Authorship and Publishing in the Humanities

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Self-Archived Manuscript

Abstract: What is the point of publishing in the humanities? This book provides an answer to this question. It builds on a unique set of quantitative and qualitative data to understand why humanities scholars publish. It looks at both basic characteristics such as publication numbers, formats, and perceptions, and differences of national academic settings alongside the influences of the UK's Research Excellence Framework and the German *Exzellenzinitiative*. The data involve a survey of more than 1,000 humanities scholars and social scientists in the UK and Germany, allowing for a comprehensive comparative study, and a series of qualitative interviews. The resulting critique provides researchers and policy makers with an accessible and critical work about the particularities of authorship and publishing in the humanities. And it gives an account of the problems and struggles of humanities scholars in their pursuit of contributing to discourse, and to be recognised with their intellectual work.

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List of Abbreviations

HSS	Humanities & Social Sciences
NPM	New Public Management
OA	Open Access
PRFS	Performance-Based Research Funding System
QR	Quality-Related (funding)
RAE	Research Assessment Exercise
REF	Research Excellence Framework
RSE	Research Selectivity Exercise
UFC	Universities Funding Council
UGC	University Grants Committee
UKRI	UK Research and Innovation

The work is the death mask of its conception.

Walter Benjamin.

1. Understanding Authorship and Publishing

What exactly is the point of publishing? The humanities form a cluster of disciplines—a branch of learning—that fosters understanding what it means to be human.[1] Humanities scholars consider writing and the careful, qualitative engagement with text of utmost importance. Being a scholar means being in dialogue with others by engaging with the complexity of their thought and offering accounts of understanding. Publishing, one may assume, facilitates this dialogue. To publish does not mean to put information out there; to publish means to enter a discourse community with the motivation to participate and learn, to argue, disagree, and build upon disagreement. Publishing is as much about readership as it is about authorship; author and reader merge in the recursive structure of dialogue. Publishing, in this sense, is borne by the motivation to contribute to discourse and to keep the dialogue about understanding what it means to be human alive. This is one answer to the question of what the point of publishing is.

This book gives a different answer. This answer claims that the point of publishing is not to be a voice in a dialogue but to yield formal authorship. This answer accounts for the ways authorship fares as a shortcut for productivity, and how this shortcut impacts the dissemination of scholarship in the humanities. Underlying this is a subtle shift of the means and ends of publishing. Publishing could be thought of as in the outline above. The motivation to publish is bound to the end of contributing to discourse; it grows out of dialogue and the intention to be a voice in it. The recognition of the work of a scholar is equally bound to this. There is no shortcut for this recognition; it requires engagement with dialogue. Authorship may fare as a reference, but it cannot assume the point of recognition

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[1] This ideal of scholarship in the humanities is both polarising and unifying. It is the indelible origin of humanities scholarship to be concerned with the *Menschengeschlecht* (German for: humankind) (Dilthey, [1910] 1970: 89). See also newer outlines of it, such as: Habermas (1971: 140–186), Garland (2012: 301), or Thomä (2019: 101).

itself. Readers might vouch for the quality of a voice, but only so in the specific context of its engagement. This is an ideal of authorship that has probably never been fully realised.

At the opposite of such an ideal, authorship fares not as a reference, but as the actual point of recognition. The formal reference of authorship translates to an assumed productivity. Many such formal references—for instance accumulated on a CV—mean the scholar is highly productive. She is a leader in her area if the formalities account for specific publishing brands. She is likely to be skilled if her authorship references refer to a wide range of specialist areas. In an academic setting that favours marketable output, such a list of formal authorship references is worth more than anything. She is visible and productive, and the institution she works at can benefit from this visibility and productivity. It is not the scholarship but the fact of it being out there and the way it is externalised that count. Publishing becomes a means to showcase visibility and productivity. The motivation to publish is bound to this end; dialogue and the intention to be a voice in it become secondary.

This shift of means and ends is visible in the publishing practices of scholars today. Of course, by claiming that authorship is a shortcut for productivity, I do not claim that—along this gamut of means and ends—we have reached the extreme point where publishing is *only* a means to showcase visibility and productivity. The individual scholar in the humanities is still motivated by the desire to know, to contribute original accounts of understanding to an ongoing dialogue, and to engage with the complexity of the thought of others. No publication is empty. Thinking and writing precede publishing, and each publication is likely to find at least some kind of readership. It might receive a few citations even, which allows to assume that it is included in some kind of dialogue. Each text exists in a tradition, and it is likely to feed into the discourse of teaching.

And yet, by claiming that authorship is a shortcut for productivity, I *do* wish to highlight that we have reached the extreme where publishing is *dominantly* a means to showcase visibility and productivity. This domination is the result of a governance of scholarship that wishes to market the modern university as a site of the production of world-leading output. This site needs to be efficiently managed; there are simply too many applications to sort through, grants to apply for, review deadlines to meet, and opportunities to make scholarly merit visible. As a research manager—or a scholar involved in the organisation of more than her own scholarly endeavours—it seems only intuitive to claim that efficiency is a necessity. It might be lamented: how else can scholars respond to the masses of publications, applications, or reviews? One may say: information is everywhere, and you need to rationalise it in order to master it. However, this intuition seems to counter the basic tenets of the humanities. Their principles of hermeneutics and historicity posit that subjective, qualitative engagement is required to make a qualitative judgement.

Surely, I can ask others to make a judgement for me; we might call it peer review. A publication's formal mark of having been judged—of being peer reviewed—allows for efficient measurement of a kind. But it precedes dialogue. It is a judgement that contributes to the formality of authorship without being able to tell us something about the afterlife of the work in dialogue. This afterlife cannot be efficiently measured, and more and more publications exacerbate this difficulty. Masses of publications disguise the individual contribution, and they require self-referential work in terms of initial, formal statements of judgement. This need to handle masses of publications—the mass of publications itself—is a symptom of the problem, rather than part of a solution. This efficiency based on formal authorship manifests quite particular terms of a competition.

Competition, Growth, and Efficiency

These terms can hardly take account of the subtler manifestations of scholarship. The chaos and complexity of notes, of teaching, of conceptional text, or elusive dialogues are hard to assess efficiently. Unpublished manuscripts require reading. Teaching is difficult to objectify, even by means of standardised evaluations. Does the best teacher performance really yield the best—the most educative, scholarly profitable, or culturally desirable—education? What is the value of critical, engaging teaching if the marketable name of institutions—enhanced by REF-ratings and one-dimensional rankings—overshadows all else?

In the pursuit to determine the productive scholar—productive in the innovation and output of ideas and truths—competition is crowded and fierce so that the efficiency of heuristics is required. The meritocratic notion of widening participation—the notion that claims anyone is allowed to compete so long as she performs well in the terms prescribed—further increases competition which again enforces the requirement of efficiency.

These mutually reinforcing mechanisms of competition and efficient management have reached an extreme in the sense of a self-referential *growth/trust spiral*. As there are more and more aspiring scholars, discourses get more crowded. Competitive funding regimes and career developments based on quantities of output further incentivised increasing numbers of publications. For instance, across epistemic genres, 'the output of philosophical publications has by far surpassed the increase of members of the profession' (Rescher, 2019: 750; translation by the author). Even in the smallest definition of one's philosophical area, there are too many new publications today (Marquard, 2020b). In this, 'academic philosophy shares with other disciplines […] the huge increase in the number of submissions to journals in the past few decades' (Crane, 2018: n.p.). Schneijderberg et al.

identify 'a crowding-out effect of traditional publication cultures by a publication culture valorized in natural sciences' (2022: 21), with fewer books and ever more articles, especially in the English language, being published in Germany. This overproduction pertains to journals more than to monographs, but the problem continues to the long form. The *monograph crisis* is a crisis not in terms of materiality, though. The monograph is still highly valued as the discussion of my own data confirms. Nevertheless, 'more titles are published [in the arts and humanities in the UK] than even the most assiduous scholar could hope to read' (Jubb, 2017: 5). This is a crisis in terms of a mismatch of supply and demand, as the development of numbers shows (Thompson, 2005: 93–98). Monographs become so differentiated that each copy is of interest to only a few hundred scholars, if at all. As a results of all this overproduction, scholars have less and less time to read in depth (Baveye, 2014).

This turns into a need for trusted sources. Scholars—conducting all sorts of evaluations of publications, promotions, or grants—hardly find the time to engage qualitatively in dialogue with the scholarship in evaluation. They require heuristics instead: output timelines, scope of topics, publishing brands, co-authorships, editorship, etc. All those instances of information that make the formality of authorship start mattering more and more. Their defining characteristics become more differentiated and, again, more crowded, which sets forth another layer of growth.

The law of motion is that growth of output allows for a growth of publishing venues that requires enforced stratification of these venues. In turn, scholars can rely on a trusted set of formal characteristics for their daily scholarship and evaluation practices. This stratification enforces mechanisms of visibility and mass publications that trigger further demand to publish: to stay visible and to signpost productivity in the different formal dimensions.

The Research Excellence Framework (REF) only reinforces this spiral, albeit its formally benign outline. The REF *could* be seen as a mechanism to inhibit crude growth. It claims to value quality above quantity. It is said to perform on peer review, and the qualitative assessment of peers might be seen as an original scholarly activity. In all these respects, one might assume that the REF works against such a spiral and the excess of external research management. The reality paints a different picture. It is best summarised by the following formula: the REF does not review past discourse as it was shaped from within—discourse is shaped from without to be reviewed by a future REF.

The REF is epitome in the way it makes use of communication to measure and market productivity. Publications—the original means enabling discourse—become means enabling authorship. The REF, thus, reinforces the governance of a competition for a type of output that increasingly not only affects aspiring—young—scholars, but individuals across career levels in the UK. A scholar has to be *REFable*—indicating to departmental management her value to the department's future outcome in the REF. The REF does not even reward or interact with the individual scholar; she has to contribute her work to the productivity of the institution. She becomes replaceable since her output—a commodity in a market of exchangeable ideas—counts. It is not the specificity of her thought, her engagement with dialogue, and the students this dialogue attracts that count. Such specificity is reserved to an elite at a few elite institutions. For them, it is a competition of qualitative differentiation, of developing a strong intellectual programme that serves as a foundation for future monographs or smaller output. Great performance in the REF seems predictable for these happy few. The rest—the large majority—has to compete in terms of unspecific scholarship. They have to gain the credit of *REFability* not for the REF itself, but as the institutions require the REF's material and symbolic reward to attract further staff and students. It thrives on rated output, not on ideas.

This makes *REFability* a function of the dubious sphere of the *job market*. This *job market* is the everyday idiom of the struggle for recognition that works in terms of formal requirements. It suggests: the most valuable is the scholar that is the most productive in terms of formal output; you have to produce new output to become *REFable*.

Publish or Perish

A prominent name for the experienced pressure that this struggle exerts is *publish or perish*. It claims that: either you publish, or you perish. You may not clinically pass away, but if you do not publish, your scholarly career collapses. Nevertheless, having published by no means implies you do not perish. But if you aspire to a career in academia, you have to publish, the more the better. This, in short, is an illustration of contemporary academia's iron cage.

Publish or perish has become known far beyond the confines of academia. It comes as no surprise, then, that there are a variety of articles in popular media that implement the theme in wider discourses in the English-speaking world (Aitkenhead, 2013; Colquhoun, 2011; Kristof, 2014) or in Germany (Könneker, 2018; Pörksen, 2015). However, *publish or perish* is far from being coherent. Not only is it referred to with different names, it also appears as an abstract imperative, as the most prevalent principle of a productivity and management regime in institutionalised academia, or as the current culture of scholarly communication in general. *Publish or perish* may be used as a referent to an age (Rosa, 2010: 55), an aphorism (Rond and Miller, 2005), a climate (Relman, 1977), a culture (van Dalen and Henkens, 2012), a doctrine (Moosa, 2018: vii), a *Fluch* (German: curse; Könneker, 2018), a *Grundgesetz* (German: constitution; Barth, 2019: 13), an ideology (Vannini, 2006), a mantra (Guraya et al., 2016), a phenomenon (Miller et al., 2011), a slogan (Hexter, 1969), a syndrome (Colpaert, 2012), or a system (Lee, 2014).

If an individual wishes to be a scholar, she has to submit her scholarship to the terms of this competition. These terms dictate that what 'matters in academia are publications' (Harvie, 2000: 115). In classic sociological terms, one may think of the transcendence of commodification to explain this. A publication comprising of scholarship in text appears to be a trivial thing. Its authorship is a name reference in discourse, placing it within a tradition. It has a use value in the communication of scholarship: by being published, text is made visible to an audience which aspires to engage with that scholarship. 'But, as soon as it steps forth as a commodity, it is changed into something transcendent' (Marx, [1867] 1906: 82). The publication—stepping forward to compete formally—no longer just communicates scholarship. It assumes the commodity form and is in competition with all other commodities on terms of marketability in institutional accumulation, on terms of comparability in a job market, and no longer merely on terms of use in discourse. The dissemination of ideas from author to reader and its potential competition of ideas *after* dissemination is substituted to the competition of ways of dissemination and to the fact of dissemination in the first place. Its value is the referenced formal authorship. Such authorship as a commodity form means a predominance of the symbolic over the material, a 'mystical character' (Marx, [1867] 1906: 82) that does not originate in use value. The exchange value of authorship as a commodity form dominates over the use value of scholarship in discourse.

One might, polemically, claim: how else is scholarship to be communicated? How can others engage with a scholar's thinking if she does not publish? An answer could be: by means of teaching, by oral dialogue, by sharing informal text. But this can neither be marketed nor efficiently counted. The once normative ideal of the unity of teaching and scholarship as conceived by Humboldt—its conception of *Bildung*—is replaced by the preference of the new—the ideology of innovation—in which output needs to be countable and marketable as individual instances.[2] Originality becomes meaningless where it is not seen within its contextuality but as information as suggestive advertisement. The intrinsic complexity of dialogue—in teaching, in conversation, and in the contextuality of text—is to be resolved in the abstracting, formal instance of information that can be accounted for efficiently. This ideology results a 'mad run rush for more publications' (Rosa, 2010: 55) in which every formal representation of something new is worth more than the capacity of the advancement of rational discourse or the development of intellectual competence and daring. The abstract production of marketable output replaced the substance of a contribution—the produced formal authorship replaced the communicating text: the 'desire to produce knowledge, to share ideas, and to make an important contribution, is just one impetus for academics to publish. It may, however, no longer be the primary one' (Hyland, 2015: 6). As more intrinsic scholarly motives vanish, this is lamented as the *perversion of authorship* (Barth, 2019: 13). This perversion is an increasing disbalance of formality and substance.

Historically, the university and its clusters of disciplines are often characterised by a variety of dichotomies: idiosyncratic vs nomothetic, understanding vs explaining, historical-hermeneutical methods emphasising the subject vs the exacting methods of objectification, qualitative vs quantitative paradigms, and so on. These terms are significant for respective cultures, carrying symbolic patterns that guide actions and signify worldviews. They are also often positioned to symbolise the opposition of the humanities and sciences. In this role, they are overly generalising, trying to encompass a range of disciplinary practices that are

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[2] In fact, 'UK show the lowest percentage of institutions balancing teaching and research' (Bruni et al., 2020: 1132).

hard to unify. Still, they offer an approach to understanding: a starting point for further, more specific enquiry.

For characterising the contemporary university in this sense, one particular dichotomy may be that of the comparable, formal output that signifies new information vs the idiosyncratic, qualitatively complex, and intrinsically non-formal scholarship. The wording already indicates the difficulty of referring to this dichotomy. Nevertheless, it seems essential for answering the question of what the point of publishing is. It helps understanding the constitution of publishing practices in the humanities. This dichotomy is the New Public Management (NPM) notion of valuing measurable output above substance.[3] It is research vs teaching—the production of something new vs the passing on of that which is known. That which is new needs to be signified in the form of authorship. Publishing, in this understanding, is a means to turn scholarship—its idiosyncrasy, complexity, and its requirement of qualitative engagement—into the publication that yields formal authorship. It is driven by a competition that emphasises the auditing of individuals in their production of this—definite, marketable, and efficiently measurable—output. Against a pragmatic understanding of publishing as a means of communication, the empirical reality of publishing needs to be seen as a distancing of scholar subject and the intrinsic communicative purpose of text.

How can the grounds for this and its praxis be understood? How can the ambiguity in the categorical *publish or perish* be explained? How does the Weberian dichotomy of substantive and formal rationality help? How can the impact of the REF on publishing practices be understood? This book provides answers to such questions by outlining what

[3] NPM refers to a governance principles of public institutions ambiguously characterised by 'free market rhetoric and intensive managerial control practices' as discussed by Lorenz (2012: 600); see also: Bacevic (2019: 101) or Münch (2011: 96–121).

it means to publish and how this meaning is distanced from an intrinsic motivation of contributing to scholarly discourse. It picks up the many concerns voiced in academia. These are, foremost, articulated in the day-to-day conduct, in the life-worlds of both early career and senior scholars who wish to focus on an intellectual agenda, but have to respond to the alienating governance principles of competition on formal output.

Methods and Empirical Data

This book is an empirically-grounded critique of publishing practices. I investigated these practices during several empirical studies. Results of two of these studies are published for the first time in this book. They enable readers to comprehend publishing practices in their institutional context, how scholars perceive it, and what challenges there may be. This book is decidedly short. I focus on the scholar as an author. This focus serves two purposes: it provides researchers and policy makers with a concise introduction to what authorship and publishing in the humanities mean today. And it creates a starting point for future research that integrates and looks at particular aspects of authorship and publishing more comprehensively, particularly its materialist impact. Therefore, this is not a book about technical aspects of writing or publishing. It is also not a book about publishers, nor about bibliometric quantifications of authorship. It is a book that puts forward a contextual understanding of publishing practices to explain the empirical situation of authors in the humanities.

The empirical data of this book are based on two studies: a quantitative survey conducted in 2018, and a set of qualitative interviews carried out in 2019/20.[4] Both of

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[4] I conducted these studies for my doctoral research at University College London. This research was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council UK (AHRC) through the London Arts and Humanities

these studies take place within a case study frame that employs scholars in Germany and the UK as subjects that actualise the practices in question. The two countries are comparable in terms of size or scholarly institutionalisation. All the while, they are unique in particular characteristics: German academia is governed by a tremendously conservative career system—the UK has a rather progressive but strongly hierarchised career system; Germany shows efforts to manage excellence nationwide with only few institutions and a minor direct impact on publications—the UK's efforts to manage excellence seem all-encompassing and are intricately intertwined with publications; German humanities scholars are very much culturally bound to a (Humboldtian) traditionalism that is fundamentally impacted by new governance practices and demands to internationalise—the UK has never been so strongly bound to Humboldt and, with its native rooting in academia's lingua franca, English, scholars seem to be better equipped for the internationalist drive. This list is, of course, just an abstract. I do not endeavour to explain in-depth the two countries' characteristics. Rather, I employ the two countries as a frame for analysing different manifestations of the governance of scholarly work.

Quantitative Survey

The survey was exploratory in nature. Its aim was to reach sufficient scholars to allow for a comparison of the 2x2 matrix of: the humanities and social sciences in Germany and the UK. The questionnaire was online between April and July 2018. 1,177 scholars participated in the survey. After clearing results of other disciplines or emeriti scholars,

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Partnership (LAHP) as well as the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German Academic Scholarship Foundation).

responses of 1,017 scholars made the effective sample. The following figure illustrates the distribution of responses for the full sample.

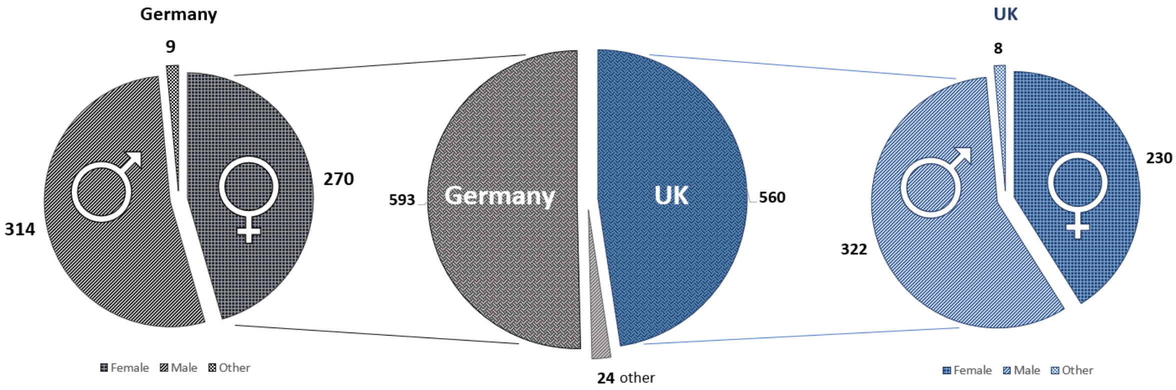

Figure 1: Distribution of participants in quantitative survey.

Career positions in Germany and the UK are not easily comparable since positions have different names and careers progress differently. The most striking difference is perhaps the tenured professorship in Germany. Alongside this, there is a bulk of scholars in the large cluster of the German *Mittelbau* (often including a whole range of positions from the Postdoc to just below tenured professorship). Some of these scholars form the German *Privatdozent* (untenured senior scholars), others, a rather small number, are the *Juniorprofessoren* (often younger than *Privatdozenten* but sometimes with the option of tenure). The bulk makes the mass of *Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter* (literally: scholarly employee). This stratified career system is substantially different compared with the UK's rather progressive—in the sense of more linearly hierarchised—system. I will discuss more of this below. The following table shows the distribution of survey participants across these groups.

Germany		Doctoral Student	Wiss. MA	Jun-Prof	Unten. Senior	Tenured Prof	Sub-total	Total
	Humanities	17	148	34	52	106	357	545
	Social Sciences	14	86	26	18	44	188	
	Humanities	5%	41%	10%	15%	30%		
	Social Sciences	7%	46%	14%	10%	23%		

UK		Doc	Junior	Mid	Senior	Sub-total	Total
	Humanities	13	94	80	61	248	472
	Social Sciences	13	89	66	56	224	
	Humanities	5%	38%	32%	25%		
	Social Sciences	6%	40%	29%	25%		

Excluded total:	160
All:	**1,177**

Table 1: Effective sample of quantitative survey.

To get an idea of what the abstract terms of career positions mean, the following four scatterplots show the distribution of scholars' active years for each cluster of the 2x2 matrix.[5] Active years refers to the respondents' own statement about how long they are active in academia, in absolute numbers. The three middle clusters make the *Mittelbau.* As can be seen, they are distributed across a wide range of years. Tenured professors are comparable to their untenured colleagues in terms of years of experience. The development of careers in the UK seems to be more hierarchical: the groups of junior, mid, and senior level indeed represent a progressive system. The junior professorships and the tenured professoriate in Germany disturb such linearity.

[5] Detailed statistics can be found in the appendix.

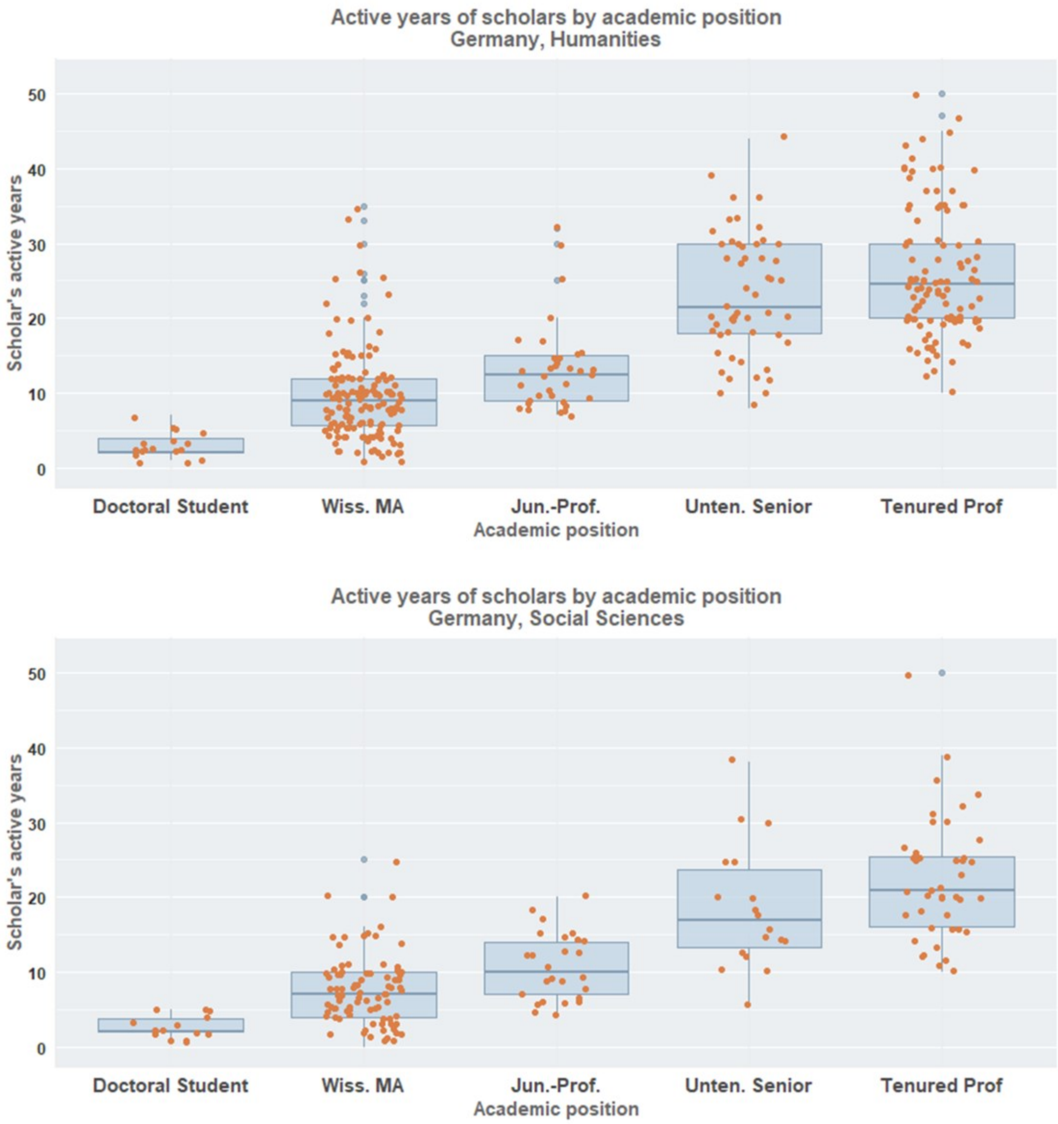

Figure 2: Active years and career positions of scholars in Germany.

