- en publicatietechnologie anders dan andere onderzoeksdisciplines en gaan er ook anders mee om. Het is daarom nuttig om de humaniora specifiek, en soms ook in vergelijking met andere onderzoeksdisciplines te analyseren. In de gangbare perceptie is wetenschap verdeeld over twee domeinen, de SSH+L (sociale wetenschappen, humaniora en rechten) versus de STEM (exacte, technologische en medische wetenschappen). Continue vergelijking kan echter performatief werken: de tweedeling bestendigen en daarmee geesteswetenschappers en hun uitgevers misschien onbedoeld in een underdogpositie plaatsen. Die positie onderschrijf ik absoluut niet. Dit proefschrift dient dus ook niet te worden gelezen als verdediging, maar als explicitering van belangrijke dynamieken die gewoonlijk onzichtbaar blijven.

In hoofdstuk 1 analyseer ik de karakteristieken van de geesteswetenschappen, die de attitudes en gedragingen van onderzoeken mede vormgeven. Voor deze analyse gebruik ik de gevestigde theorievorming uit de wetenschapssociologie, die echter nog nauwelijks op de humaniora is toegepast. De conceptuele bevindingen onderschrijf ik met uitkomsten van bibliometrische studies naar de publicatiepraktijken van geesteswetenschappers.

De attitudes en verwachtingen van wetenschappers sijpelen door naar wetenschappelijke uitgevers, en zo vormt zich in samenwerking een standaardpraktijk die algemeen begrepen, maar zelden benoemd wordt. Het doel van hoofdstuk 2 is juist een expliciete analyse te verschaffen van deze standaardpraktijk en de manier waarop die tot stand komt. De analyse wortelt in de eerder genoemde veldtheorie, maar levert bovendien aanvullende concepten om tekortkomingen van deze theorie te compenseren.

De wetenschap en de wetenschappelijke uitgeverij zijn symbionten: zij ontwikkelen zich samen in een gedeelde context van doorlopende politieke, economische en technologische verandering in de westerse maatschappij. Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft chronologisch deze veranderingen in de laatste eeuw, van ongeveer de Eerste Wereldoorlog tot de financiële crisis van 2008. De meest recente en huidige ontwikkelingen komen aan bod in hoofdstuk 4, dat ook duidelijk verbinding levert met de concepten uit de eerdere hoofdstukken. In de coda, tenslotte, verken ik mogelijke andere toepassingen voor het hier geboden conceptuele denkraam.

Woord van dank

Eigenlijk had ik er in mijn eerste twintig jaar als lezer nog niet bij stilgestaan dat boeken niet alleen kunnen worden gebruikt om uit te studeren, maar ook om als object in hun context te bestuderen. Slechts enkele colleges boekwetenschap in de herfst van 2008 waren genoeg om mij intuïtief te overtuigen juist die onderzoeksrichting in te gaan.

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