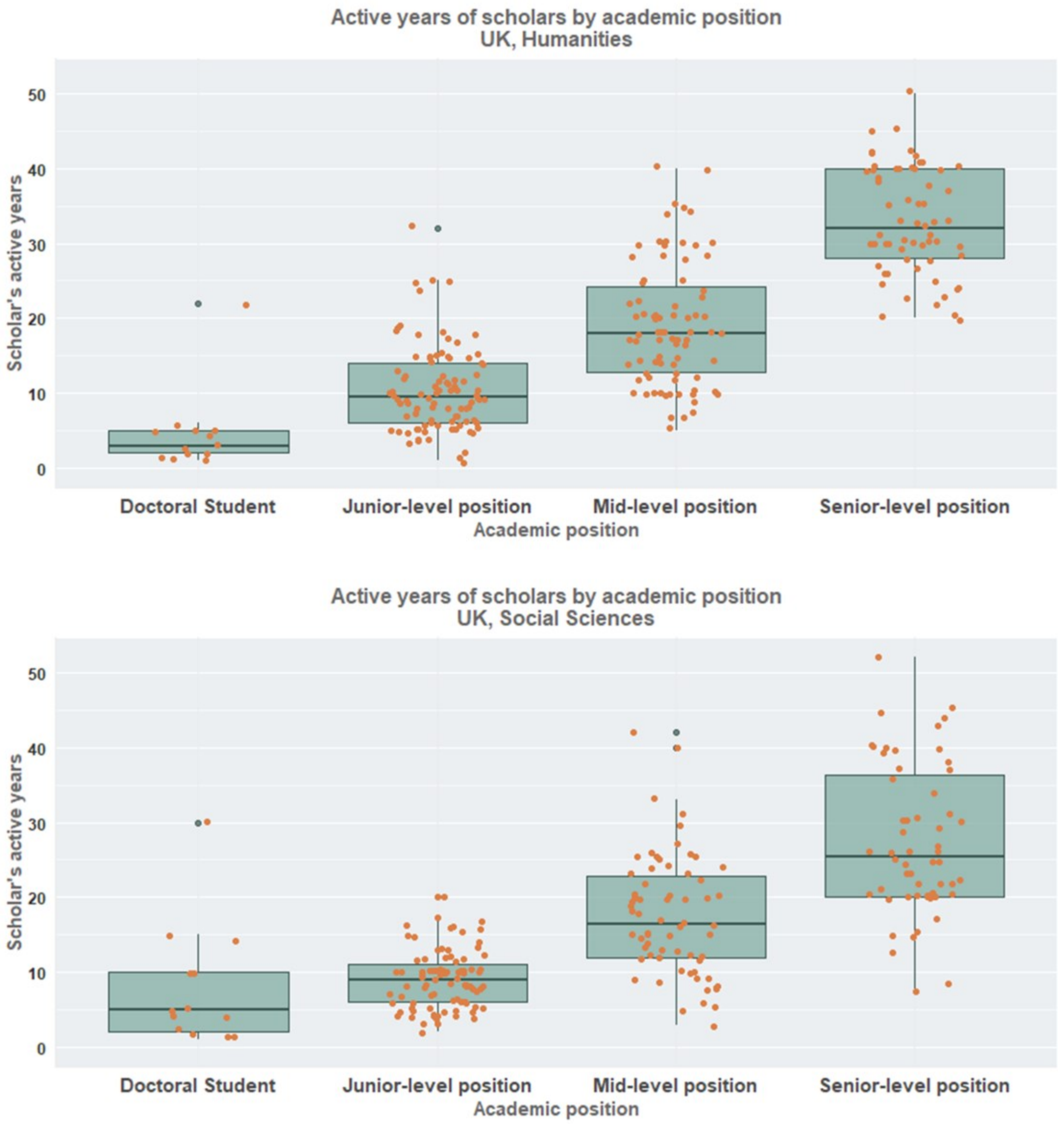

Figure 3: Active years and career positions of scholars in the UK.

Figure 4 further shows the correlation of the age of scholars and their self-identified active years in academia. Germany is very linear with a high correlation. The UK shows higher variation, especially as the system seems to be more permeable: quite a few scholars access a career at a higher age. German academia seems to be less hospitable for such permeability: either you are in from an early age on, or you are out. This is a quantified statement of German's rigid career system.

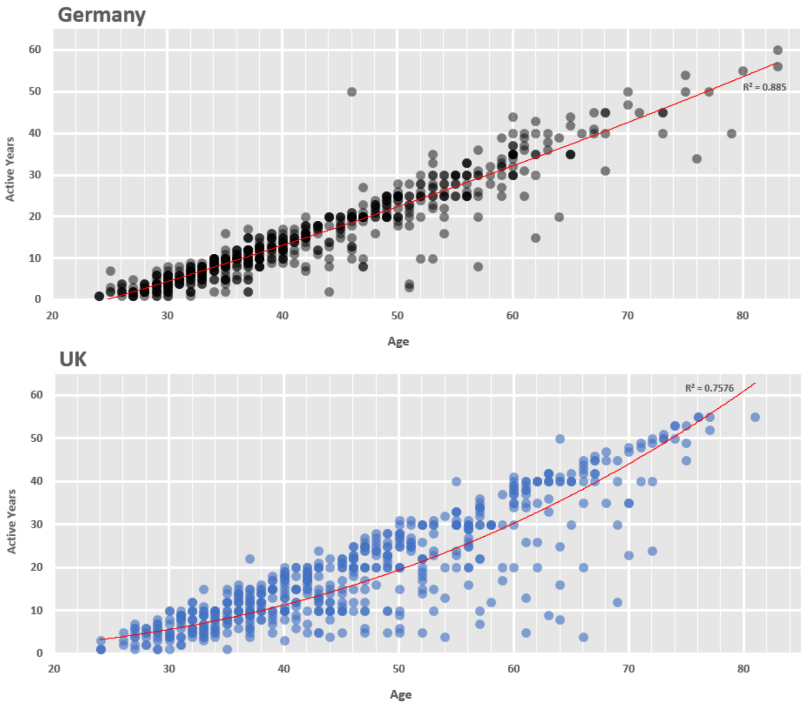

Figure 4: Correlation of age of scholars and their self-identified active years in academia.

Who are Humanities Scholars?

This book is about the humanities. However, who is a humanities scholar? Rather than engaging in epistemological or historical discussions of what the humanities are—a discussion that is surely worthwhile in itself—the disciplinary designation employed in this book is based on the more worldly method of self-identification. Within the quantitative survey, scholars were asked to designate themselves regarding both their discipline *and* their scholarly cluster. This allows to both identify differences between the humanities and social sciences, between Germany and the UK, and to appreciate how scholars see themselves within academia.

All representations of the following data rely on this self-identification of scholars, i.e., how the scholars themselves attribute their scholarship to a broader cluster. This book, therefore, does not engage in defining disciplines or clusters, but looks at the humanities as a—perhaps, at times, contradictory—whole. It is HSS—about the humanities and social sciences as a united cluster—only insofar as it employs a matrix in which the social sciences are a reference group. The combination of disciplinary understanding and broader cluster is illustrated for key disciplines in figure 5.

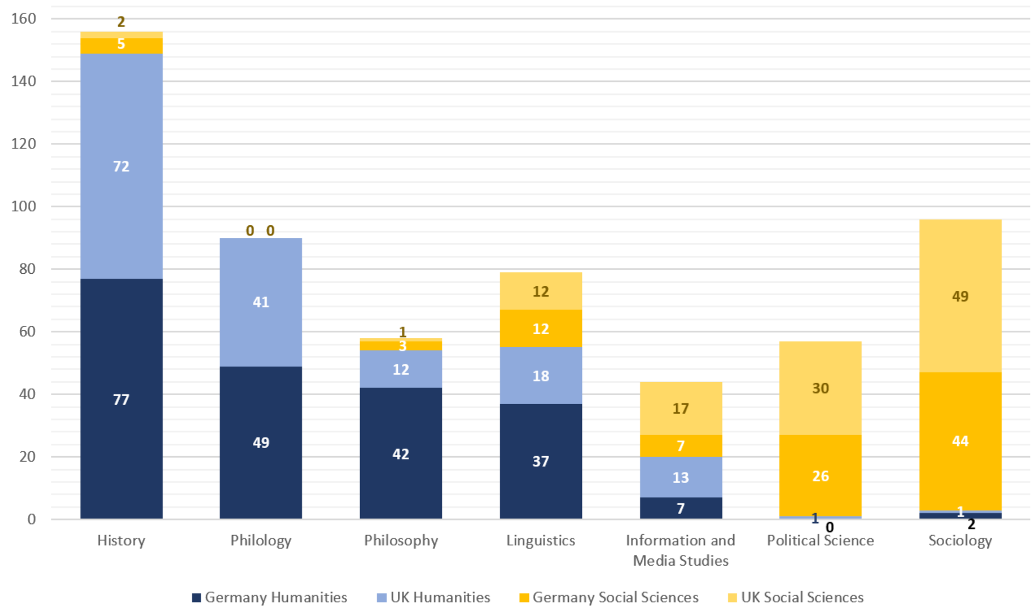

Figure 5: Identification of scholars as humanities or social sciences, selected disciplines.

The following table provides an overview of the distribution of the most often stated disciplines within respective groups, which allows to account for potential biases.[6]

[6] To be read, for instance: 29% of the respondents of Juniorprofessors self-identifying as humanities are historians.

These are the most important disciplines as they represent at least two thirds of all respondents, often even more.

Germany Humanities				
Discipline	Wiss. MA	Jun-Prof.	Unten. Senior	Tenured Prof
History	22%	29%	17%	21%
Archaeology	8%	3%	6%	8%
German Philology	6%	6%	12%	9%
Philosophy	11%	6%	15%	8%
Linguistics	12%	0%	6%	8%
Literature	5%	3%	2%	3%
Theology	4%	9%	2%	5%
Art History	3%	9%	12%	1%
Classics	1%	0%	6%	5%
English Philology	1%	3%	0%	4%
Law	2%	0%	4%	2%
Of total	76%	68%	81%	74%

UK Humanities			
Discipline	Junior	Mid-level	Senior
History	31%	23%	26%
Archaeology	7%	10%	5%
German Philology	1%	3%	0%
Philosophy	7%	4%	3%
Linguistics	6%	4%	11%
Literature	5%	4%	7%
Theology	4%	4%	3%
Art History	2%	4%	2%
Classics	5%	1%	7%
English Philology	7%	13%	8%
Law	2%	1%	2%
Of total	74%	69%	74%

Germany Social Sciences				
Discipline	Wiss. MA	Jun-Prof.	Unten. Senior	Tenured Prof
Sociology	22%	19%	22%	9%
Communication	7%	12%	11%	18%
Geography	0%	0%	0%	0%
Economics	5%	15%	11%	11%
Education	8%	12%	0%	0%
Political Science	15%	23%	6%	9%
Linguistics	6%	0%	17%	5%
Law	3%	12%	0%	11%
History	3%	0%	6%	0%
Management	2%	0%	0%	11%
Of total	72%	92%	72%	75%

UK Social Sciences			
Discipline	Junior	Mid-level	Senior
Sociology	13%	15%	16%
Communication	2%	2%	4%
Geography	7%	5%	9%
Economics	8%	3%	5%
Education	2%	3%	9%
Political Science	14%	11%	11%
Linguistics	6%	9%	0%
Law	6%	11%	11%
History	1%	0%	0%
Management	7%	8%	13%
Of total	65%	65%	77%

Table 2: Distribution of selected disciplines by career position in percentages of total within a group.

Qualitative Interviews

The results of the survey were complemented by a series of semi-structured, qualitative interviews. This provides the crucial contextual knowledge to understand the lived experiences of scholars. 18 interviews were conducted in person or via phone during Winter and Spring 2019/20. Interviewees were chosen in an iterative process to result an equal sample, representing a range of career positions from core humanities disciplines from both Germany and the UK. The interviews were transcribed and anonymised, and coded twice using NVivo, resulting in nearly 600 different code snippets. The mark up coding followed a qualitative-thematic approach to highlight internal meaning structures within themes. The following table provides an overview of the effective sample.

		#	Level	Gender	Discipline
Germany	University	1	Non-senior	male	History
		2	Non-senior	female	Philology
		3	Senior	female	History
		4	Senior	male	History
	"Excellence University"	5	Non-senior	female	Philology
		6	Non-senior	male	Philology
		7	Non-senior	male	Philosopy
		8	Senior	male	Philology
		9	Senior	male	Philosopy
UK	University	10	Non-senior	female	History
		11	Non-senior	female	Philosopy
		12	Senior	female	Philology
		13	Senior	male	Philosopy
	"Excellence University"	14	Non-senior	female	Philosopy
		15	Non-senior	female	Philosopy
		16	Senior	male	History
		17	Senior	male	Philosopy
		18	Senior	female	Philology

Table 3: Effective sample of qualitative interviews.

Structure of this Book

I proceed in four chapters in this book. Firstly, I look at basic characteristics of publishing practices. This will provide answers to questions such as: how much does a scholar publish? What does she wish for her future monograph? And how is OA perceived? This is a primarily statistically-driven outline that will result a humanities publishing persona.

Secondly, I look at the matter of publishing pressure. The core of this is to clarify who experiences what kind of pressure and what are core strategies of dealing with it. This also outlines how *publish or perish* can be understood more comprehensively.

Thirdly, I look at the REF in comparison to the *Exzellenzinitiative*. The REF highlights how governance principles are negotiated and becomes manifest in the role ascribed to publications.

Lastly, I provide an outline of the constitution of publishing practices that gathers the empirical reality discussed in the three preceding chapters. This abstracts from the more concrete empirical discussions of the preceding chapters. This abstraction reflects on the societal value of the humanities in the context of its communicative practices and is, for this reason, particularly relevant for interpreting the data in a larger context.

2. How and How Much Scholars Publish: Basic Characteristics of Publishing

This chapter provides basic data about how much and what scholars publish as well as how they themselves perceive key characteristics of their publication practices. It will give a feel for the empirical situation of publishing and serves as a reference guide. The empirical situation is highly relevant as it shows the numbers of publications at respective career positions. The chosen representation showcases the similarities and differences between Germany and the UK as well as between the humanities and the social sciences. Critiquing publishing practices or shaping policies—institutional or country-wide—require an appreciation of what actually happens.

Next to basic numbers of published output, this also concerns questions of the predominance of single authorship, language use, or popular books. This complements bibliometric studies with the self-identification of authors. Moreover, the represented items go beyond numbers about the state of publishing portfolios. The imagined backward-looking scholar with her dusted books in endless library shelves seems to be a stubborn gestalt representing a traditional humanities scholar. Some of the following items enquire the actual self-perception of scholars to enable a better understanding of, for instance: the use and perceived value of metrics, the use of self-publishing services, rapid or unhurried publication processes, physical copies in libraries or bookshops, and online discoverability. This is followed by a discussion of OA.

How Much Do Scholars Publish?

An essential question is that of how much is being published at what stage of a career. The following figures showcase this. Figures 6 and 7 indicate the considerable differences within average portfolios of published articles and monographs. The published output rises with the career. In Germany, there is a clear division between senior and tenured scholars. Within both the humanities and the social sciences, there is a distinction between the number of publications of tenured (Germany) and senior (UK) scholars in that scholars based in the UK tend to have more articles published than scholars in Germany. This difference is similar for published monographs.

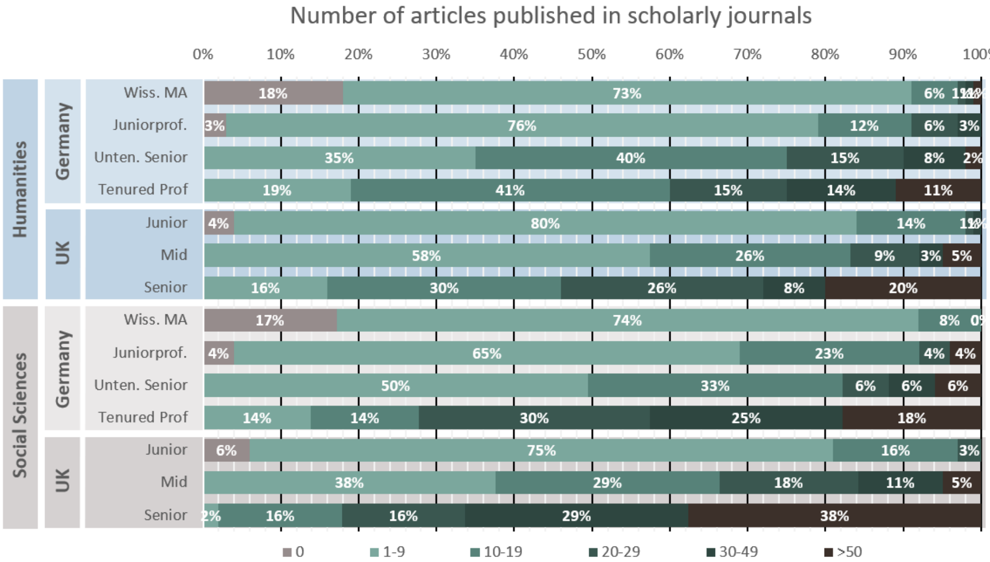

Figure 6: Numbers of published articles by career position.

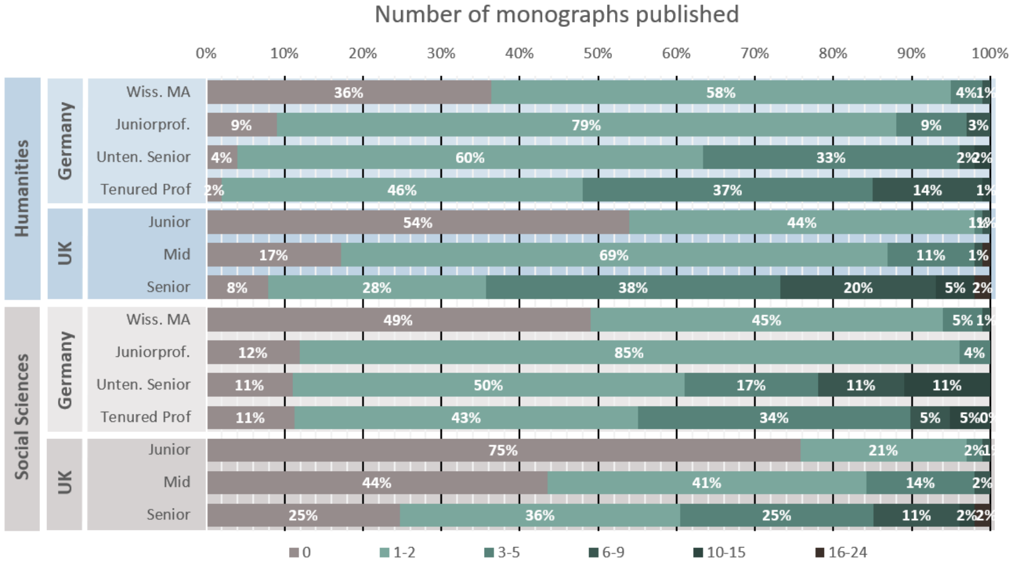

Figure 7: Numbers of published monographs by career position.

The following two figures are a detailed representation of scholars in the humanities and their numbers of publications in clusters of years instead of in career positions. Scholars in Germany tend to have fewer articles published in the early years of their careers. In the clusters from year 16 onwards, this shifts, and German scholars have more articles published than scholars in the UK. While the latter seem to progress more linearly, there is a clear break in the development of published articles among German scholars.

There is a similar tendency in the early years in terms of monographs, but the break happens earlier. Scholars in the UK have on average more published monographs at the earliest stage of their careers. However, scholars in Germany publish more monographs already from year 5 onwards. This development progresses steadily. Scholars in the UK seem to publish more monographs only at later, perhaps more secure stages of their careers.

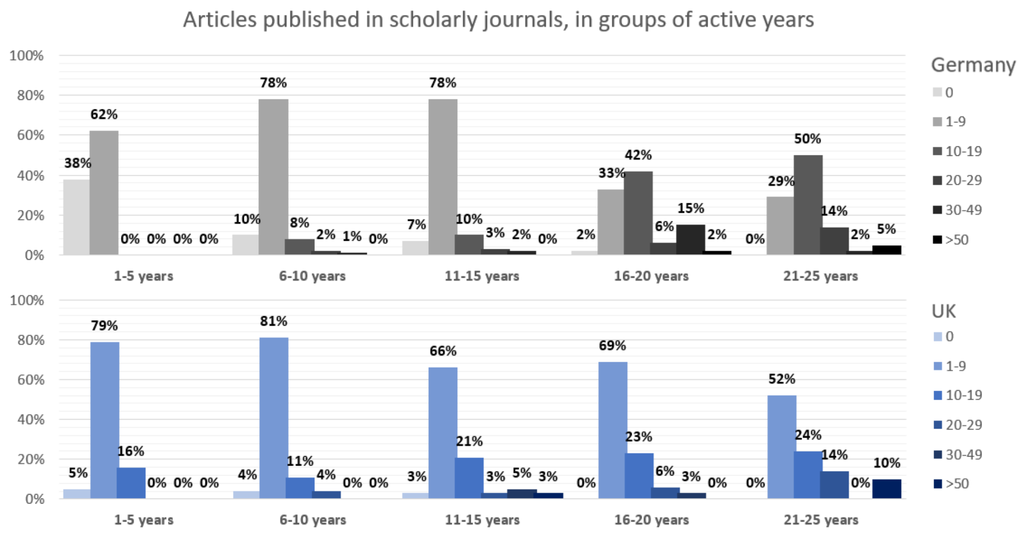

Figure 8: Numbers of published articles, grouped in clusters of years active in research.

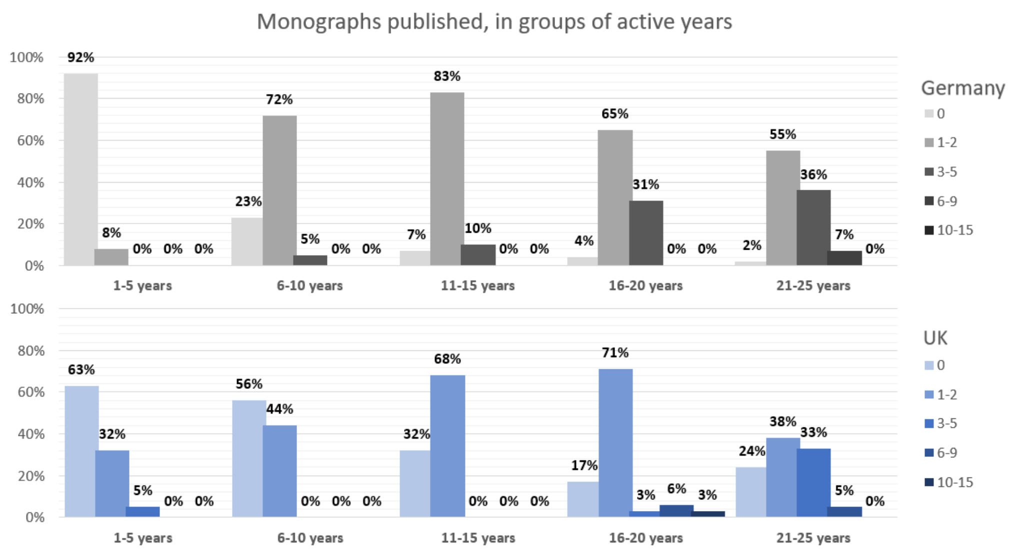

Figure 9: Numbers of published monographs, grouped in clusters of years active in research.

Figures 10 and 11 show data about published contributions to edited volumes (or collections) and editorships. These tend to be more important in the humanities than they are in the social sciences, which can be confirmed by the data. There are also more contributions published and edited by scholars in Germany. An explanation for this is the formal requirement about grants and proceedings in Germany: the *Sammelband* is increasingly perceived as a burden, which I discuss more concretely in chapter four. Witness here also the differences between tenured and untenured seniors in Germany.

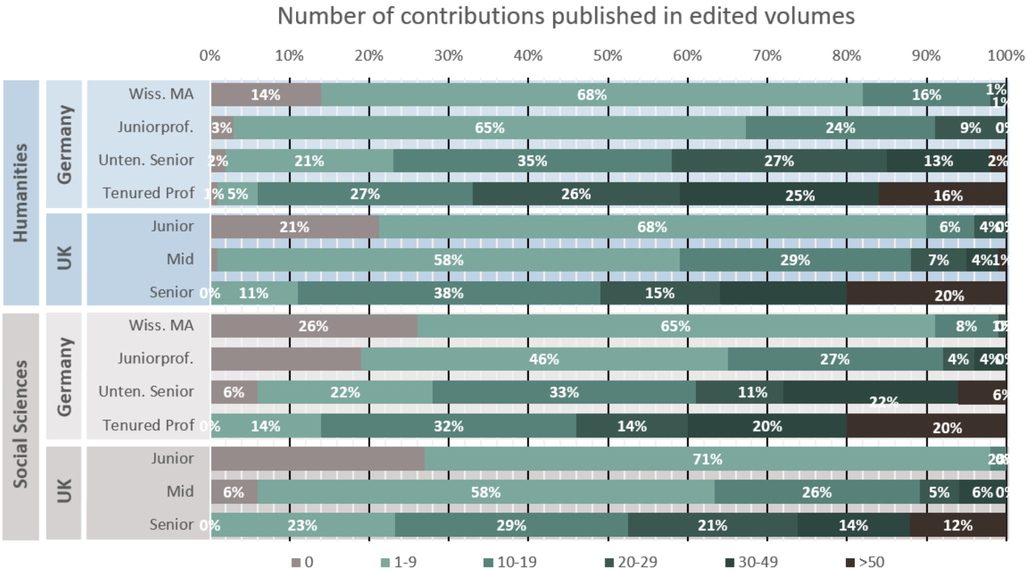

Figure 10: Numbers of published contributions/chapters by career position.

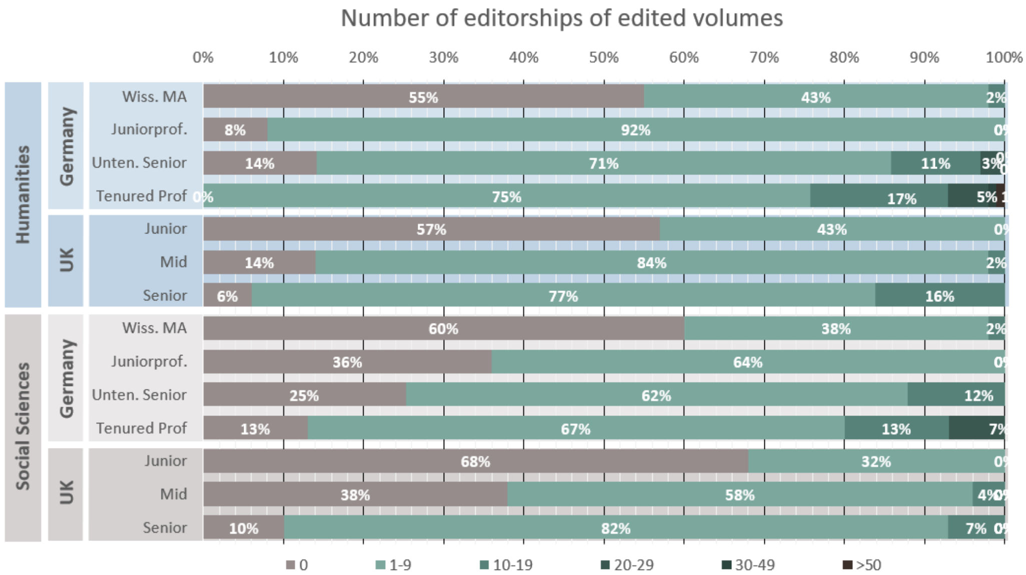

Figure 11: Number of editorships of edited volumes.

Figure 12 shows information about textbooks. The general assumption that this format is published in much lower numbers in the humanities and social sciences can be confirmed; there are only few senior scholars who have published 1-2 textbooks, and rarely more than 3-5.

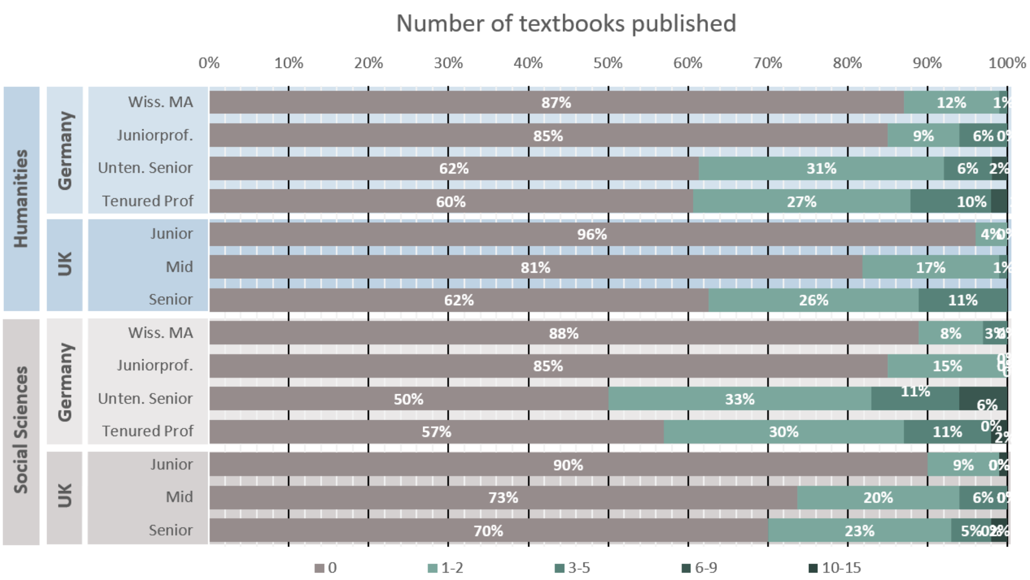

Figure 12: Numbers of published textbooks by career position.

What Languages Do Scholars Publish in?

Figure 13 provides an overview of the use of languages in scholarly publications. It is evident that English is most influential in the UK. But also among German scholars, the English language seems to be an important medium, in the social sciences more so than in the humanities. In particular, a mix of English and German becomes predominant with increasing seniority. Languages other than English or German seem to be rarely used, mostly so among tenured humanists in Germany.

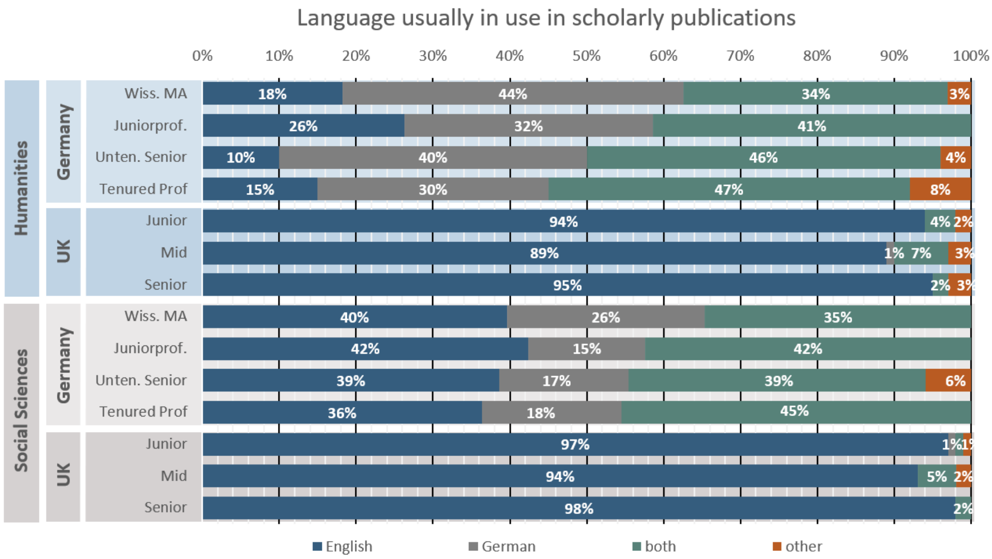

Figure 13: Language used in scholarly publications.

Figure 14 provides further data about language use in a follow up to the preceding question, enquiring whether the language mostly used is a second language. The data confirms that many scholars in Germany are making use of a second language (I discuss more of the issue of internationalisation in the context of the *Exzellenzinitiative*). However, the number of scholars doing so is quite high in the UK as well, more so among junior than among senior scholars. An explanation for this may be the diversity and internationality of early career scholars gaining scholarly experience in the UK.

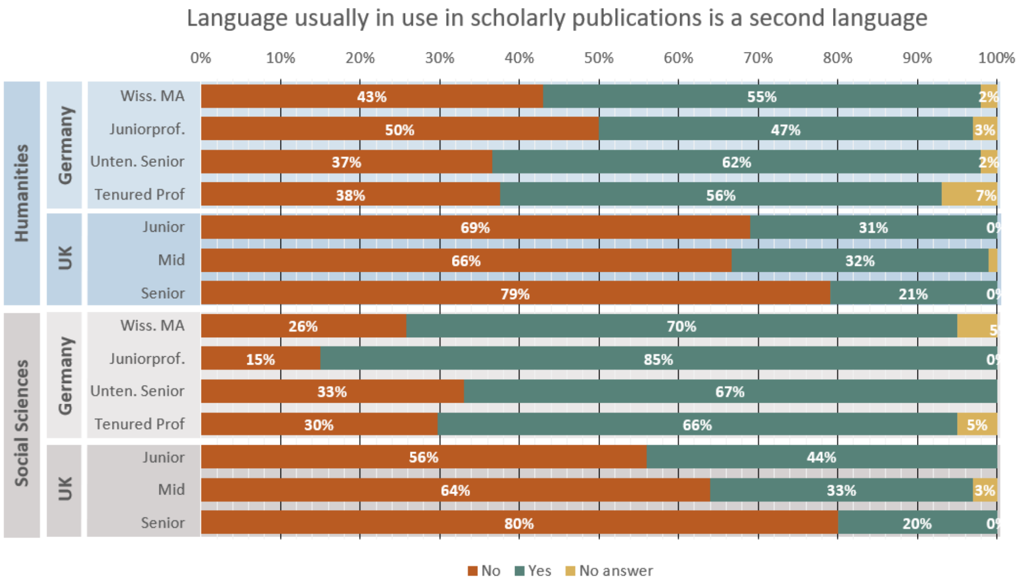

Figure 14: Second language use in scholarly publications.

What Other Formats Do Scholars Publish in?

Figure 15 shows that only a fraction of scholars has published non-scholarly books related to their scholarship. In general, the number of scholars having done so increases with career positions, but there are exceptions. Other non-traditional publications are shown in table 4. Policy and grey literature publications were the most mentioned genres followed by a variety of article formats for non-scholarly publishers.

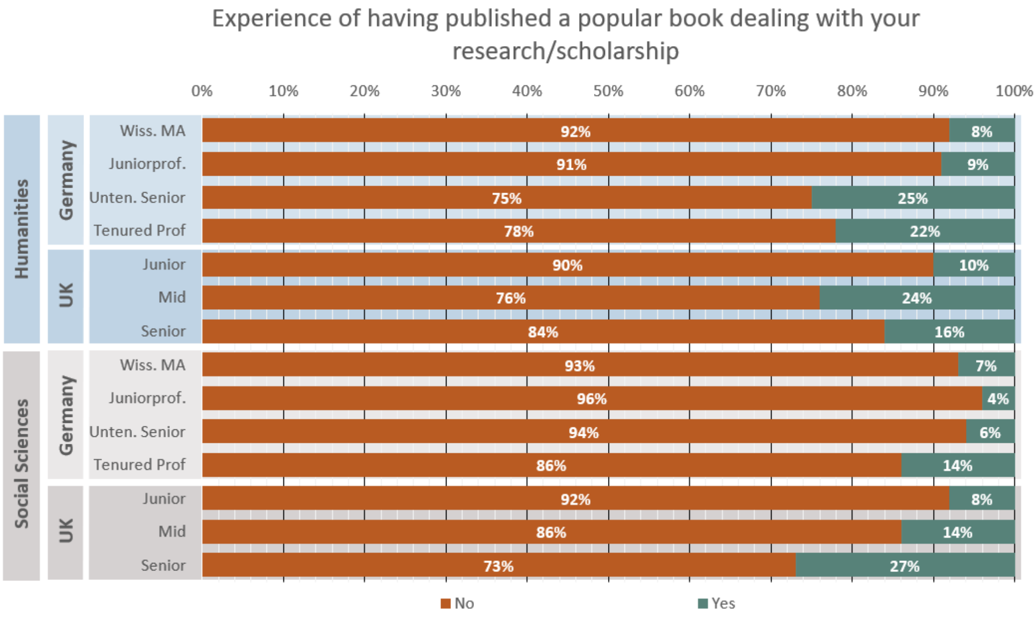

Figure 15: Popular books dealing with scholarship.

Type of non-traditional	Mention	Type of non-traditional	Mention	Type of non-traditional	Mention
Policy report or grey lit.	31	Newsletter	3	Commentary	1
Special interest journal	30	Conference proceedings	3	Jubilee book	1
Newspaper	26	Interviews	2	Own edited volume	1
Digital resource	23	Radio	2	Pamphlet	1
Magazine	16	Schoolbook	2	Papers for my employer	1
Various online	16	Animations	1	Preprints on researchgate	1
Video content	15	Archive	1	Print on demand	1
Own or project website	14	Arts practice	1	Project atlasses	1
Curatorial work	9	Audiobook	1	Self-publishing on Amazon	1
Engage in fora	5	Co-authored multigraph	1	Subtitles	1
Brochure	3	Comics	1	Translations of poetry	1
Ebook	3				

Table 4: Other non-scholarly publications in use

Figure 16 shows data about blogging practices. As with non-scholarly books, the number of scholars doing so is overall quite low. Blogging is clearly more popular in the UK than it is in Germany. Moreover, blogging is not confined to younger scholars as many senior scholars seem to publish blog posts regularly, especially in collective blogs.

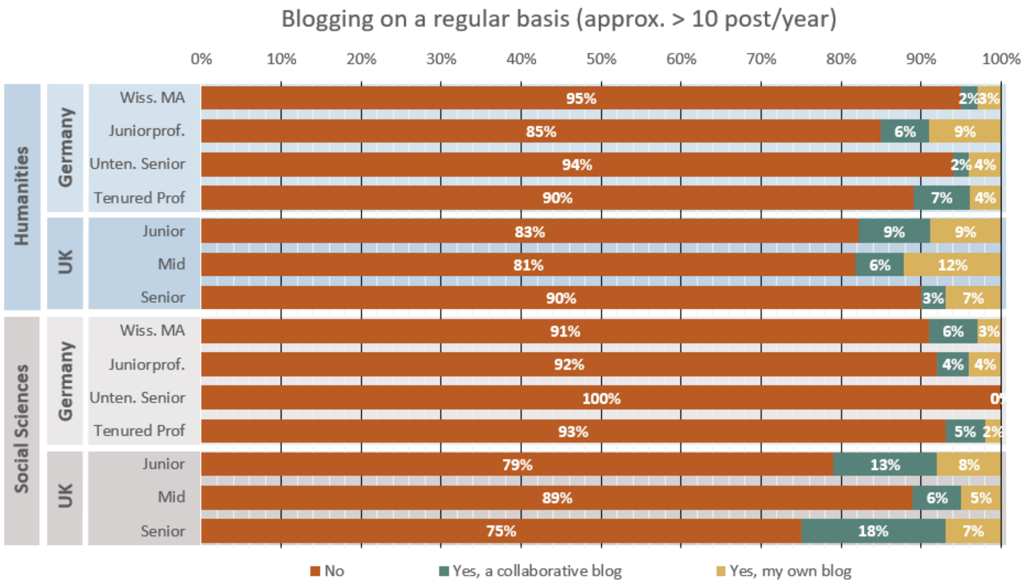

Figure 16: Number of scholars blogging on a regular basis.

Further Publishing-related Perceptions

The following figures provide data about perceptions of publishing-related issues such as authorship or metrics. Figure 17 shows the significant difference between the humanities and the social sciences in terms of authorship: single authorship is defining in the humanities; it is much less so in the social sciences. This confirms the common assumption that the humanities predominantly rely on sole authorship.

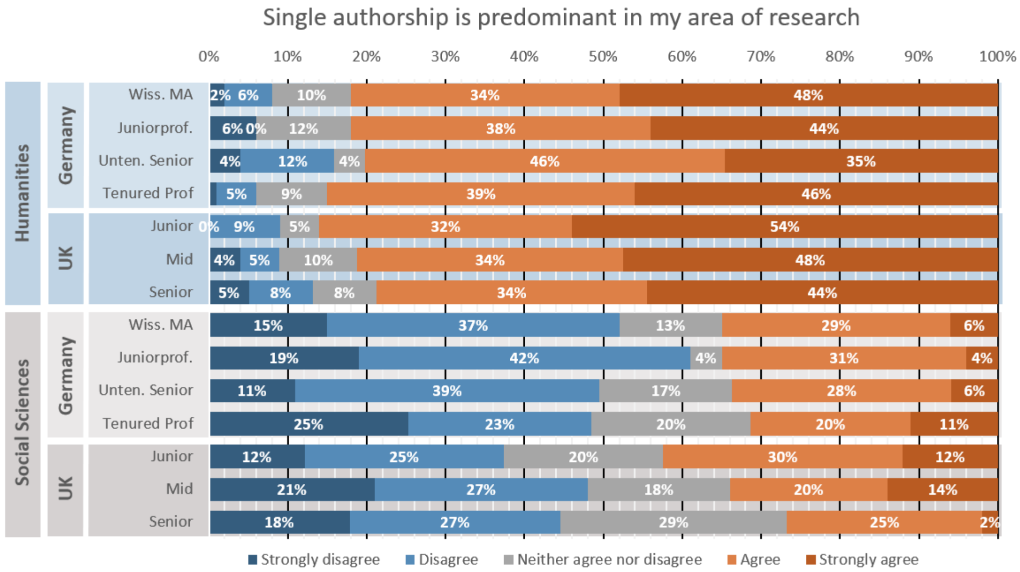

Figure 17: Predominance of single authorship.

Figure 18 further indicates assumptions about the connection between metrics and research. An overwhelming number of scholars, especially in the humanities (more than 75-90%), but also in the social sciences (50-70%), (strongly) disagrees with the statement that their research can well be expressed in quantifiers or metrics. This confirms assumptions that scholarship in the humanities seems to be ill-suited to being expressed in quantifiable terms.

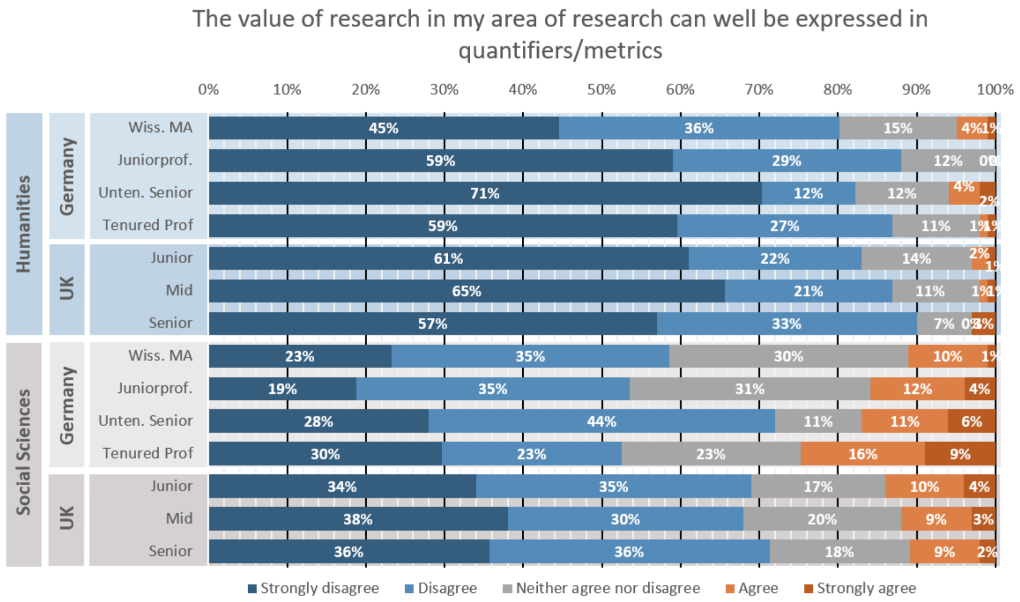

Figure 18: Expressiveness of the value of research in quantifiers/metrics.

Figures 19 and 20 further indicate differences between disciplines: humanities scholars seem to be less knowledgeable about metrics than social scientists are. Disagreement with the statement about the knowledge of metrics is higher among humanists as well as among Germans, and also increases with seniority. In regard to format, the differences between social scientists and humanists is larger for journal articles, especially in Germany. This points to a confirmation of the assumption that there is less engagement with metrics among the traditionalist German scholars than there is in the UK.

Connecting these items with the preceding one, the question has to be raised why scholars indeed follow metrics, for there are more scholars indicating that they do so than scholars who claim that metrics are representative of their scholarship. Since articles and books are representations of scholarship, it seems that scholars do not follow the developments of metrics as a matter of understanding the perceived value of their scholarship by fellow scholars, but for understanding a use value of publications that may be disconnected from scholarship.

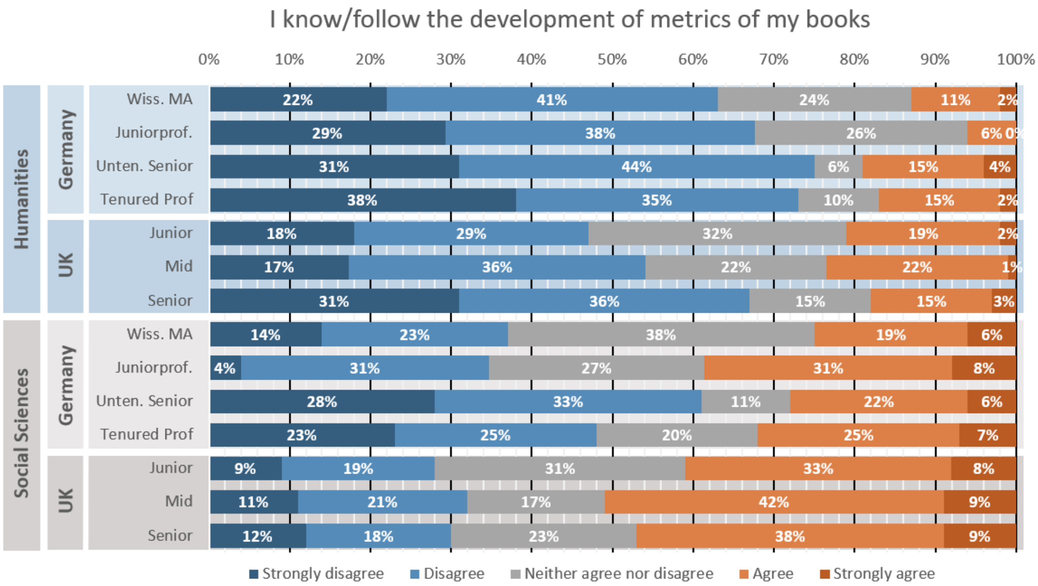

Figure 19: Knowledge about metrics of published monographs.

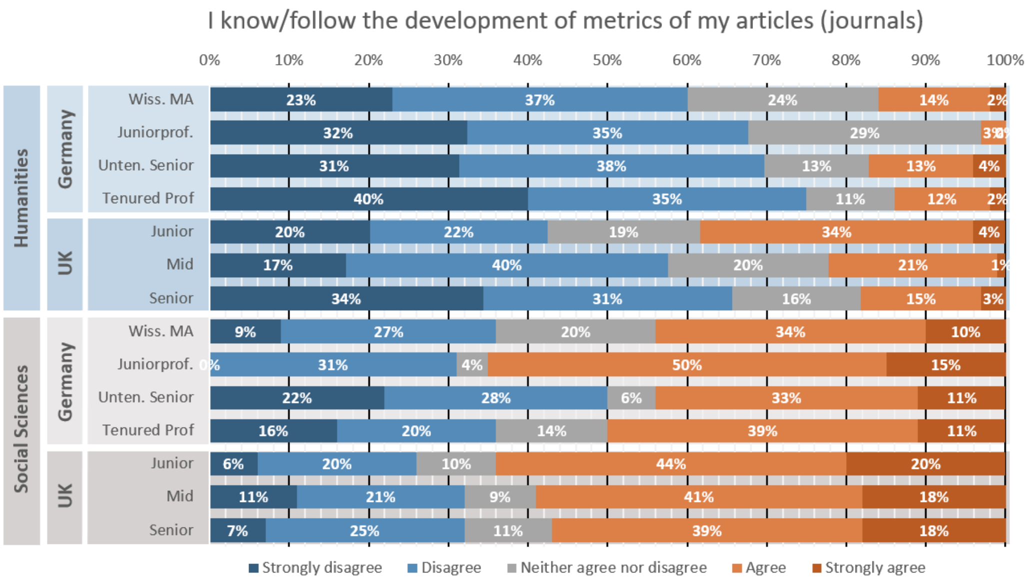

Figure 20: Knowledge about metrics of published articles.

The responses displayed in figure 21 indicate that there is a difference in the prevalence (or the awareness) of *salami slicing* (publishing least publishable units of one's scholarship): it seems to be less the case—or assumed—in Germany and also less so in the humanities.

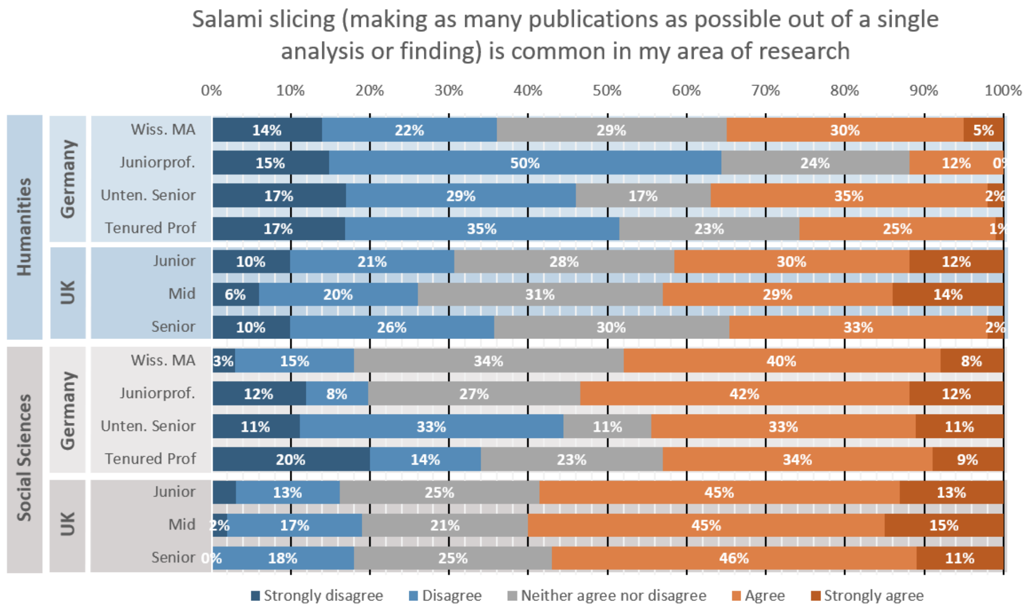

Figure 21: Pervasiveness of salami slicing.

The last item in this row shows that there is strong agreement with the statement that a publisher's brand is an important indicator for quality while browsing through a bibliography (figure 22). Nearly half of all scholars at least agree with this statement, with humanists in the UK and social scientists in Germany reaching agreement rates of up to 80%. This confirms the often-hypothesised claim that brands are crucial heuristics. However, the rates vary unsystematically.

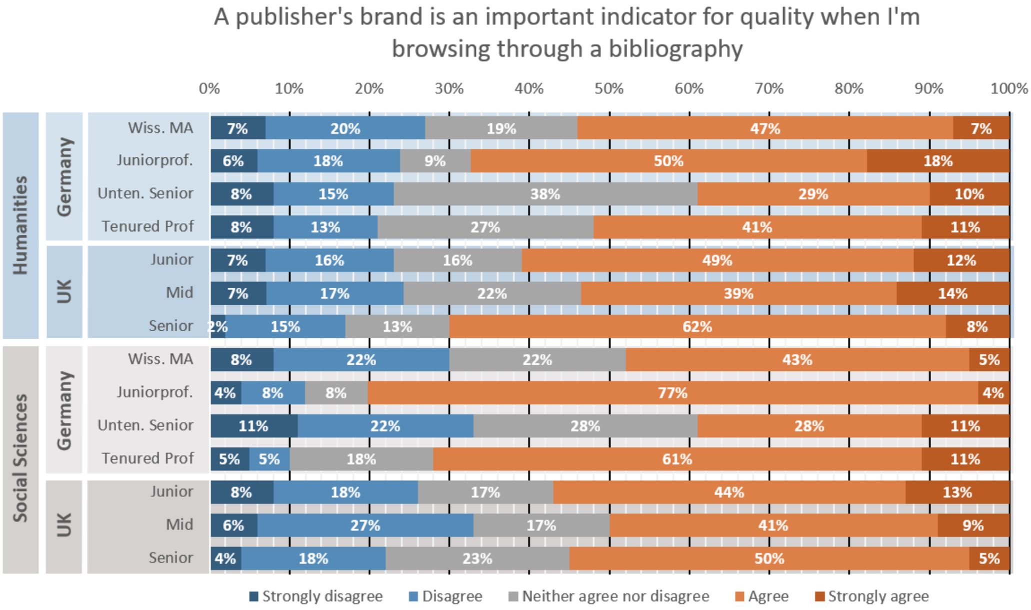

Figure 22: The publisher's brand as heuristic for quality.

Specific Monograph-related Needs

The following items represent monograph-related needs: it questions what is more important for scholars in the humanities when they consider their next monograph. First of all, there is a strong rejection of self-publishing services across disciplines and countries (figure 23), though the social scientists seem to be a bit less reluctant. This is accompanied by a high rate of missing information: many scholars seem either to not know about the availability of such services or they are unsure about engagement with it.

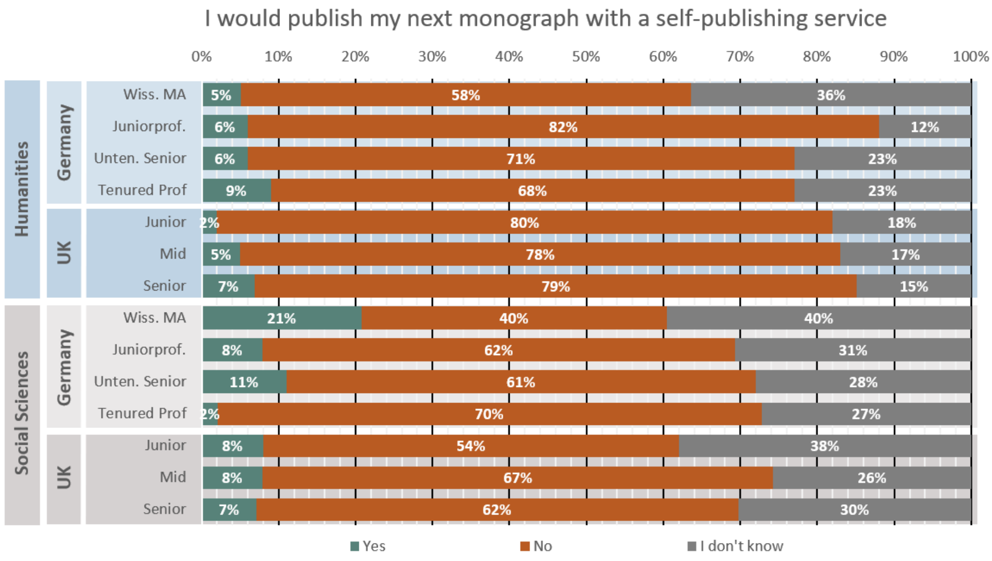

Figure 23: Use of self-publishing service.

The figures 24 and 25 both relate to temporal aspects of publication processes. The importance here is given to the connection: the former statement connects a fast publication process to mere immediacy, while the latter connects an unhurried publication process to content improvement. There is a perceptible division between the humanities and social sciences. Especially for the humanities, it is evident that an unhurried publication process focussing on content is more important than the rapid publication. Though their tendencies are comparable, humanists reject rapid publication processes more than social scientists do. In return, humanists show higher rates of importance for unhurried publication processes, and Germany more so than the UK.

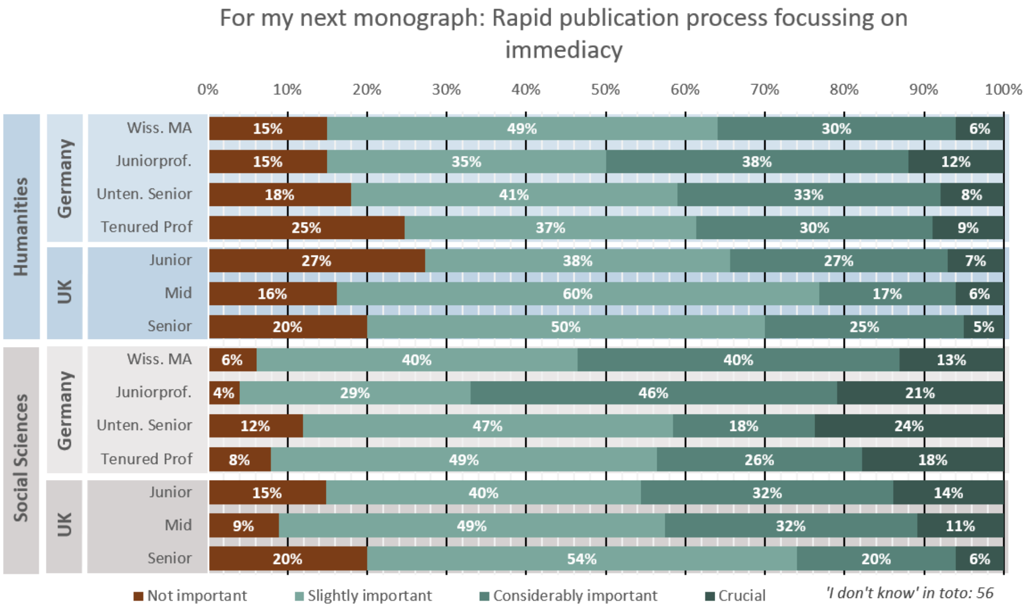

Figure 24: The importance of rapid publication processes.

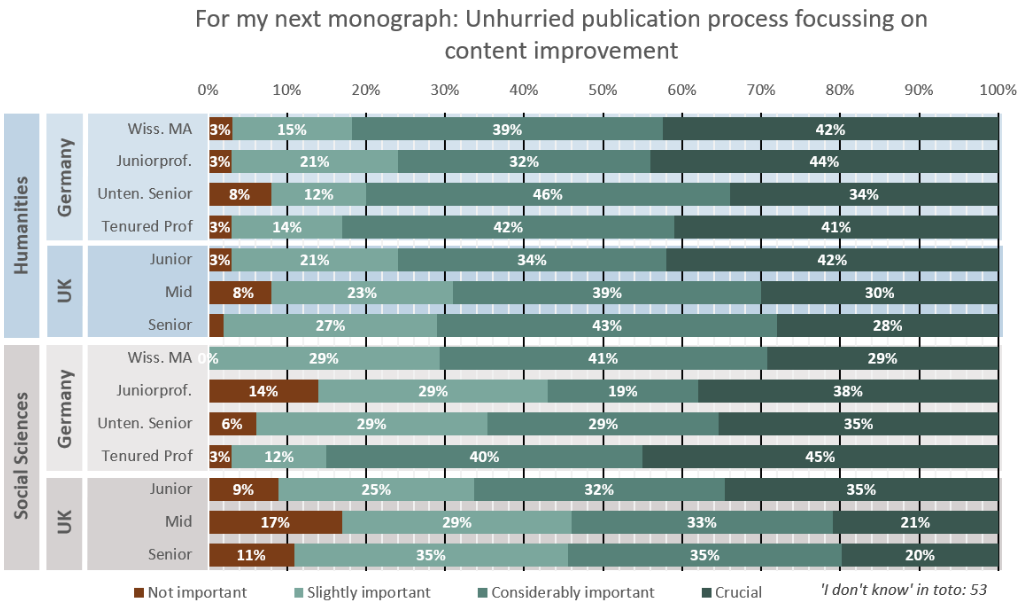

Figure 25: The importance of unhurried publication processes.

The necessity of the availability of a monograph in physical form in libraries is confirmed by the indicated agreement of—especially senior and tenured—humanities scholars (figure 26). Only a small fraction rejects a perceived importance of the printed book on the library shelf. The social sciences show less of a need of such physical availability.

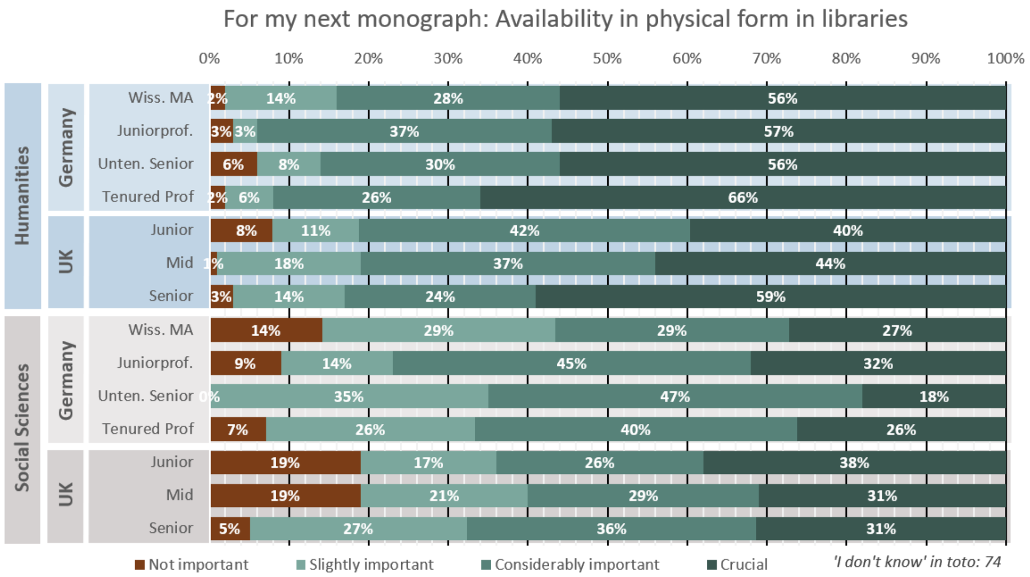

Figure 26: The importance of the availability of a monograph in physical form in libraries.

The item above is mirrored by figure 27 in that it enquires about digital discoverability. There is wide-spread agreement that this is crucial or considerably important, though social scientists are even more strongly concerned with it than humanities scholars. The two figures compared show that, for humanists, especially in the earlier career positions, digital discoverability is even slightly more important than physical availability.

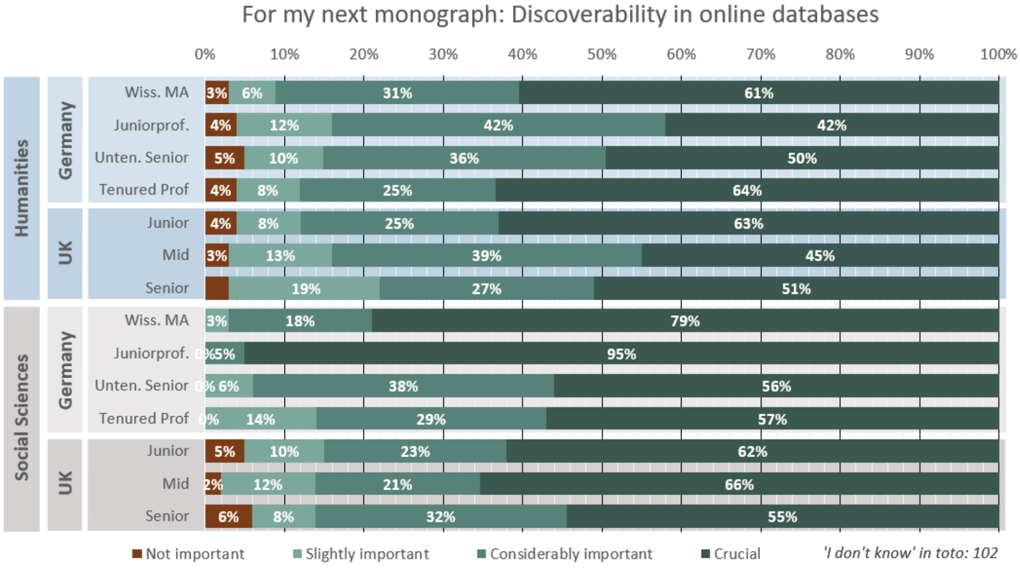

Figure 27: The importance of the discoverability of a monograph online.

Figure 28 offers a third statement in this row, enquiring about the importance of the availability of a monograph in bookshops. This item shows quite mixed results. There is a tendency among German scholars to emphasise this option more than UK colleagues do. Responses to this item resonate that compared with online discoverability and physical availability in libraries indicated above, bookshops seem to be the least important place for circulation across disciplines.

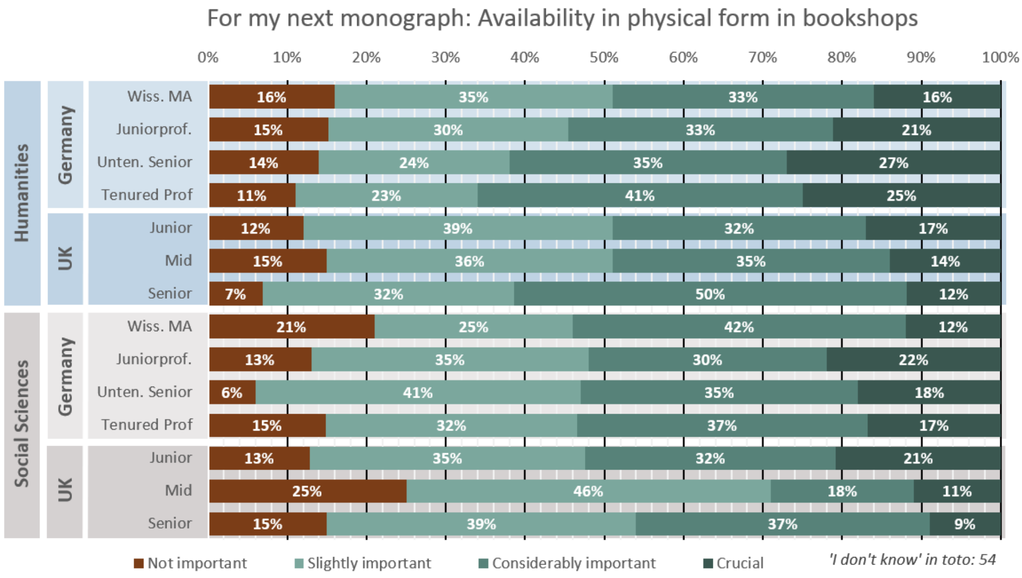

Figure 28: The importance of the availability of a monograph in bookshops.

The UK Humanities Publishing Persona

The preceding data provide a fruitful basis for determining key characteristics of publishing portfolios and perceptions that can be summarised to evoke the material manifestation of an average humanities scholar. This can be thought of as a persona: a representation that highlights decisive features. Being built on averages, however, requires using this with caution.

The personal portfolio of a scholar in the UK comprises of high output at early career stages, particularly in terms of articles. She publishes early at high rates. The first monograph is also published early. Mid-career progress is reflected by a steady development. This is different among German scholars whose output shows a clear break beyond which she seems to reach a more secure plateau with a steady, higher output of both monographs and articles. I contextualise this in the subsequent chapters; the numbers here provide an early abstract idea. The break among the German development is decisive as it falls within the timeframe of the secure position. This break also falls within the timeframe of decreasing publishing pressure, as I discuss in chapter three. In relation to the steady development of UK scholars stands the notion that pressure to publish is also more distributed across careers, instead of focussing on early years, as is the case in Germany. In terms of contributions to edited volumes, the German scholar is considerably more engaged than the UK scholar. This, too, reflects what I discuss below as a problem of the German *Sammelband*: the blind output of contributions without much audience.

The situation of different languages in use is predominantly illuminating for German scholars. And it highlights the—expected—low diversity of languages in use in the UK. However, while it can be assumed that the German scholar who publishes in English makes use of a second language, it is worth to reflect on the use of second languages among scholars in the UK, too. One of three and one in five (senior) scholars make use of a second language in the UK. It shows that a language advantage for *the UK scholar* is rather relative since simply *being institutionalised* at a UK department—thus, often counting as a scholar in the UK—not necessarily means being a native speaker.

In terms of publication characteristics, the data showcase that the bibliographic claim of the predominance of single authorship is confirmed by many a scholar in the humanities. Note that this does not reflect epistemological necessity. This is the perception of scholars which may be translated as: I see mostly individuals communicating. Collectives in dialogue seem rather invisible. The average scholar in the humanities only rarely checks the development of her metrics, younger scholars more so than senior ones. Still, there are more scholars who do so than there are scholars who consider metrics reflective of the value of their scholarship. Despite this being rather abstract, it is instructive for our further discussion of governing scholarly work. The UK humanities scholar considers strategizing content for publications in terms of publishing a least publishable unit—salami slicing—

established practice; not as much as the social scientist, but more so as her German colleague. Irrespective of discipline or country, at least one in two scholars deploy the publishing brand as an important indicator in bibliographies.

Among the four groups studied, the humanities scholar in the UK is the least likely to make use of a self-publishing service for her next monograph. The UK scholar is also most decisive about this. Rapid publication processes are mostly not important. A noteworthy difference between Germany and the UK is reflected in the case that the German wishes for an unhurried publication process more than the UK scholar. In terms of availability and discoverability, it becomes clear that the humanities scholar does wish for both the print copy in libraries and digital discoverability online. To be sure, these are by no means exclusive in the first place. But the difference to the social scientist is instructive. The latter has rather mixed feelings for the printed copy but is almost relentlessly demanding for digital discoverability. Perceptions are much closer among humanities scholars. However, she unites with the social scientist in the undecidedness about the print copy in bookshops: there are only a few more humanities scholars who do claim this, and a few more social scientists who reject this.

This results an initial understanding of publishing practices in the humanities. Though these mostly concern material manifestations, the persona showcases key differences between clusters of scholarship and countries. To be sure, there remain open questions such as: what is the least publishable unit in the humanities? Is the single author a relict of the practice or grounded in methodological self-understanding? This book is not the place to answer such questions, unfortunately. Though it provides an informed starting point for further explorations.

Open Access

The last section in this chapter concerns OA. The matter of openness is accorded a more prominent position here since it is among the most debated issues in scholarly communication in the UK. I first look at data, before going into a nuanced discussion which will highlight the ambiguity of this debate.

Figures 29 and 30 below show the experience of having at least one article or monograph published OA.[7] The differences vary and there is no consistent tendency. Most striking—but also most obvious—is the difference of genres: scholars have more experience with OA articles than with monographs. While more UK scholars have experience with OA articles (particularly social scientists), more German scholars have published a monograph OA compared with UK colleagues (again with the highest rates among social scientists). For both genres, experience with OA overall rises with seniority in the humanities in Germany. It decreases in the humanities in the UK (!). Moreover, since this is such a rudimentary issue to enquire—the *one* publication experience with OA—it seems revealing to see the high numbers of those who have yet *no* experience with OA.

[7] Note that the mode of OA is not specified here, leaving it to the common understanding of scholars. The qualitative interviews showcased that this usually means Gold OA.

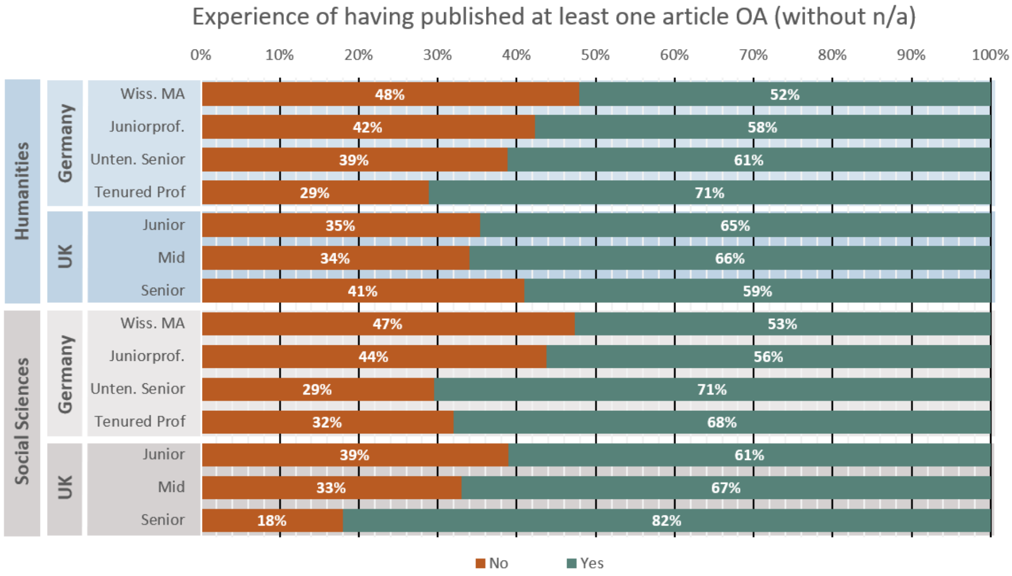

Figure 29: OA publishing experience, article.

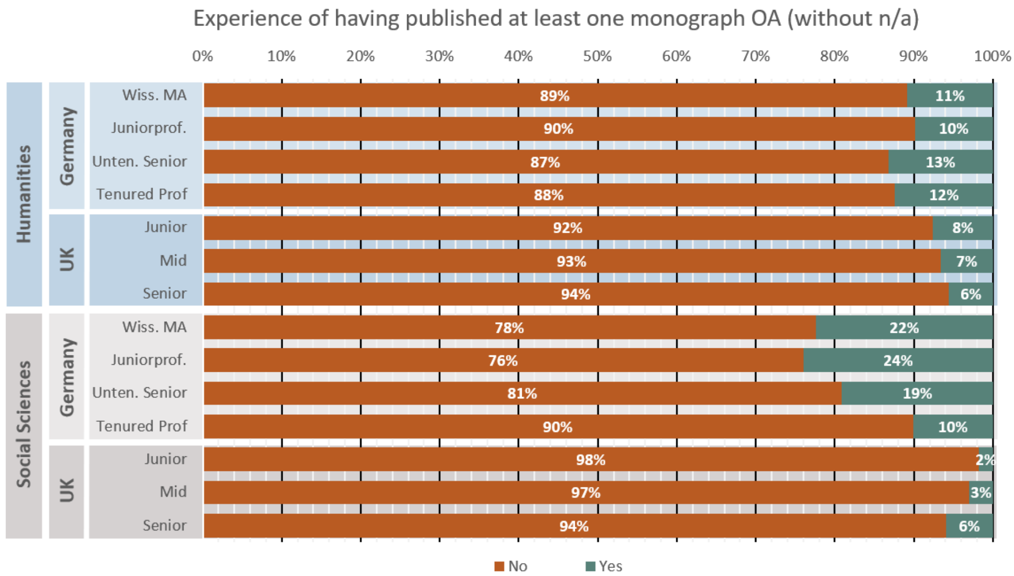

Figure 30: OA publishing experience, monograph.

This empirical situation may be compared with the two following items, which show the importance of OA for a scholar's next monograph as well as the experienced pressure to publish OA. The first item results strong opinions. Among humanities scholars, there seems to be rather a rejection of OA, especially among senior scholars. In the UK, a stunning 43% of senior scholars even claim OA to be not important at all. This is the highest negative result in the series of items about needs for future monographs in the survey overall. This indicates that OA is the least demanded characteristic for future monographs among—particularly senior—humanities scholars in the UK.

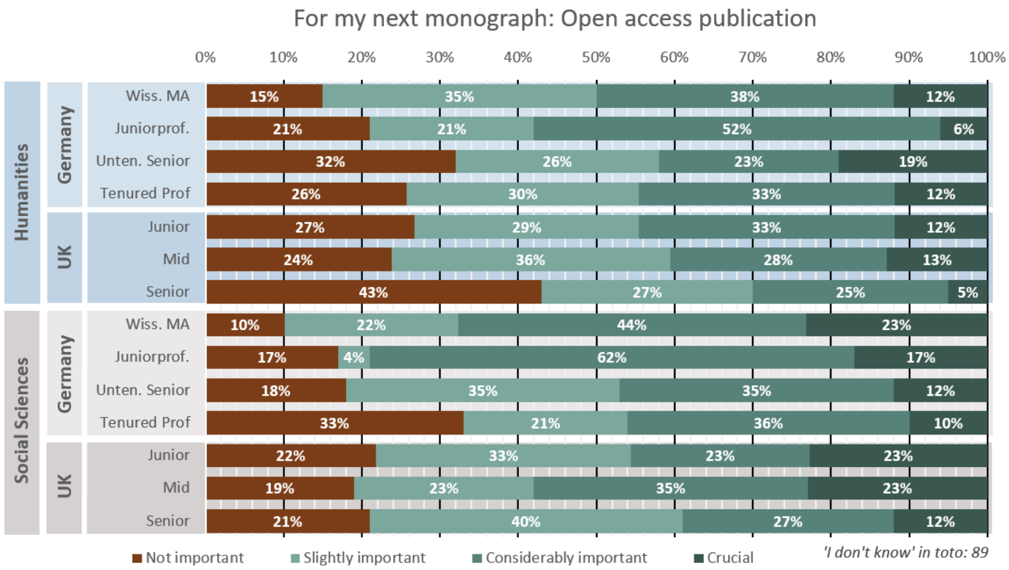

Figure 31: The importance to publish OA.

The following item represents the experienced pressure to publish OA. Scholars in the UK indicate substantial perceptions of such pressure. It is largely even rejected entirely in Germany. The country-specific differences are striking for this item.

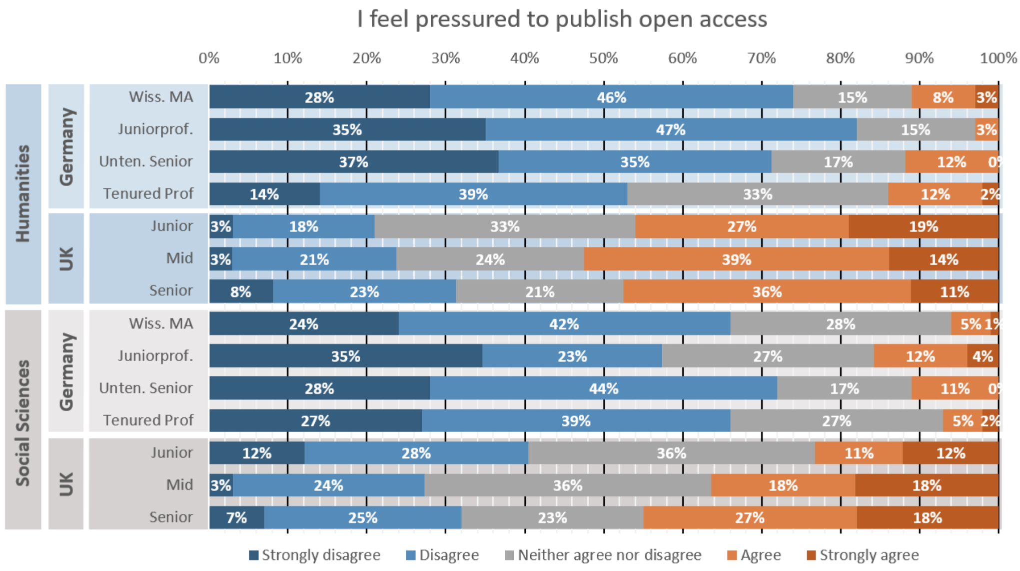

Figure 32: Pressure to publish OA.

It can be read from these data that pressure to publish OA is of considerable concern to about half of humanities scholars in the UK. They experience pressure and, all the while, they indicate that it shall rather not be important for their future monographs. This may be put in relation to statements from the qualitative interviews. These exemplify this ambiguity as both the need for justified equality *and* the impression of unjustified institutional enforcement is being voiced. OA appears to be perceived as a generally good measure in the wrong manifestation.

On the one hand, there is the force of a moral argument that allowing anyone to access publications freely is only justified. The tax-payer argument—meaning that scholarship funded by public investments should also be accessible to the public—is sometimes invoked. Besides this driver of societal justification, a usual claim pro more widespread access is to reduce tendencies of monopolisation. Rising costs and shifted library budgets alongside new investment demands in the form of journals, subscription programmes, or monograph series tend to reduce or fractionalise access. Scholars claim that it does not seem right that only wealthy colleagues may read all the new scholarship while others cannot, or have to wait for embargo periods to end.

On the other hand, and despite such claims, almost all interviewees have substantial reservations about how OA is institutionalised in the UK. Many perceive OA to be Gold OA with an author pays model. This mere switch of paywalls from readers to authors—even in the form of their institutions as funders—only shifts the problem of accessibility. Some scholars further mention the problem of underfunding in the humanities. It is not the place here to discuss whether this claim is justified or only disguising perception. Either way, it fares as a social fact among interviewed scholars as they express reservations about providing capitalist institutions with substantial shares of the—perhaps only experienced—already scarce funds. This is related to the perception that scholars perceive there to be many new and genuine OA venues that are—from the perspective of the scholar—mostly just this: new and open. The motivation of scholars in such cases seems to be to remain with the traditional journals as these are the communicative sites of their discourse communities, potentially complemented with an archival manuscript alongside this traditional publication. Publishing with one of the new, open journals seems to be out of question. These journals are open, but they hardly reach the desired audience. Moreover, in the light of being judged on formal authorship, the value of the brand—the name attached to the publishing venue—counts, too. These aspects are common to scholars both in Germany and the UK.

The substantial difference between the two countries is the experience of a systemic pressure as well as the source of such potential pressure. Scholars connect this to the REF in the UK. As I further discuss, the REF often fares as a discursive denotation, but its direct impact is actually funnelled through wider practices of meaning-making (such as how institutions or discourse translate abstract guidelines into subjective demand). One such practice—the ubiquitous discourse on the political demand of OA—results a backlash against OA alongside a feeling expressed as pressure. It appears in this context as an alienating mechanism that divides abstract idea of equality and its manifestation in the UK, so that the opinions shift to negative positions.

The milestone reference works in this respect (Crossick, 2016; Finch, 2012) offer clear accounts of the politicisation of OA in the UK. Demands of openness in the UKRI OA policy only reinforce this impression (UKRI, 2021). The continuous claims of underfunding and the discourse on Plan-S in the UK are only the latest instances in this discursive row (see, for instance: British Academy, 2019; Eve, 2019a, 2019b; Royal Historical Society, 2019). The end of it, however, is not yet decided as publishers, funders, and institutions have to find suitable paths forward especially in material terms.

This shows that the debate around OA is muddled with inconsistencies and ideological shallows. A complex of moral claims is often implied but not realised in its actualisation (Bacevic and Muellerleile, 2017; Knoche, 2019; Knöchelmann, 2021a; Natale, 2019). The *Budapest Initiative* formally laid the ground for a moral argument on a global scale, justifying OA by claiming to 'share the learning of the rich with the poor and the poor with the rich' (Budapest, 2002: n.p.). This is opposed by the appropriation of OA by capital, an appropriation that reduces said moral justification to mere rule-following in the sense that OA is not primarily a mechanism to share and allow for broader participation in discourse, but to reinforce a scholar's or an institution's discursive power. The claimed democratisation of knowledge—even theoretically a difficult concept in the context of the contemporary university—becomes impossible in praxis (Knöchelmann, 2021b).

The fight against such appropriation by capital finds its place once again in bottom-up approaches. The vocal advocates position the agenda of liberating the governance of communication by fostering small, community-owned infrastructures (Adema and Moore, 2018; Barnes and Gatti, 2019; Moore, 2019). This shows valuable signs of progress towards more transparent and freely accessible communicative resources. However, it approaches a problem in the practices of scholars with infrastructure. But the motivation to make use of it needs to correspond to audiences. Technology alone can only partially change mindsets and motivations. The wrong governance—enforcement with an indifference to moral justification—can even impede this change.

OA needs to be seen in the context of this muddled ground: an ideologically-heated debate, capitalist appropriation, ever-rising funding costs, and a policy regime that enables a mode of governmentality. The effect among individuals is a set of ambivalent impressions. There is a perceived policy-induced rule-proceduralism that claims to change publishing practices for the better. All the while, there is the demand to publish openly so that one's reputation—and thus their institutions' or nations' reputation—is fostered. The opposition of *openness for marketable improvement* that has to be individually funded, and the *socially better publication* constantly lingers within this set of ambivalent impressions in the UK. It evokes the contradictory appearance of a publicly accessible private knowledge product.

German scholars indicate much less of such pressure. The *Exzellenzinitiative* as well as funders have mostly only recommendations on offer; OA is not as politically enforced as it is in the UK. This may by no means be read as evidence that OA is unequivocally favoured in Germany. It may only mean that there is much less of a policy-induced debate (yet) in the humanities. And among those where OA is a topic, it still appears much more as *the good thing*. Indicative in this respect is also a recent study which confirmed that OA has a subordinate role on the individual level, much behind reputation and peer review quality, in the humanities in Germany (Ambrasat and Heger, 2020: 26).

This appearance also reflects the issue of too little engagement with the question of what openness may mean in the humanities, and how the various layers of the debate are to be integrated. Attention to matters of an *open humanities* that can face the discourse on *open science* on par is either not given or shifted towards debates of digital humanities (Knöchelmann, 2019). But digital humanities is a discipline on its own, comprising of its own epistemological principles and particular worldviews. It is unlikely that it will solve the problems of the humanities (in general) in today's digital world.

The need of an own discourse—termed *open humanities* or not—is in this light also a shelter against being *included* in open science, or being submitted to a digital epistemology of the digital humanities. There is a need for more transparency in humanities discourses and wider, more accessible distribution of its texts that is entirely independent of claims to become more digital. Even very traditionally-working philosophers or philologists—developing their ideas with pen and paper, surrounded by printed books—can publish a preprint of their final manuscript, or opt to change editorial practices towards more transparent modes of review. If they lack the skill of digital publication, it might become institutional practice to allow librarians or similar information service staff to arrange the digital publishing. This is not a question of digital humanities, but one of motivation and worldviews.

Most of all, new means of openness should not appear as an add-on, a practice or technology that is to be used in addition to established practices. There is no need for more content to be published. Much rather, the re-orientation of communicative practices towards smaller communities with qualitative difference instead of symbolic hierarchies may allow to break with the rush for more publications. A requirement for this is the balancing of niche and relevance—of being both specific and relevant for a scholarly community without falling for the allure of rankings and hierarchical relevance. A short excursus on what this means will form the last section of this chapter.

Venues, Discourse Communities, and Consecration

The value of formal authorship and its correspondence in audiences can only come about by means of venues. Venues are the media that execute and signify the transformation of text into publication, and that make this signified text visible to an audience. The term *venue* serves as a denotation of an individually branded site of publishing here (often also referred to as *publisher*, *outlet*, *imprint*, or simply *brand*), may it be a journal, a publishing house, or a distinct monograph series within a publishing house. This allows a perspective on the mechanisms of venues across different genres from journals to books. A brand functions in a similar way irrespective of the genre it refers to: it is the denotation of a publication venue to its symbolic and material value produced and reproduced in practices. A venue may generate visibility, confer esteem, or indicate the inclusion in a discourse community.

By publishing a text, this text is included in the tradition of a venue. Inclusion and exclusion of venues means inclusion and exclusion of both community and its discourse. By means of its active and passive selection of content, the venue enables the construction of coherent discourse and community membership. The boundaries of discourse are negotiated via publishing: epistemes, forms, methodologies, languages, reference styles, etc.—in short: what is discussed, how this is discussed, and in what ways it is presented is continuously developed and reproduced through publishing practices, in circular reflection with practices of readership. This can be a qualitative differentiation.

In praxis, however, being within a certain community or discourse—having published with its media—or being reviewed there constitutes an added value.[8] As venues

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[8] It is this value that is often referred to as symbolic capital in Bourdieu's sociology (Bourdieu, 1998: 85; 2013: 294).

are employed as heuristics in a (ranked) hierarchy, the value of signposting qualitative differentiation turns into a symbolic sign of quality *per se*. This is a notion of quality as encountered in a single market; all have to submit to an impossible ranking of being better, and not of being different. Seeing a venue as a heuristic for hierarchy evokes its added value, which may be regarded as an aura.[9] It is, thus, worth publishing at a venue not because it constitutes the audience of a publication, but because it constitutes the appearance of an authorial scholar. It is the scholar who benefits from this publication irrespective of her communicative engagement with an audience. The mark of *being published* with a journal is the primary success. Having published at a venue constitutes the visibility and membership that allows for future potential, too; it is a Matthew effect that becomes exacerbated as venues and authorship are accorded more and more value. Those who are visible will be made more visible.

Where Bourdieu asks 'who is the true producer of the value of the work' and 'what authorizes the author' (Bourdieu, 1980: 263), he relates to such mechanisms of consecration and legitimisation constituted by social belief. A community's members dialectically authorise venue and content through the repeated engagement with a venue's publications; they collectively objectify scholarly work. This results the institutionalisation of a medium as a respected venue. Authorship and publishing practices, in this sense, produce and reproduce the consecratory value of venues and the content it publishes.

If a venue is positioned high up in a hierarchy of quality—the high impact journal or publishing house—it assumes a certain eminence. The venue prophesies that *this is worth reading* which, after a while, constitutes part of the quality itself—a self-fulfilling prophecy in the Mertonian sense (1948). The text becomes legitimised by social belief where this

[9] One may think here of the Benjaminian aura of works of art ([1935] 2010: 15).

belief has 'consequences that make reality conform to the initial belief' (Biggs, 2009: 295). A relatable example is that arguments put forward by well-known scholars are perceived as more aptly and, because of this, the audience is more inclined to believe and build on it (as opposed to arguments made by more obscure scholars). This is a 'self-confirming process, making for the greater evocative effect of publications by eminent men of science' (Merton, 1968: 62).

The statement that *this has been peer reviewed* plays a similar role as it works as a heuristic today. It signifies that this is *real scholarly content*. And yet, the applicability is not as profound a legitimator as it is in, for instance, the life sciences. The dialogical recursion of discourse in the humanities is a long-term review mechanism in itself. Peer review is not necessarily assumed to be a reliable mechanism or indicator. And yet, scholars repeatedly claim that some kind of filtering is said to be required for assessing colleagues or applicants so that peer review increasingly assumes the role of a legitimate signifier also in the humanities. This filtering, however, is not dominantly connected to a consequent hierarchisation of venues (as in terms of Journal Impact Factors in, again, the life sciences). Rather, a sort of clustering emerges that is not necessarily a strict hierarchy. Certain venues have a reputation that symbolically legitimises content (after having constituted its material existence), while other venues do not achieve to gain such reputation (and whose providing of a material existence of content may or may not remain somewhat irrelevant for discourse).

Only some venues achieve to resist serving as a reductive tool of efficiency: the niche venues that fly under the radar of any attribution of excellence. These often constitute existential sites of niche discourses in the humanities. Scholars within these discourses seem to appreciate such venues to be communicative refuges. This shows the importance of the diversity of small publishers in the humanities: the manifold venues that allow the regional and topical specificity of discourses and communities. The expression of visibility plays an important role here; it is a visibility that can hardly be accounted for within the generalising single market of national excellence. The seemingly symbolically minor venues provide the valuable ground for the existence of that niche. *Being there* with one's scholarship *is the value* despite the missing symbolism of external reputation. This, in short, explicates a character of use value in the humanities that—against the mystical character of exchange value—appears mythical in the context of global excellence.

This is a key consideration for the debates on OA. As long as venues are employed as heuristics in a hierarchy—a heuristic that moves away from qualitative difference of content towards an assumed quantitative, ranked quality—any venue will be either symbolically reduced or overvalued. Authors work within their discourse communities, but they are also required to seek the widest reach for their scholarship, and the most symbolic reward. It is the task of the scholarly community to govern its communicative structures in a way that achieves a balance of niche and relevance.

Bibliodiversity and small-scaling are keywords for a governance that primarily looks at discourse communities. If authorship in high-ranking venues continues to be rewarded, such a governance can only achieve little. It is tied to the intentions and motivations that grounds publishing practices and the recognition of the form of authorship. This is comparable to the aims of initiatives such as the San Francisco Declaration of Research Assessment: change the recognition of individual scientific work to diminish the use of the Journal Impact Factor and other such journal metrics (DORA, 2012). This, in turn, will change publishing practices, since the way scholars publish is bound to the way scholars recognise and reward the work of individuals.

Since the constitution of discourse in the humanities is much more bound to dialogue than to sharing information, turning away from venues to judge scholars is much harder to facilitate. Venues are both good and destructive; they enable direct infrastructures for dialogue, but they also enable measuring formal authorship in respect to the ranked value of the venue. The matter of openness, thus, is much more a matter of allowing transparency—who is published in a venue and for which reasons—and reclaiming the value of qualitative differentiation in the humanities. Many small venues—a small-scaling bibliodiversity—seems only desirable. This, however, must not inhibit accessibility for those at materially less-well equipped scholars. The debate on OA has to bear this ambiguity and any future governance needs to build upon it, instead of pretending its nonexistence.

3. Publish or Perish: The Empirical Reality of the Pressure to Publish

What are drivers of the pressure to produce more and more publishing output? The easy answer is competition. However, competition can take place in manifold ways. It could be a matter of substance and qualitative difference. As scholars highlight, though, it rather takes place on the basis of comparative output. The way competition takes place—the narratives and governance behind it—is abstracted in its terms. These, instead of competition per se, are responsible for the pressure to produce publications since they build on the recognition of qualitative work in formal terms. This shows the circularity of competition that invokes the self-referentiality of output.

Who experiences this pressure? What are the strategies of dealing with it? What does the balancing of contributing to discourse and producing output mean in praxis? This chapter provides answers to such questions. I first look at what *publish or perish* and competition mean, followed by an investigation of the empirical reality in quantitative terms, and a discussion of how this can be interpreted, comprising of insights from the qualitative interviews.

Publish or Perish, Competition, and Efficient Filtering

Publish or perish is an ambiguous term. On the one hand, it refers—in both discourse and praxis—to the terms of competition in academia, in particular how publishing output is preferred to intellectual development. Publishing practices and the focus on formal authorship embody *publish or perish* in this sense. On the other hand, ideology is negotiated among those affected in everyday discourses—particularly early career scholars. They reinforce the impact of *publish or perish* by extending its narrative. It solidifies the principle that formal authorship really *is* the objective of publishing and the primary way to enter an academic career. As this everyday discourse—chatter at conferences, philistine management advice, the rhetoric of constant improvement and excellence—is passed on among young scholars, the terms of competition become reified. Reducing *publish or perish* to a single, context-unspecific denotation would mean disavowing parts of its force.

Looking at this issue from the very basic conditions, we might say that, practically, being a scholar means having a job. You *work as* a philosopher (or historian or philologist, etc); you do not have to *be* one existentially. To be sure, you can be a philosopher without a position at a research institution. Your philosophy might even be a vocation rather than a job. But it will be much harder to make a living on this philosophising. The scholar with a (paid) position at a university is *allowed* to engage in intellectual practices as her primary occupation; this is even more the case if the position in question is a research position which allows engagement in practices of *knowledge production* without (or with the reduced) need to teach others elements of the existing body of knowledge. Such a research scholar is paid to engage in intellectual practices. To continue to do so, she has to prove her intellectual productivity. The question here is, how is this productivity defined? What *is* intellectual productivity? And why does intellectual ability seem to be defined primarily in terms of formal output? These are questions pertaining to the terms of competition in the job market.

Competition, abstractly, seems inevitable in academia, especially in a—potentially future—academia that is democratically governed. Competition, in a benign, small-scale market, can be thought of as a qualitative appreciation. It can even be seen as a beneficial mechanism in the sense that it kindles qualitative advancement and the potential for diversity. Such competition also to diminishes the destructive aspects of networks and exclusive circles. Rational discourse in search for the better argument needs to be seen as a competitive process in such respect. Competition is a means of filtering which is tied to the specificity of that which is to be filtered. It turns into an adversarial mechanism if it stops being a means that is specific to substance and begins to be an end in itself, an end towards which substance begins to align.

Widening participation illustrates the problem of increasing competition on the wrong terms. Demand for more democratic access has been translated to allowing potentially anyone access to the institution in question irrespective of background, if only they showcase a certain merit. This alludes to the ideal of meritocracy—a wolf in the sheepskin ideal as originally satirically conceived by Young (1994).[10] Such a widening of participation also takes place among aspiring scholars in both Germany and the UK, and increasingly also among mid-level and senior scholars in the UK. The filtering of scholars

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[10] Meritocracy until today fulfils its function of disguising problems of social mobility and democratic means to higher education, as several recent contributions to this discourse show with different lines of arguments; see: Mandler (2020); Markovits (2020); Sandel (2020). Especially helpful is the culture argument in Karabel's monumental study which shows the fluidity of what merit can denote—or can be made to denote (2005).

with merit and those without is treated as being in need to be ever more efficient; it is an unintended consequence of widening participation. The more there are to compete, the more efficient the terms of competition need to be. Correspondingly, formal representation of achievement needs to be comparable. At the same time, the products they compete on become more and more tied to a single market of ranked products that needs to be available in time, irrespective of being an early career or a senior scholar. On the one hand, students and scholars need to do ever more to achieve a head start in the race or secure their position. On the other hand, each dimension in which they can compete becomes exploited and signified by comparative symbol; merit becomes a formal dimension.

The socially-desirable democratic access can, thus, results negative consequences. This compares to the development of capitalism that turned the substance of small markets and their modes of competition into a single market. Where there are many local markets, their differentiated and respective terms are *opportunities* to engage. These opportunities turn into *imperatives* as the market structures unite and align, and all those who engaged in differentiated structures are suddenly compelled to engage in a single one. Inclusivity and differentiation turn into force and alienation depending on the market that shifts *opportunity* to *imperative*. As a consequence, the 'existence of market dependent tenant-producers' creates 'competitive pressures' (Wood, 2016: 130): 'pressures to produce cheaply, pressures that reinforce[…] the cost-sensitivity imposed by already existing imperatives of competition' in recursion (Wood, 2016: 140).

Instead of allowing many small, qualitatively-differentiated markets that foster individual intellectual development, the scholarly market individuals compete in during early careers is marked by unifying terms. Scholars become alienated from the work they conduct; their scholarship becomes a means for competing on the currency of authorship where it should be a basis for qualitative appreciation. The output produced becomes alienated from its communicative purpose in scholarship and dialogue. This is a mode of recognition and reward that is reductionist and creates a Weberian social closure.[11]

Prominent in targeting this is Münch who relates to such reductionist mechanisms at several instances in his analyses of modern German and Western academia. He determines forms of social closure as the markers of achievement are set in terms external to scholarly discourse, in a unifying market that is constructed on specific terms. Among such are rankings and metric-based performance measurement (Münch, 2007: 73–160), overemphasising a rhetoric of marketable reputation (such as of *world-leading* or *excellence*) (Münch, 2008: part 2), or the creation of an audit university where strategic, external management of quality replaces the autonomous conduct of scholarship, research, and teaching (Münch, 2011: 94–123). Rankings, marketable reputation, and the governance of external strategy in research management mean increasing competition. As Münch shows, this competition does not work in favour of intellectual development.

The alienation resulting from this is experienced as a mode of hypercompetition. The empirical situation of this is well-captured also in the wider literature. Precarious employment further allows institutions the freedom to *let them compete* until the most productive scholars remain. The certainty of a secure position appears to become ever-harder to obtain for the individual. Witness the difficult employment situations of aspiring scholars in Germany (Agarwal, 2015; Pauli, 2016; Sander, 2017; Ullrich, 2016, 2019) or the UK (Acton et al., 2019; Calkin, 2013; n.a., 2018; Swain, 2013; White, 2015). In both countries, there are ever more PhDs accompanied by fewer long-term prospects of

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[11] Social closure means that communities can become closed to outsiders by setting the standards of prestige, status in a hierarchy, race, or material wealth. The community encloses itself by closing relationships within the community based on the markers of distinction and, thus, defining the social other as outsider. Reproduction of hierarchy and status are secured against outsiders. Such 'stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities', as Weber originally suggested (1978: 935). That is, in the context of the REF, obliviousness of social closure fundamentally hinders equal chances in a free market and instead enforces a gradual monopolisation.

academic employment (Maher and Sureda Anfres, 2016). A stunning 87% of scholars in the German *Mittelbau* are on fixed-term contracts (Ambrasat and Heger, 2020: 5), and only 4% of an annual doctoral cohort has the potential to reach a permanent position in academia (Wissenschaftsrat, 2014: 25). Add to this, particularly for the humanities, the tales of unemployability of PhDs or how it is considered a failure to leave academia (Kruger, 2018; Segran, 2014). And as an addendum, look at the mental health crisis pervading, even worsening, throughout academia for young scholars and researchers in the Western dominion (Evans et al., 2018; Levecque et al., 2017; n.a., 2019). This all describes the 'precarious position of young scholars' with its 'nasty, vicious circle' of poorly paid, short-term positions that deprive scholars of the security to develop and publish truly original scholarship (Beard, 2019: n.p.). It is, thus, argued that academia works on hypercompetition (Moore et al., 2016: 8) which is articulated by the rhetoric of achieving excellence but, ultimately, is said to harm research quality. It is even claimed there is 'a Darwinistic competitive race among (especially young) academics—for funds, citations and publications, not for better crafted and more convincing (counter)arguments' (Vostal, 2016: 105). Moreover, output regimes in the form of performance measurement reinforces negative effects and stress (Franco-Santos and Doherty, 2017). And most recently, the major study conducted by the Wellcome Trust showcased again the devastating research culture scholars in the UK experience. 78% of scholars agree with the statement that 'High levels of competition have created unkind and aggressive research conditions', and expectations of security and longevity in career prospects drop to the lowest level among early career scholars (Wellcome Trust, 2020: 15–16).

These terms of competition are embodied by publishing practices. To compete means to publish, which means to compete by means of formal authorship of published scholarship. This results in the empirical reality of pressure-inducing output regimes. This pressure is what is visible in the data that I collected through my survey.

Who Experiences Pressure?

The data provides a comparative lens on publishing pressure in Germany and the UK. The data presented in figure 2 above are valuable in this context. They show that careers seem to be more linearly hierarchised and progressive in the UK. There are also more similarities between the humanities and the social sciences. This relates to the progressive and, as it were, more universally competitive nature of the career system in the UK. Permeability (figure 3) also requires competitiveness. This is different in Germany where the system is characterised much more by a hierarchy focussing on the end of a few tenured professorial chairs with a bulk of non-professorial mid- and senior positions. The path of professorship is mostly decided quite early on during the competitive years of building the foundations of a career. These decide whether, eventually, a tenured position will be within reach or not. This is especially visible with the *Juniorprofessorships* that are positioned to replace the traditional *Habilitation* in Germany. It pushes for increased competition at an even earlier time in the career, often already after about five to ten years after the PhD, or at the age of about 35. This is said to be a problem in the humanities, since intellectual maturity requires more time instead of such an early rush towards hastily proving competitiveness (Brechelmacher et al., 2015: 24–25). This is visible in the data as the early career scholars are quite close in terms of age, while the senior clusters are rather loose and wide-ranging.

I conducted an in-depth analysis of variations depending on the pressure to publish within the quantitative data of my survey. The result is a clustering of humanities scholars in relation to their experienced pressure.[12] Turning to these pressure clusters below (figure 31), the appearance of career positions (figure 2) is changed upside down. Germany turns into the progressive case as experienced high pressure is very much focussed on early career stages, advancing to the more loosely defined low pressure clusters. No pressure is experienced by a diverse, though decidedly senior group of scholars. Experienced pressure is much less focussed in the UK. German groups show standard deviations of 6.44 and 9.55, and means of 10.32 and 15.96 for high and low pressure respectively; the UK shows standard deviations of 7.62 and 11.12, and means of 13.54 and 19.58.[13] This already anticipates the correlations to be explored subsequently: namely that pressure in the UK is not so much an early career pressure (getting on a path to a tenured position), but a more universal pressure that also impacts scholars in more advanced positions. Think of how the REF may induce pressure more loosely around early to mid-career positions in the UK. In Germany, where such a mechanism does not exist, pressure is concentrating on *getting into a long-term career* as such, and so focusses more on the earlier stages of a career.

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[12] For this, I clustered responses from humanities scholars to the questions *I feel pressured to publish more journal articles* and *I feel pressured to publish a monograph*. This resulted three distinct clusters: *no pressure* comprises of all those respondents who indicated only strongly disagree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree; *low pressure* comprises of all those respondents who indicated agree for at least one of the two questions, but no strongly agree; and *high pressure* comprises of all those respondents who indicated at least once strongly agree. These pressure clusters exclude doctoral scholars to focus on those with at least post-doctoral experience within the academic system.

[13] The detailed statistics can be found in the appendix.

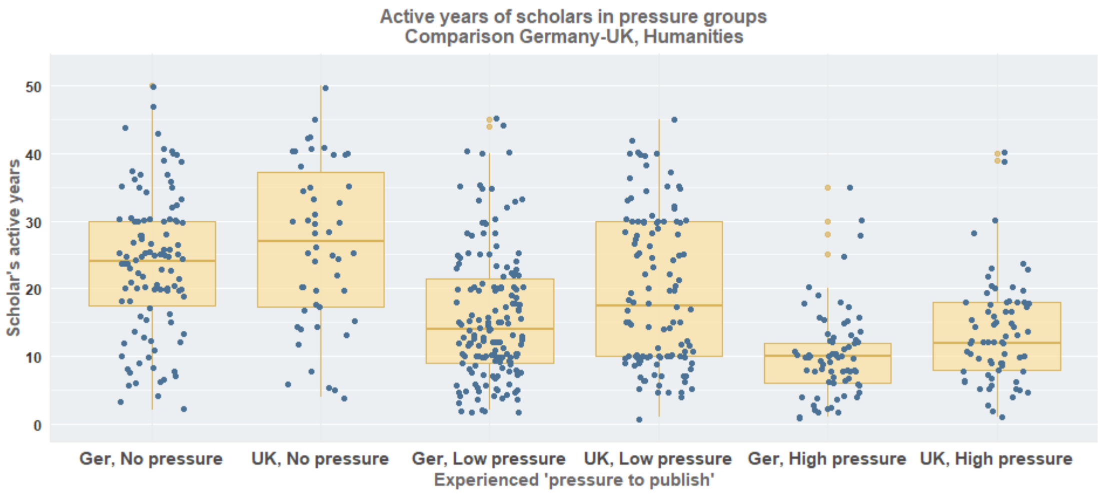

Figure 33: Experienced pressure to publish in the humanities.

Figures 34 and 35 show how career positions and gender are distributed in pressure clusters. While the majority of senior and tenured scholars experience no or little pressure, experience of pressure to publish is pervasive among earlier career positions. Moreover, the experience of forms of pressure is higher among women than among men. Witness that the share of those experiencing low pressure is about half in all career positions. The differences stem from distributions of no or high pressure.

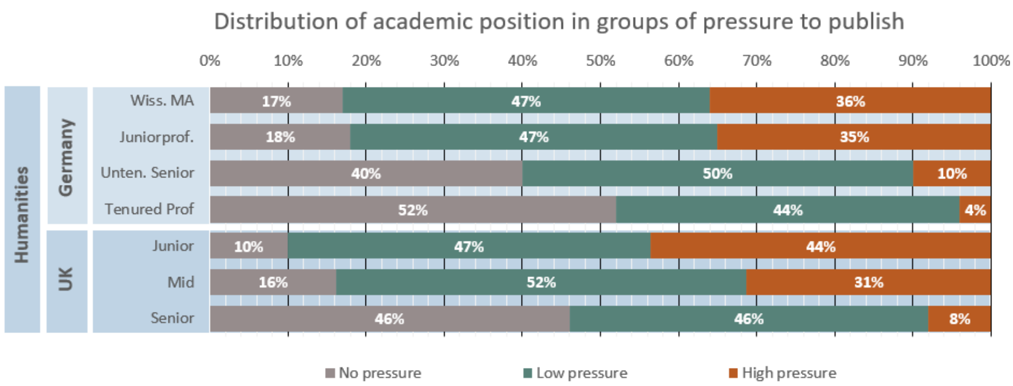

Figure 34: Distribution of career positions in pressure clusters.

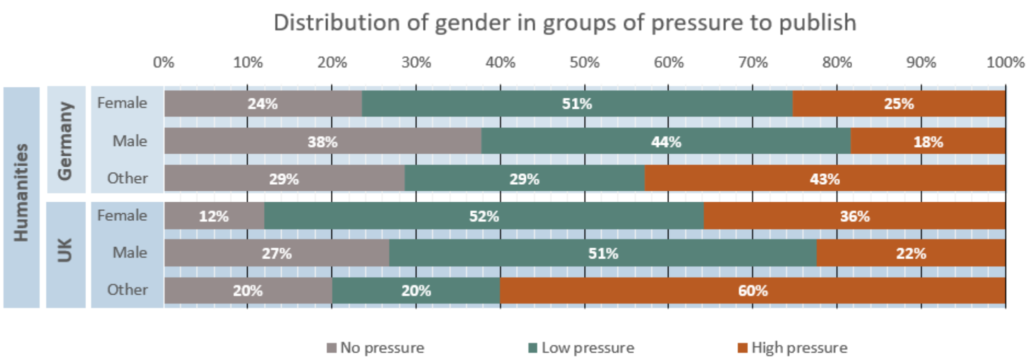

Figure 35: Distribution of gender in pressure clusters.

Table 5 shows the distribution of disciplines within pressure clusters, for selected disciplines with the largest shares. This is an indicator for understanding the share of disciplines within pressure clusters. Since an analysis on the level of individual disciplines does not have sufficient statistical power, this component analysis is the best option.

Distribution of selected disciplines by degree of pressure to publish, Germany Humanities

Discipline	No pressure	Low pressure	High pressure
History	15%	29%	13%
Archaeology	9%	6%	5%
German Philology	12%	6%	5%
Philosophy	5%	12%	19%
Linguistics	10%	10%	11%
Literature	5%	3%	4%
Theology	4%	3%	8%
Art History	2%	4%	6%
Classics	5%	2%	0%
English Philology	5%	1%	0%
Of total	71%	76%	71%

Distribution of selected disciplines by degree of pressure to publish, UK Humanities

Discipline	No pressure	Low pressure	High pressure
History	20%	26%	33%
Archaeology	6%	8%	7%
German Philology	0%	2%	1%
Philosophy	2%	5%	7%
Linguistics	8%	6%	6%
Literature	4%	5%	6%
Theology	2%	3%	6%
Art History	6%	2%	1%
Classics	8%	4%	1%
English Philology	8%	10%	8%
Of total	64%	70%	76%

Table 5: Disciplines within pressure clusters.

Figures 36 and 37 provide further details for the experience of pressure. These representations show the experienced pressure to publish on which the pressure clusters are built, in groups of years. In terms of journal articles, the pressure is overall very high. However, experienced pressure sharply declines after year 15 in Germany, while it remains high in the UK and only the extreme experience declines. It is about this time that scholars in Germany either have tenure or a permanent position. The pressure remains high in the UK, perhaps considerably due to institutional demands of assessments.

In terms of monographs, the situation in Germany shows an unparalleled peak at the early stage and a clear decrease along the career stages. In the UK, however, the pressure even rises after year six, remains high, and only decreases after year 20. It even remains higher even then than the pressure experienced after year 16 in Germany.

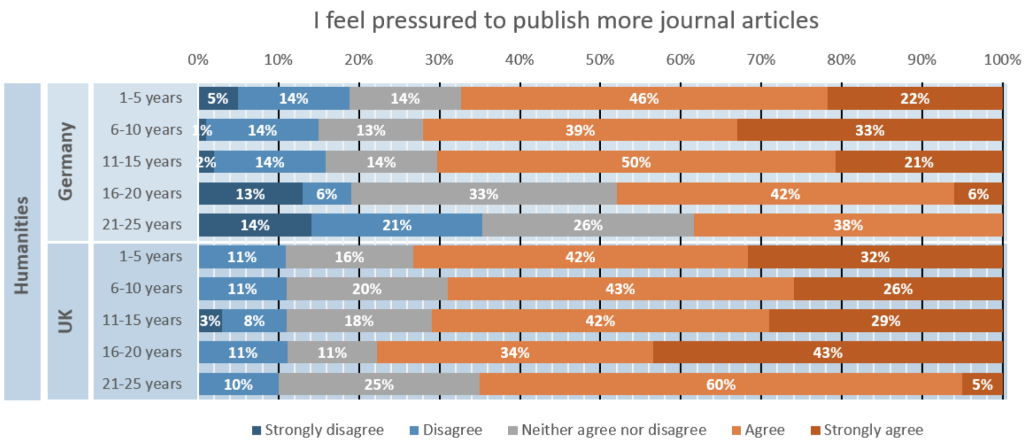

Figure 36: Pressure to publish more journal articles.

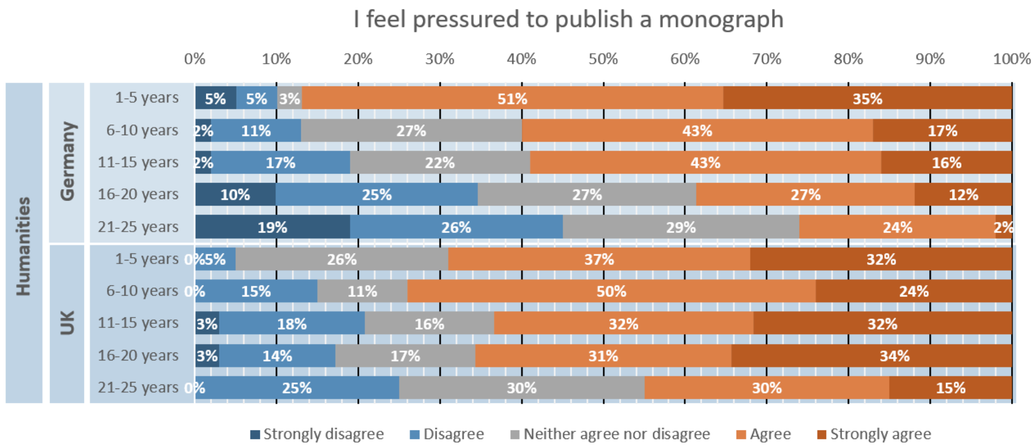

Figure 37: Pressure to publish a monograph.

These representations relate to the published portfolio, shown here again for sake of comparison. These correspond both to the preceding representations of experienced pressure as well as to the subsequent graphs. The peaks and changes of experienced pressure are mirrored by the published portfolios.

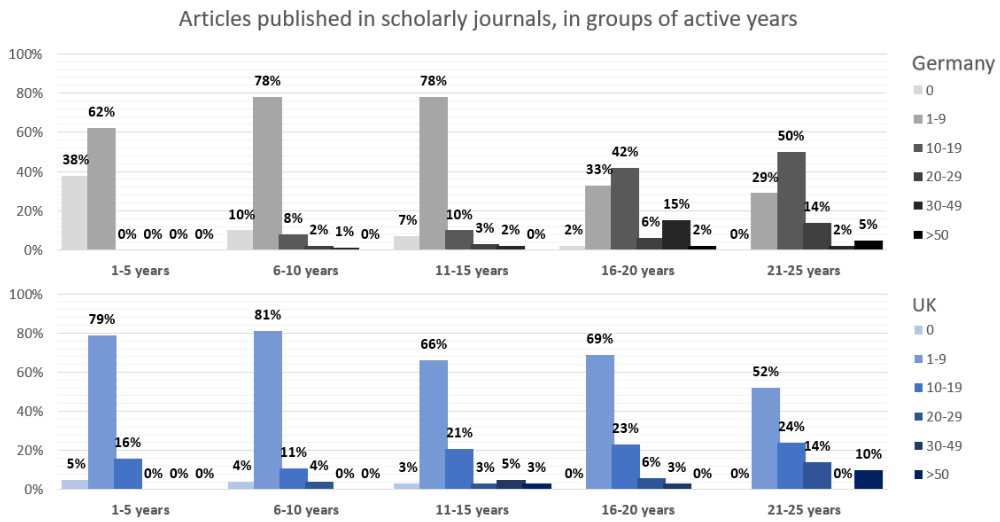

Figure 38: Numbers of published articles, grouped in clusters of years active in research.

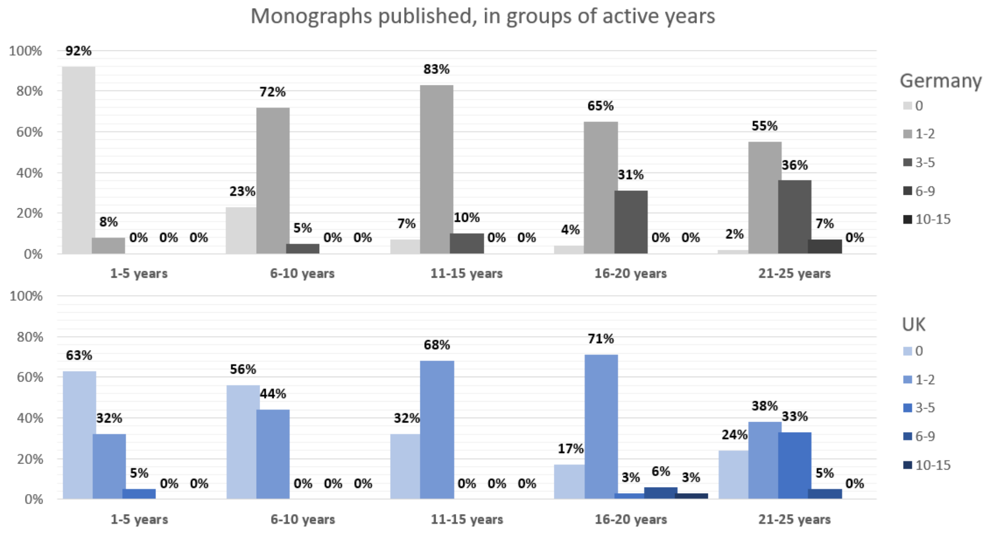

Figure 39: Numbers of published monographs, grouped in clusters of years active in research.

Variations of Experienced Pressure

Next to the prevalence of pressure, the data also includes a perspective on experienced connections. The perceived pressure to publish is further investigated in relation to its temporality in figure 40 (in groups of years active) and figure 41 (in pressure clusters). Again, the overall amount of pressure experienced is much higher in the UK. Strikingly, while the experienced connection of temporal pressure and quality decreases over time among German scholars, it even increases over the years among scholars in the UK. Especially those who perceive high amounts of pressure indicate a strong connection to temporality: over 70% of scholars in the UK experiencing high pressure at least agree that the quality of their research suffers as they feel pressured to publish faster.

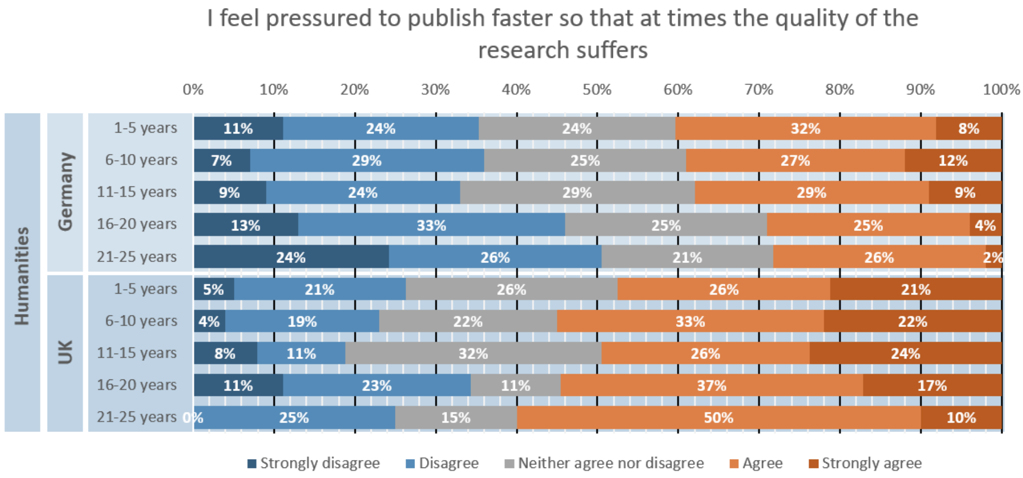

Figure 40: Pressure to publish faster in relation to quality.

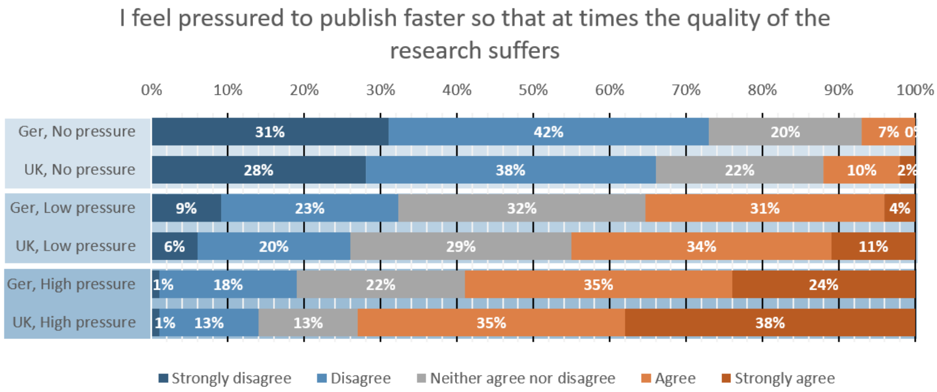

Figure 41: Pressure to publish faster in relation to quality, in pressure clusters.

Figure 42 shows that there is a considerable break in the prevalence of the wish to reduce article output in order to focus on a monograph. In Germany, this corresponds with the data above and the break of experienced pressure at around the cluster starting with year 16. In the UK, this break sets in earlier. In the context of the, likewise, fewer published monographs at the time of this break in the UK, this reinforces the interpretation of an experienced overburdening with demands for articles (in the light of the more intrinsic aim to capture one's scholarship in a longer venture of a monograph).

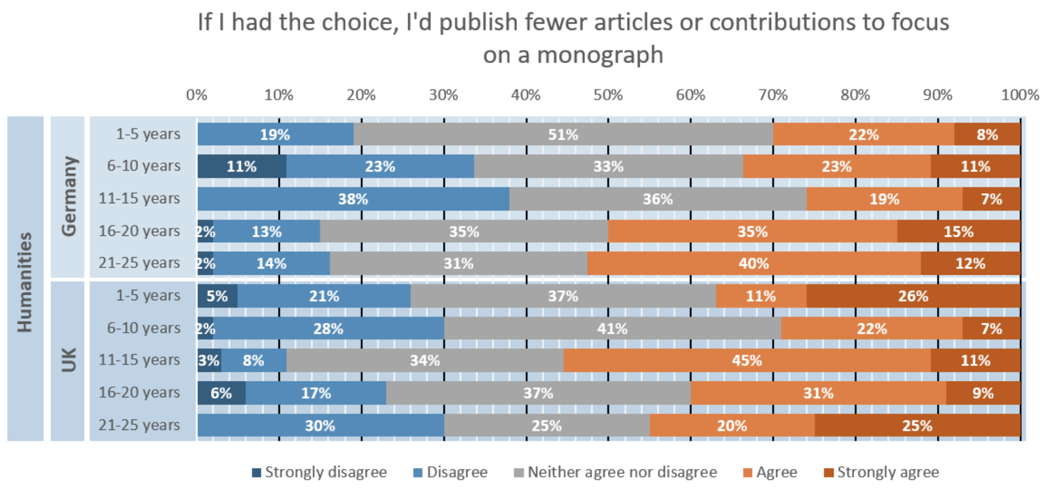

Figure 42: Wish to reduce article output in favour of a monograph.

Contextualising the data on pressure, the last two items in this row are revealing in how they point to the over-satiation with articles. This experience is generally rejected for monographs, especially among early career scholars. Turning to articles, there is a general consensus that there are too many being published.

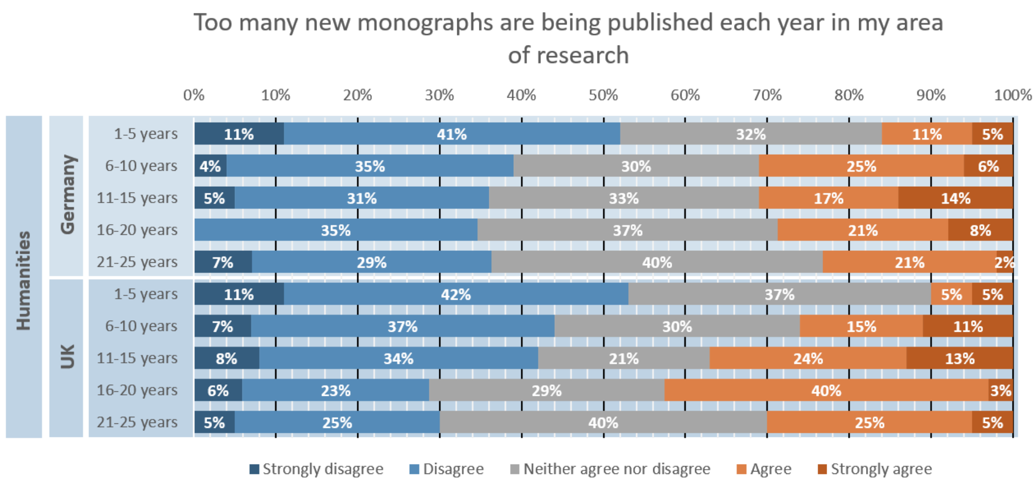

Figure 43: Perception of too many new monographs being published.

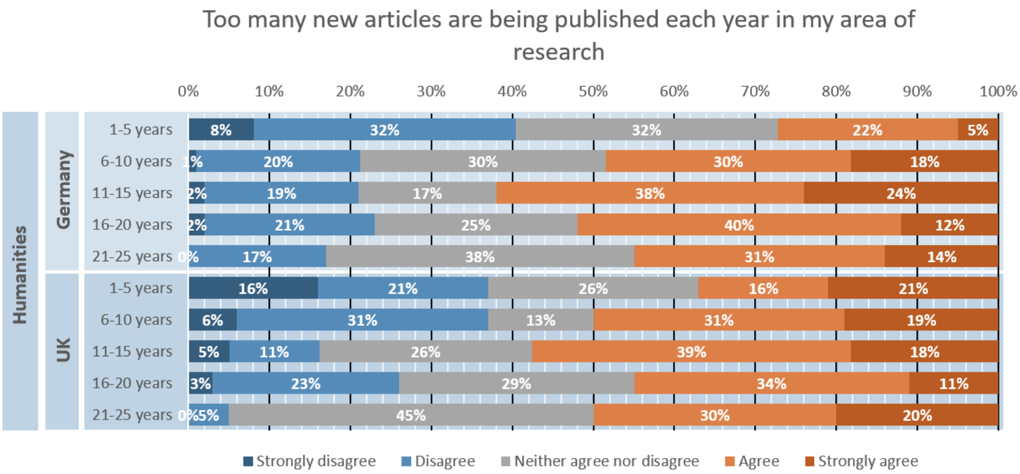

Figure 44: Perception of too many new articles being published.

Negotiation of Quantity and Quality

These representations fit in with the notion of an output regime in the context of uncertain futures. They show the systemic pressure experienced by early career scholars. This has the form of a bottleneck of entering a long-term career in Germany. In the UK, however, the pressure remains high over the course of progressing careers. Essential for understanding the reason for this is the REF, but only indirectly so (as I discuss in chapter four). Scholars repeatedly reference the job market and application procedures—those instances setting the terms they have to compete on—as direct reasons for the experienced pressure to produce formal output. Trying to avert the uncertainty of uncertain futures under precarious contracts, early career scholars do what appears as the requirement of this job market. Insights from qualitative interviews provide the necessary contextual knowledge for further understanding strategies for dealing with uncertain futures. They are an insight into an allure of rationalistic alleviation.

In the course of strategizing publishing, pressure is negotiated by balancing quality and quantity. It remains true that quality tops quantity. But as quality is difficult or even impossible to produce *ad hoc* for most (young) scholars, quantity can make up for lack of quality. This is true especially for early career scholars who do not yet had the time to develop their intellectual programme. When temporal pressure to perform—such as the construction of an early publishing list—weighs on the early career scholar, she may strategically choose to focus on the number of publications on that list. Several scholars explained this strategy of negotiation. Witness a philologist whose explanation is exemplary in this respect:

> if you get into an evaluation then you'll have to have some high-quality articles since the content will be assessed- but then not the whole publication list- only the four- five texts that you submit alongside your list [will be assessed]- so then- yes this reflects some kind of hybrid strategy for those who work on their publication list- some for the length and some for the quality.

The negotiation of quantity and quality can be found in other statements as well. A single contribution to discourse may signify the ability to work in that subject area; several contributions to a single discourse, at best in different venues, signify additional expertise and raise the visibility of the individual in that discourse and its branches. In addition, this is preferably multiplied by contributions to different discourses. Quantity, thus, also means to broaden the appearance of one's abilities in the eyes of external assessments. It is claimed to be essential as a young scholar to be visible in the discourses—not in order to advance the discourse but to signpost that you can do the job, you can produce relevant output.

Biagioli states that some scientists 'aim high, but not too high' (2016: n.p.), deploying all means to produce more publications—but just not those high impact publications. If your publications do not *look too high impact* (or appear in high impact venues), it is unlikely they will be scrutinised. Usually, only a few publications are being required for closer inspection during application procedures so that a few high-quality publications suffice for showcasing intellectual ability. This is what scholars in my interviews express, too, only that discourse communities are more tightly knit in the humanities. Nevertheless, the interviewees suggest a scholar has to go beyond those few publications to be scrutinised in job applications in the first place; those with more publications are said to fare better during the early stages of assessment. Grant applications even require *the five or ten best publications* of an applicant. If you are an early Postdoc, it is hardly the case that you have twenty publications to choose the best from. This creates the impression that you are not enough, as an interviewee explained. And it forces to produce more.

The result is a stack of publications only partially driven by the intention to contribute to discourse—to *produce* knowledge—or to showcase intellectual ability. It is a fulfilment of the requirement to produce formal authorship which helps in the competition for places. Such publications do comprise of scholarly text, of course. As Williams poignantly puts it in respect to publishing least publishable units: '[t]here are demands of academic promotion, which can encourage one to make as many published pages as possible out of whatever modest idea one may have' (2008: 183). These demands enforce the instrumentalization so that early career scholars learn to balance quantity and quality to yield the highest reward of formal authorship.

This negotiation of quantity and quality is crucial for understanding publishing in connection to the case that there are too many articles, and the claims that the overall quality of discourse is decreasing. It is obviously not the case that there are no good articles and that no one is intrinsically interested in the communication of scholarship. Much rather, established practices of authorship and publishing incorporate this negotiation of quantity and quality so that the communicative system seems overburdened; quality seems to decrease in general because the good cannot be seen among the many. The individual publication counts less as each scholar, and communities generally, produce masses.

The imperative to publish and the ways instrumental publishing practices respond to it are prevalent also in how senior scholars act in their roles as mentors or supervisors. Asked about what advice supervisors or colleagues give to early career scholars, almost all scholars in my study implicitly articulate the negotiation of quantity and quality, particularly as an issue of early formal output standing against a desirable intellectual development. This performative strategizing, the structural pervasiveness of so doing, and even the possibility of its success as mere performance all indicate that the resulting publications are not driven by the desire to contribute to discourse. The resulting artefact—the formal list of publications—effects a symbol of individualistic achievement that is caused by competition on formal rationalistic terms. The formal list of publications overshadows the individual publication. This symbol is reflexive since publication lists and discourse about them reify and reinforce the terms on which they have come to existence. In the long run, thus, they become routinised, honing the valuation of individual achievement in academia to the efficiency philistine management requires universities to run on.

This seems to make scholars in the UK more sober and even defeatist. In fundamental ways, they express the pressure to publish as a relentless pressure to perform. The pressure here is more strongly connected to institutional regimes than it is in Germany. The influence of the REF and auditing are emblematic. Most interviewed scholars were conflicted in this respect: they signified a sense of gloom and discomfort about the advice they give their early career mentees alongside a sense of obligation or even burden that—since this is the way one *has* to behave in the job market—not giving this advice would be irresponsible. A philosopher in the UK summarises her advice as:

> I advise them to try to publish at least one good thing in a good place before they hit the market. Yeah- and ideally two and possibly three. […] I wish that weren't the case- but I think it would be- you know- a dereliction of duty not to encourage them in that way.

This is the case even though many senior scholars know and openly talk about the fact that holding back one's work—improving and advancing it for a stronger and more developed publication in a few years' time—is almost always beneficial for the content. The thesis-turned-monograph published too early will be weaker for both scholar and discourse. And yet, the job market demands formal authorship early on.

This is a distancing of scholar and text. It is illuminating to witness that the competition arising out of this precedes intellectual development. It reifies early in scholarly careers the fact that something needs to get published, and only in a second instance is the question considered of what is actually to be published, as a senior professor remarked. Early career scholars are systemically discouraged from focusing on intellectual development so long as this stands in the way of constructing a record of formal authorship. To be sure, intellectual development can go hand in hand with the expansion of one's publication record. The engagement in discourse with one's early thinking may prove to be a fruitful endeavour even for this development. And yet, because the way publishing practices are constituted today with their inherent affectual mode of imperative, intellectual development may be prohibited more than it is supported. *Publish or perish* expresses this.

Publish or Perish Embodying Reification

Apart from referring to the terms of competition, *publish or perish* is also a narrative of their reification. This is embodied by the sayings and utterances of (non-scholarly) discourse about the requirement to compete with formal output. Such discourse indoctrinates these terms as unequivocal and indisputable. By engaging in discourse on *publish or perish*, early career scholars reproduce the ideological construction of a rationalist solution to avert the uncertainty of uncertain futures in the sense of: I only have to publish to avoid the death of my career. This is not necessarily true, though. You may publish a lot but still not get the job.

The narrative construction comes about as a reflexive discourse with which individuals, especially early career scholars, negotiate the insecurity of entering the academic job market. This discourse is reflexive in that scholars, by engaging in a respective discourse, react to the increasing lengths of publication lists and the unknown own position in relation to others entering the job market, or to those with secure positions. This narrative is not: *to think or perish*, or: *to argue or perish*, or even: *teach or perish*. It is *publish or perish*, since it is formal authorship that is said to count and, in turn, the illusionary idea that the *publication as output* indeed suffices as a way forward.

By engaging in such discourse, scholars not only contribute to the reification of its principles. Early career scholars also induce added pressure on themselves that potentially harms their intellectual development. As several both young and experienced scholars explained, those who claim to unplug themselves from this constant stream of comparison and conversing seem to deal better with the underlying alienation: they find ways of negotiating the pressure and their intellectual development by publishing less. Engagement in this discourse reproduces the identification of a solution that itself manifests the problem. It creates, as mentioned during my interviews, a *frantic dash* for publications that discourages alternatives.

This can also be seen in prominent self-help guides (for instance: Glatthorn, 2002; Harzing, 2016; Hills, 1987; Kelsky, 2015; Lussier, 2010; McNulty, 2013). They aim to help scholars to be more productive in formalistic terms. They suggest that the way out of the precariat is paved by formal publications, since the practices of counting and comparing records of formal authorship is the most fundamental way of recognising productivity. In the end, they are symbolic for the *publish or perish* discourse and are, likewise, instances of the reification of its formal rationality.

Scholars always had to prove they were better than or different from the crowd of competitors. But competition has grown more strenuous as the terms have been rationalised; it (partially) moved away from exclusive circles, but it also reduced its substance to the appearance of a formal teleology. All the while, it cannot be claimed that long publication records are *always* demanded or that submitting non-formally published works or pre-printed manuscripts in a career application process is always outright rejected. It is a symbolic narrative through which appearances of competition in material phenomena are mediated, so that scholars perceive the collectively reproduced practices are indeed appropriate.[14]

Moreover, no scholar has to engage in the discourse on *publish or perish* just as no one is forced to the *frantic dash* of relentless publishing. But it takes unconventional motivation to not reproduce established practice; a motivation to resist the practices' immanent affect. This motivation seems to be reserved for those who do feel secure that their intellectual ability (or their network or institutional symbolism) suffices. This also plays a role in the working of the REF such that elite institutions allow their scholars more freedom to publish less and to focus on high quality intellectual contributions.

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[14] In the well-known Bourdieusian sociology, this might be called the *illusio*. The *illusio* is the belief in a game and its righteousness, without substantive intelligibility of the working principles of this game, where a game is a bundle of practices geared towards a certain end (Bourdieu, 1998: 76). However, Bourdieu's diction categorically pronounces adverse structural effects such as a wilful internal competition, presenting collective meaning as a consistently negatively-connoted 'collective adhesion to the game' (Bourdieu, 2006: 167). I do not believe that such intentional competition can be universally ascribed to scholars in the humanities.

The same seems to be true on a personal level where belief in your ability fosters a strength to resist the negotiation of quantity and quality, and to take the time to focus on the latter. It is in this respect that such motivation is a matter of trust and good mentorship. A matter that most interviewees in my study see as quite risky. For most early career scholars—faced with an uncertain future—it seems to be a high-risk strategy to disregard competition on formal authorship: who is there to judge and assure me that my few brilliant ideas (developed in unpublished manuscripts) will suffice? All strive to achieve more and, by looking at the best in their fields, aim to replicate such senior publication records. But how does an early career scholar account for the instability of the first steps of scholarly thinking? Where to get the reassurance of the eminence of the slow process, of the few focussed publications? How can the early lecturer in the UK be sure of her position in the field if all around her publish frequently? Why put so much effort in this singular publication if quantity tends, or is said to tend, to be rewarded above quality? Others seem to be so versatile and adept as they contribute to this and that discourse, while I only have this one substantial piece, unpublished in the drawer of my desk. And in the end, why put so much effort in the single publication if the single publication is hardly ever accorded the attention it may deserve? In other words, as a philosopher remarked during an interview after being asked why he publishes his scholarship: 'that's a good question since it's not being read'.

Aspiring scholars rely on the production of formal authorship. Its yield appears to securely lead to job prospects and, thus, to an existence as a philosopher or historian. In this respect, formal authorship is a disciplining mode. One's own intellectual development and a thorough scholarly agenda stand in the shadow of a formal track of productivity. This is essentially Weberian formal rationality (Weber, 1978: 85). Since no normative frame to evaluate the ends of practices is in place, formal rationality places mere discipline above responsibility: one need only work hard enough in accordance with given (thin) ends—effectively working through means: ticking boxes—until achievement rewards discipline.

Where the rationale of ticking boxes creates anxiety in its narrative representation of *publish or perish*, it also creates the false assurance that a way forward is possible on transparent, albeit strenuous terms. It advocates that an intellectual career can become plannable and manageable where insecurity and precarious employment suggest the opposite. It is the scholar outside of elite institutions—from minority or working-class backgrounds in particular—who is the most affected by this ambiguous setting. It increasingly extends to advanced levels of careers in the UK. As the data show, this is different in Germany where pressure rests much more on early career stages and decreases steadily. The early insecurity of careers is even more intense in Germany than it is in the UK, as a recent, nation-wide outcry of indignation again highlighted (Bahr et al., 2021). This really focusses on the *early* stages of a career though.

Moreover, this is a gender issue, too, across the two countries. The academic precariat of young scholars is known for being a hostile environment for planning and starting a family or raising children. A gender gap is reported in various instances where, by historical default, women are disadvantaged. Witness the different ways women are structurally underrepresented in the bibliometrics of authorship (Bendels et al., 2018; West et al., 2013). Such structural effects—arguably worse in STEM fields than in the humanities but nonetheless so here—also prevail in many practices in academia such as hiring, promotion, or grant peer review (Bornmann et al., 2007; Larivière et al., 2013; Laufenberg et al., 2018; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; van Dijk et al., 2014; Weisshaar, 2017). Ultimately, underrepresentation of female scholars in high impact publications is even worse than it is for their underrepresentation in a scholarly discipline, as has been observed for the field of sociology (Akbaritabar and Squazzoni, 2020). My data has also shown that pressure to publish tends to be perceived as higher among women (figure 33).

The connection of measurable output and career development for young women becomes blatantly clear where sheer disciplinary workload of carving out publications stands against the tasks of raising children. Such work continues to miss the due recognition as a fundamental achievement, as the enduring debate showcases (Honneth, 2003: 141). The anecdotal evidence persists of women deciding to raise a child and, so, missing achieving as long a publication record as a male competitor who therefore gets the job. 2020's lockdown in response to COVID-19 was evidence in this respect: the gender balance in journal submissions shifted towards male scholars and researchers, indicating that female scholars and scientists had other tasks to look after (Flaherty, 2020; Rusconi et al., 2020)—for society and hence also for academia, these are likely more important tasks than producing output, though they miss their due recognition.

4. Being REFable: The UK's REF and Germany's Traditionalism

Scholars in the UK have to become *REFable*. The REF is an epitome manifestation of the instrumentalization of publishing in the UK. Its historical development substantially influenced the grounds and ways of publishing. All the while, research management has taken over its principles so that these shifted grounds and ways are no longer tied to the REF itself. Particularly *the job market*—the way scholarly productivity is assessed and rewarded—is extending the influence of the historical impact of the REF. Being *REFable* is shorthand for the requirement of being fit for the scholarly job market based on authorship. Both quantitative and qualitative data substantiate the matter of *REFability* and provide further insights into the ways quantity, quality, and temporal issues of *REFability* are—seemingly naturally—negotiated through publishing.

The chapter picks up several aspects discussed in the preceding chapters such as the value of marketable output, *publish or perish* as a reifying discourse, and the clustered distribution of experienced pressure. Preceding this discussion is an historical overview of the REF and the *Exzellenzinitiative*, followed by a closer look at the empirical situation of publishing practices, and a discussion of how this is to be interpreted in a larger context.

A Short History of the REF

There are many aspects the REF—and the earlier RAE—is criticised for: the way it reproduces existing hierarchies (Dix, 2016; Münch, 2008: 134); the mechanism of redefining institutional roles or moving efforts away from teaching (Frank et al., 2019; Henkel, 1999); the way it promotes competition but not fully considering corresponding market mechanisms (Frank et al., 2019; Shackleton and Booth, 2015); the fact that it is quite an expensive publicly-funded exercise benefitting only a few institutions (Arnold et al., 2018); (resulting from this, it can be argued to be a classic example of an institution that is only giving the appearance of rational conduct while being primarily inefficient; see: Meyer and Rowan, 1977); that the results of the REF are transmuted from a funding into a 'research *ranking* system' (Brink, 2018: 82; emphasis in original) and that it is partly based on an instrumentalist principle of benefit (Brink, 2018: 168–177); that the costs of impact assessment of this mode will likely outweigh its benefits (Martin, 2011); or the way it puts pressure particularly on younger scholars (Archer, 2008). Ultimately, as Frank et al. call it, 'the RAE/REF became a victim of its own success' (2019: 81), which means it has acquired such a strong position that it has become a distortion of that which it was supposed to measure. In other words, the REF has fallen prey to Goodhart's law.

The REF's origin lies in cuts to grant funding and a new mode of strategic planning that came along with it. This was the task of the University Grants Committee (UGC) from 1983 onwards. The UGC was responsible for the distribution of core funding for research and teaching. This task was quite straightforward then, since universities in the UK were less hierarchically organised compared with, for instance, German universities. Researchers enjoyed a high degree of autonomy and flexibility with regard to research endeavours. Most funding was distributed based on unit size, with a few elite lobbying exceptions such as Oxford or Cambridge (Whitley et al., 2010: 53–54). During the Thatcher government, public spending was to be cut down, which meant considerable reductions to funding. It was the UGC's task to determine a process to allocate reductions systematically. In hindsight, Swinnerton-Dyer, then chair of UGC, claims the key issue in this allocation was transparency (Jump, 2013). In other words, the question of which institution receives cuts on what basis needed to be made clear to all involved. Alongside this, however, demands for more accountability rose as well. Future funds were to be distributed on the basis of clear and competitive objectives, efficient management, and measurable results. This already highlights key principles of the politics underlying the rising neoliberalism in these times more generally. As a result, the Research Selectivity Exercise (RSE) was initiated in 1986, often regarded as the first RAE despite its name variant.

The exercise's methodology was much simpler compared with today's REF, since the UGC itself ran on tight budgets. The RSE consisted of a questionnaire distributed to all units of assessments, which could be formed of individual departments, groups of departments, or a part of a department at a university and, therefore, varied considerably in size. The questionnaire enquired about matters such as 'research income, research planning, and priorities' as well as a unit's 'five best publications from the previous five years' (Whitley et al., 2010: 55). At this initial stage, the performance-based funding had little material influence. Nevertheless, complaints about a biased approach were voiced even during this earlier simple exercise (Jump, 2013). Likewise, the development towards managing research more professionally is visible already at this early stage, as 'the authority of university management vis-à-vis its researchers increased' (Whitley et al., 2010: 55). Backed by this development, the UGC was replaced by the Universities Funding Council (UFC) in 1988, which conducted a more sophisticated RSE in 1989 with an especial focus on publication data, including relative output numbers and connections to full-time staff. This funding mechanism was already dominated by the focus on publications and publicly visible outputs, which were to be peer reviewed. Units were subsequently rated, so that this second RSE already shows considerable similarities to the next funding round, then termed RAE, and to the later established REF.

In between the first RAE in 1992 and 1989's RSE, however, an important development took place: the *1992 Further and Higher Education Act* ended the binary divide between universities and polytechnics.[15] This seemed to considerably increase competition for limited funds. It only did so formally, though. As Bence and Oppenheim show, depending on the 2,800 submissions from 192 institutions, 'older universities received 91% of available research funding, new universities 7% and colleges 2%' (2005: 146). This shows that the earlier voiced concerns over bias extended even beyond substantial reforms. From this point onwards, and even though this was initially conceived of as a mechanism for determining research funding in the context of cuts, the UK established for itself the basis of a performance-based research funding system (PRFS) which distributed funds on a competitive basis, until the present day's REF.

Today's REF between Symbolic and Material Reward

In its own words, today's REF 'is the UK's system for assessing the quality of research in UK higher education institutions' (REF, 2020a: n.p.). Its threefold purpose is to provide 'accountability for public investment', allow for a 'benchmarking' of the research conducted in the UK, and 'inform the selective allocation of funding' (REF, 2020b: n.p.). To fulfil such expectations, the funding bodies responsible for the REF conduct an extensive process of expert review of publication outputs and impact statements every four to six years. All potential fields of scholarly enquiry are divided into four main panels, in 2021 comprising of a total of 34 units of assessment; panel D is the relevant section for arts and humanities.

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[15] This is an important difference in comparison with Germany: such a binary divide still exists in Germany between *Universitäten* and *Fachhochschulen*. The latter do not offer humanities disciplines; the former polytechnics in the UK often do so today, but often less research-intensive than traditional universities. See in this respect also Mandler's clarification that the massification of education in the UK 'meant proportionately less STEM' (2020: 178).

In material terms, the REF is a mechanism of elite reproduction. Rather than distribution in effective terms—or even *re*distribution allowing for future potential—the REF seems to be just big enough to claim a position as a major funding mechanism and, all the while, small enough to concentrate on the historical elite and quickly fade out on a short tail of good, but not quite world-leading units. This concentration as reproduction of hierarchy is built into the exercise, just as 'over 50% of total QR funding [are] going to the top 10 universities' (Arnold et al., 2018: ii; see also: Dean, 2018). Much more than the management of performance, this is the management of Weberian social closure.

And yet—or because of this—the REF must be seen as a mechanism to distribute symbolic much more than material reward: it is 'prestige rather than financial incentives as the main mechanism through which PRFSs work' (Hicks, 2012: 258). It is in this sense that the REF is a ritual manifestation of governance principles often referred to as NPM. Indirect coercion through the allure of exoteric rhetoric is the means of manageability much more than it is direct management of esoteric discourse. This shift from material gains to symbolic reward needs to be put in perspective as it fundamentally alters the way the REF is to be seen: it enforces the paradigm of consumerist education and marketable excellence generally, not just for those materially rewarded. It is not a necessity to gain funding but to gain, in some form, a marketable label to be better in relative terms.

Naively put, this is a paradox: the REF does not aspire to significantly substantiate beyond the elite (by means of funding) and yet, it substantiates pervasively (the rhetoric of *the REF* is everywhere). This is the case because 'as a government-backed kitemark, a REF rating provides signals that are useful to universities from a marketing perspective' (Shackleton and Booth, 2015: 1). This—the marketing perspective in a consumerist appeal to education and scholarship—is the primary motivation for why universities and their departments or institutes care about the REF. It empowers universities to shift budgets towards performing better and advertising this performance, which requires managing recruitment and individual performativity in a way that allows for symbolic gains that can further enable potential for future recruitment and performativity. This indicates that it might rather not be a paradox but political intention. A former provost at UCL summarises this as he claims that a good REF outcome 'is a powerful way of enhancing reputation from which other benefits flow, such as recruitment of students and staff' (Lipsett, 2007: n.p.).

It is for this reason that the impact of the REF is experienced far beyond its material structures or direct influence. That is, even though it only recurs every few years, the efficient auditing of which it is a manifestation affects practices beyond the direct influence of the exercise in praxis. It is also for this reason that scholars see the impact of the REF actually in the—mythical reference to the—job market. Institutions mediate efficient auditing and principles of NPM in accordance with updates of the REF policy—they do not simply pass on the policy in their own guidelines of recruitment and promotions.

From Humboldt to the *Exzellenzinitiative*

I turn to Germany for comparison. The funding structures of German academia are quite different compared with those in the UK. One may claim that the humanities as an intellectual institution is the one academic resort in Germany that is the least touched by NPM. However, this is changing quickly. Today's humanities scholar in Germany is best characterised by a form of hybridity: she is rooted in an historical notion of humanities scholarship but, all the while, needs to conform to new governance principles.[16]

Since the Humboldtian university reform and the dominance of bourgeois educational elites, the German *Geisteswissenschaften* have been a resort of the *Gelehrter*—the learned burgher, the erudite, even highbrow, socially-sophisticated academic (Hamann, 2009: 42; Münch, 2007: 170, 2008: 166). Weber explicates this also as he renounces democratic access and refers to the *aristocracy of the mind* in German academia ([1917] 2015: 10). The Humboldtian ideal of real scholarship as an education that forms character in respect to national (Prussian) interests similarly needs to be remembered ([1810] 2017: 155). This ideal centred on the individual within a particular societal and cultural setting. It resulted from the construction of a scholar subject that dominated the intellectual elite in Germany as well as Continental Europe more generally. Where the UK's humanities have originally been stratified into elite and non-elite, Germany's *Geisteswissenschaften* are rooted in a homogeneity of scholarliness that defines itself through its traditional ideals. Historically, the ivory tower was coherently inhabited by all humanities scholars—with professorship—in Germany; they were the *Gelehrte* as the elite, unconcerned with practical matters and above the plebeian masses. In the UK, this was true only for a smaller circle within elite institutions alongside a heterogeneity of institutions serving more worldly ideals of education for private sector careers. Practices of communication embodied this ideal in their mode of circulating ideas among those involved. This resembles in some ways the

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[16] Reckwitz exemplifies hybridity in his sociology of culture as a matter of subjectification: different culture logics are superimposed on each other, making for an imbrication of potentially contradictory principles; they construct a canvas of instability and frictions which shape the developments of subjects. Earlier cultures or subject formations mark cultural differences—*constitutive outsides* in the terminology of Reckwitz (2020: 98)—which represent dismissed or foregone principles within itself from which, all the while, the modern subject still draws positively.

authorial professor, equipped with so-called cultural capital by her institution, as explicated by Bourdieu for the academic field in France (1988: 36).

The impinging impact of NPM and efficient auditing arrived only recently in Germany. Its bearing is felt only more harshly where its formal rationalistic terms increasingly tie practices to formal managerialism. In response, the ideal-type values of humanistic scholarship abate to exert power. Just as a hybridity suggests, logics of traditionalism persist for some practices while new governance changes practices only partially. There are more and more critics now who claim that NPM has already taken over the institution that the humanities in Germany once claimed. It enforces a thinning of ends as it replaces the Bourdieuian *Homo Academicus* with an *Homo Oeconomicus*. Output has to be *managed* today where contribution has been *judged* in previous times. In the language of Liessmann, this is the turning from knowing in terms of a humanistic ideal to the industrialisation of knowledge (2006: 39). The German humanities faculty is a mass institution today that is, nevertheless, still governed by the power of a few. Particularly within this power—in both discourse and professorial representation—traditionalisms remain.

The *Exzellenzinitiative* is a manifestation of this new hybridity; a new research governance in opposition to traditional scholarly power. It is at once similar to the REF and particularly German. Materially, the REF is also an elite funding mechanism. Other than the REF, however, the *Exzellenzinitiative* does not practice the management and symbolic reward of output generally. It mechanistically enforces Germany's goal to become an internationally more visible and esteemed base for research and scholarship. The result is similar to the REF in an international perspective: advertise the national position of excellence to attract students and scholar. But the means is different: the *Exzellenzinitiative* is much less connected to managed output.

The idea of the *Exzellenzinitiative* began with a paper on innovation strategy published by the German Social Democrats in 2004, which claimed Germany needed elite universities of international standing (Sondermann et al., 2008: 10). Despite criticism on the nature of elite-funding, it was rapidly taken up in political and public discourse and the idea developed into a full-fledged strategy to incentivise new monopoly structures within the traditional homogeneity of German universities (Münch, 2007: 47). The official strategy was released in 2005. Its method was initially connected to project funding. The institution-wide award was subsequently geared to the establishment of such funded projects. Universities applied in two competitive rounds for this distinct funding (580 applications in total with 85 funded projects/centres; Sondermann et al., 2008: 11). This was awarded on the basis of peer review—of projects, not of publications—with internationally renowned scholars.

Subsequently, nine universities were awarded the status of *Exzellenzuniversitäten*. 37 universities were funded in the first round but only 9 universities got the institutional award of the *Exzellenzuniversität* (and only 2.3% of the overall funding was awarded to universities in the former East Germany, meaning that concerns of biased approaches were raised in Germany, too; Pasternack, 2008: 20). This highlights the double-edged aim of this politics: the awarding procedure led to the establishment of a core elite as well as the break-up of the homogeneous university structure more broadly. The establishment of graduate schools—a highly-criticised institutional type very unlike the traditional German university—got broad uptake and universities prepared for future funding rounds of this kind beyond the target of the *Exzellenz*-status. Similar to the REF, though, the strong focus on research and excellence led to a decreasing focus on teaching and to processes of monopolisation of higher education resources by fewer institutions (Pasternack, 2008: 23), as well as to a material reorientation of institutions towards targets that arise from without scholarly practices (Münch, 2011: 18).

This political strategy breaks with the Humboldtian ideal of the German university and especially with the historical denotation of the German *Gelehrter*. It manifests new governance principles that aim to break with the—often praised—homogeneity of German universities by encouraging the construction of excellence. German universities are to be stratified into elite and non-elite as is the case in anglophone countries (Wohlrabe et al., 2019: 20). Such funding approaches have the clear objective of 'improving the international competitiveness' (Schroder et al., 2014: 224). Where the grounds of competition shift towards the construction of reputation external to discourse, the terms on which scholars are to compete likewise shift from scholarly substance to external management. The need to internationalise scholarly output to establish worldwide authorship visibility as a matter of excellence is a chimera in regard to scholarly substance; and it resembles principles of NPM *per se*. This outsources the notion of quality, taking it from the realms of discourse to those of governance which ushers in a logic of mistrust and where the means to determine productivity become an end on their own (Münch, 2011: 113), one that is irrespective of the actual development of scholarly discourse. However, its impact is much less concerned with the subjectification of the German scholar per se in the context of publishing practices. On the one hand, it seems to focus—for now—on the few institutions that actually intend to compete (only 41 universities officially applied in the latest round; 34 of those have been awarded the funding of 57 projects; DFG, 2018). On the other hand, the initiative is also much less focussed on publication histories of the individuals within an institution, and instead rewards future concepts of combined projects. This is probably a decisive difference in the context of the REF.

Nevertheless, its scholarly awkward marketing logic is the same. Based on the latest round (then renamed *Exzellenzstrategie*), there are 11 official *Exzellenzuniversitäten* in Germany, which will receive added funding of about €13 million each per year for seven years (Warnecke, 2019). The universities of Göttingen and Freiburg are not part of this circle, but they were *Exzellenzuniversitäten* in earlier rounds. These institutions are renowned for their scholarship and their long history of praised thinkers in the humanities. One may refer to them as excellent institutions, but you are not allowed to call them *Exzellenzuniversität* for now. The substance has to bow before the formal identification in this instance, too. I now turn to its manifestation in the context of publishing.

Being REFable: Individuals and the Pressure to Perform

The empirical situation of experienced pressure in relation to the official assessments becomes visible in my data, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Figures 45 and 46 show that there is only little impact being perceived by German scholars in this regard. However, impact reaches soaring rates in the UK, and it is predominantly negative. Even after 25 years in academia, half of all UK scholars in the humanities experience a negative impact. The rate of negative impact reaches nearly 80% among those experiencing high pressure to publish.

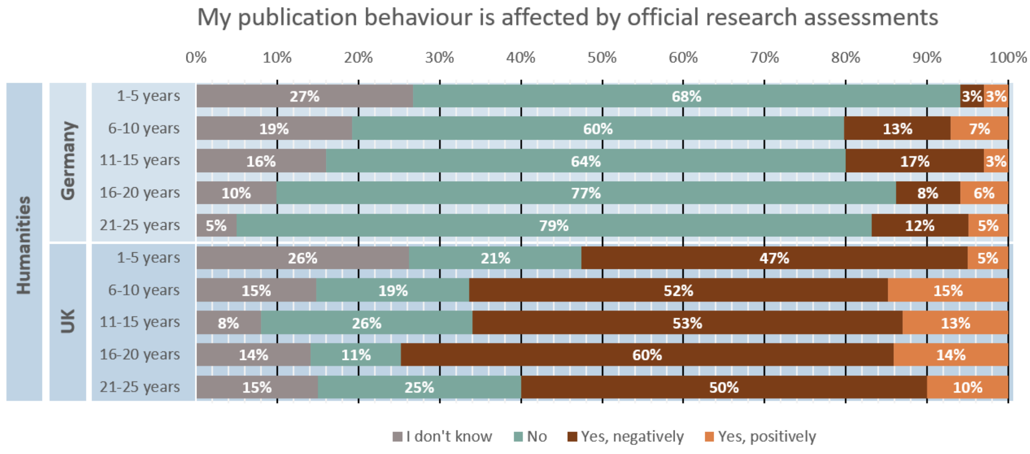

Figure 45: Publication behaviour affected by research assessments.

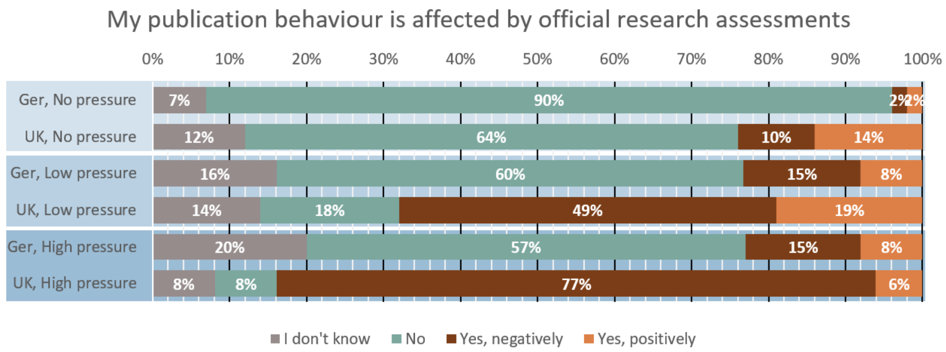

Figure 46: Publication behaviour affected by research assessments, in pressure clusters.

Moreover, scholars in the UK experience soaring levels of pressure to publish faster in relation to assessments. German scholars rather reject this form of pressure. This pressure is aggravated in the UK and reaches nearly 90% among those experiencing high pressure generally. Again, it remains high long into the career.

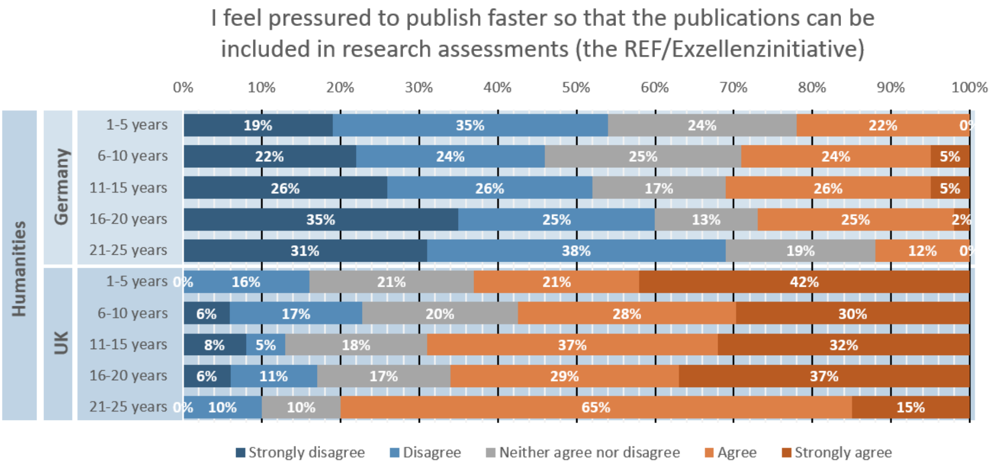

Figure 47: Pressure to publish faster in relation to research evaluations.

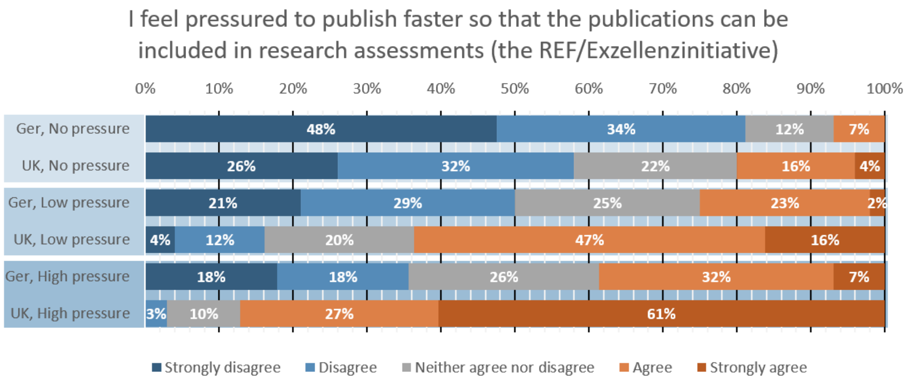

Figure 48: Pressure to publish faster in relation to research evaluations, in pressure clusters.

The strong connection to official assessments in the UK, the perceived temporal pressure, and its relation to quality all substantiate that authorship and publishing are practices through which a systemic pressure to perform is funnelled. The differences of distributions among early career scholars between the two countries reiterate the different competitive relations and its terms. The REF is dominantly connected to negative pressure in the UK. German scholars reject such a perceived impact of assessments on publishing. The relative impact, represented in pressure clusters, is instructive in terms of the distribution, especially in the UK. There is a near eightfold increase of a perceived connection between those who experience no pressure and those experiencing high pressure. This means that the negative impact of the REF on a scholar's publishing is experienced as being tremendously stronger if she indicates to experience publishing pressure generally—or that this general pressure really is an effect of the REF. The share of scholars indicating a positive connection more than halves between the two groups.

The dominance that official assessments have on publishing practices can be seen already in this quantitative information. The negative impact indicated here is a key explanation for the instrumentalization of publishing in the UK. Issues such as temporality and perceived quality help clarify the mode of its impact. Though a fraction of scholars seems to experience temporal pressure positively, the overwhelming number of scholars who confirm the prevalence of temporal pressure indicate a negative impact. The same is true in respect to quality; though there are some scholars who indicate perceived temporal pressure alongside less of an impact on the quality of their work, most scholars claim that this temporal pressure indeed leads to a suffering of the quality of their work.

Since a concern with publishing in regard to research assessments is much less of an issue in Germany, the connections with temporality and impact on quality also have to be read differently. It has to be borne in mind, most of all, that even among scholars who claim to experience a high amount of pressure to publish, merely one among six scholars claims research assessments play a negative role in this respect (while it is four out of five scholars in the UK). This difference to the UK is also visible in detail where the issue of temporality and perceived quality has the opposite appearance in Germany. Only few scholars claim that they perceive a pressure to publish earlier in order to have their publications included in research assessments. All the while, many more scholars perceive a temporal pressure generally, which they see as having an impact on the quality of their publications.

It needs to be inferred, therefore, that temporality does have an impact in Germany, but it is much smaller than in the UK. Most of all, it is not connected to a recurring assessment procedure but to the need to perform on formal output early in a career (as especially the more tenure-track path of the *Juniorprofessor* demands). Thus, the *Exzellenzinitiative*, unlike the REF, cannot be seen as a material source of pressure, even though pressures are abstractly funnelled by that which is often called *the job market*.

These data can be contextualised with insights from the qualitative interviews. Positive voices were scarce during my interviews, aligning with the impression provided by the quantitative data. If something positive is remarked about the REF, it is the assumption that the REF at least tries to be a scholarly endeavour since it builds on a form of peer review. There seems to be a sense of scholarly accountability in that scholars are mutually respectful while reviewing each other's work since, in the end, they are all in the same boat. Another beneficial effect of the REF is said to be the way it can push senior colleagues to publish who would otherwise not publish (though they may be teaching, nevertheless).

Other than that, voices are frustrated or even angry. The REF is positioned as the powerful mechanism shaping publishing pressures. It does so in different ways. While the negotiating of quantity and quality (as discussed in chapter three) is an issue rather for early career scholars, scholars more experienced in their career need to balance quality much more with temporality. Quantity is a key issue for strategizing publishing to appear performatively well-positioned early on. The production of high amounts of output is the way out of the precariat in both Germany and the UK. The strategizing of publications does not end after these early career stages in the UK, though. The scholar has to remain REF*able*.

Even senior academics put the REF forward as a primary reason to publish and to do so today, rather than tomorrow, or to produce another article than to focus on a monograph (though this is less the case at elite institutions). This also encompasses practical concerns: contributions to edited collections are not worth as much for the institutional career, and some publishers take years to publish such a volume. Even though the REF does not suggest a genre formally, it practically does so.

Discourse is, thus, shaped by comprising of *REFable* output. This output is not driven from within discourse, despite claims that the REF is by some regarded as a scholarly exercise (because of its peer review). Scholars exemplify in diverse ways how authorship is alienated or how guidelines and rhetoric push a sense of conformism. And the alienation is experienced even more broadly, as a senior philologist explained to me: 'there is such hostility and there is so much authority vested in the REF- it gives a license to bully academics who do not follow the rules- who don't go along with the crowd'.

Scholars experience pressure to conform to institutional guidelines or the everyday discourse about performance. For some scholars—especially senior scholars with permanent positions or those who have a strong record of, or current ability to, develop scholarship—this pressure may mean choosing one publisher instead of another for a monograph because of its time to publication. It may also mean, simply, to finally finish an article, a positive encouragement to finish work that is likely to be of solid quality. Seniors and the high achievers, so to say, are more or less pressured in regard to the ways they publish. This is different for the (yet) less secure or less well positioned scholars.

The differential impact of the REF showcases how wider principles are at play, rather than a direct, material coercion of the REF. Individual scholars often do not know explicitly about the official policy. They rather know (bits of) the requirements put forward by their departments, or indeed only floor chatter. In this sense, the rhetoric is all about the

REF, but it is more the mythical invisible hand of *the job market* that has taken over the principles of the REF. It is, in the end, an individual's desire to stay in the career or get promotion that reinforces the seemingly rationalistic solution in praxis. It is an issue many scholars constantly have in mind, especially as mock exercises make the looming task repeatedly more obvious.

For the same reason, the impact of quantity is still there although it is an historical relict. Quantity is bounded in today's REF. Earlier in the RAE, however, it was a mode of *the more the better*. As senior scholars explained, this management of quantity continues as a residue in the minds of research managers and, as some scholars said, also in the minds of young scholars. This feeds into the narrative of *publish or perish*. This historical impact of the REF connects to the discussion of intellectual development and *unplugging* from the discourse on *publish or perish* above. Because of this—partly peer-induced—pressure, scholars publish too quickly or too early. However, looking at the intense competition on the early career job market and its seemingly borderless expanse, it indeed seems a risk to appear intellectually highly developed but non-performative in terms of authorship; it is a risk to develop your philosophy if it does not result in publications fitting into existing discourses.

Moreover, since REF guidelines—the way official requirements translate into individual demands—vary by institution, the immediate pressure also varies; this variation is also abstractly attributed to the notion of the job market. An experienced philosopher summarised this as: 'at the moment the immediate pressure is coming from the universities themselves more than directly through the REF'. Correspondingly, scholars from high impact institutions are often allowed more freedom. Institutional or departmental guidelines are less strict at these institutions as the scholars are trusted to produce valuable publications in time; it is a trust building on the social closure already in place at the initial granting of positions. Non-high impact institutions gear their scholarly employees towards stricter guidelines, even using the REF as an urge to publish.

The REF is, in this sense, reinforcing a social closure among individual, young scholars. If your intellectual ability allows you to get a job at an elite institution, you experience less of the pressure of formal output and you can focus on your intellectual development which sets the grounds for the future few but high-quality publications. It is likely, therefore, that competing on formal output is even less of a concern for scholars at renowned institutions, whose futures are already less uncertain because of their potentially stronger networks and reputable institutional names. In this sense of social closure, ‘PRFSs encourage excellence at the expense of equity’ (Hicks, 2012: 259). A mechanism that is supposed to feature a few as a form of fostering and promoting an elite affects the whole negatively.

The result of this exercise is similar to making sure only the cream of a cake is visible, while the rest of the cake—indeed whole other cakes—stay invisible. This cream, termed excellence, comes about in labelled statements, representing scholarship that is of ‘[q]uality that is world-leading in terms of originality, significance and rigour’ (REF, 2014: 60). While this may sound like an exercise that honours merit above all else, this applied insinuation of meritocracy is an illusion—just as the idea of meritocracy ever was. This illusion suggests that the REF is an exercise about the effective (re)distribution of funds based on historical performance. Primarily, however, the REF is about reputation. Performance is constructed to be most representative in terms of reputation within the existing stratification of universities who achieve the most performative output. As research management at less visible institutions aims to achieve some form of performative visibility, too, scholars there have to rush to produce more and more output. With a high amount of output, the reasoning might be, the chances of high impact are higher.

This pressure—ascribed to the REF but translated to practice by research management—on developing and mid-level scholars is one about the construction of a scholarly-artificial value much more than it is about creating a meaningful scholarly identity. Those two can coincide, of course. But the rhetoric and hiring practices suggest the development of identity increasingly matters less. This is what Collini refers to as he writes that because of mere bibliographic measurement, younger scholars will be discouraged from conducting major projects that do not lead to continuous output but that are, if completed, 'worth far more than a whole CVful of slight articles and premature "syntheses"' (2012: 127). Such mechanisms can have a devastating impact on the development and meaning of identity or notions of scholarly meaningfulness. Scholarly work needs to be valuable in marketable term to the institution today. In the wake of this governance, the '"successful", authentic academic identities are rendered insecure, temporary and risky within regimes of performativity' (Archer, 2008: 392). Intellectual authenticity and identity are only desirable by institutions as long as they do not prohibit constant output as measurable performance.

REFable is, therefore, a euphemism for performance that is primarily formally measurable. And these shifts are expanding to senior scholars where 'staff perceived as underperforming on research would be moved to teaching contracts' (Baker, 2020a; see also: Baker, 2020b). Moreover, universities increased early retirement inducements resulting from a strategy 'seen by some as a sign of institutions shedding academics who they perceived to be underperforming' on the way towards the next REF (Grove, 2020). Beware: your world-leading performance will only be remembered until the next REF cycle.

The Management of Internationalisation and Impact

Talking to scholars about publishing in relation to the REF during my interviews has a very mechanistic, instrumental appeal. The focus seems to be all about output. The sense of alienation is evident throughout the conversations. The REF contributes to the distancing of scholar and text. A summary of it, as stated before, is: the REF does not review past discourse as it was shaped from within—discourse is shaped from without to be reviewed by a future REF.

The sphere referred to as *the job market* is the discursive sphere in which requirements and experiences are negotiated, manifesting rhetoric, and exhibiting the governance principles that suggest formal output is more valuable than the underlying scholarship. The material manifestation is only one instance that merges with rhetoric and manifold guises of discourse to emerge in the form it is experienced. As several interviewees explicated, you could do away with the REF today and not much would change in praxis. The REF's principle go far beyond its material guidelines as these are embodied by the way scholarly work is being valued and rewarded today. It suggests the meaning of scholarly labour is perceived not in intrinsic substance of scholarly discourse but as instrumental means. In this respect, the REF is a *good* way to increase a nation's visibility and reputation in terms of excellence and contributing to supranational elites—*good* as in: instrumentally effective. This, however, is not necessarily based on—and certainly does not improve—scholarly merit in its intrinsic sense. It is essential to point out explicitly that this rhetoric and the distribution of labels of excellence do not pertain to scholarly communities. The notion of the job market exhibits the different guises this can have—in the mode of negotiating quantity or quality, temporality or genre, institutional guideline or informal chatter. Output is the target to which scholarship has to conform.

Impact case studies further exhibit the focus on output enforced by the REF. Impact is defined 'as an effect on, change or benefit to the economy, society, culture, public policy or services, health, the environment or quality of life, beyond academia' (REF, 2019: 90). Though this can be specified in more detail for relevant areas, the fact remains that there is an underlying assumption of instrumentalism. They 'signal the continuing neoliberalisation of higher education' as well as the 'commodification of seemingly every facet of academic life' (Watermeyer and Hedgecoe, 2016: 663). It builds upon a systemic neglect of the consideration and judgement of whether and how impact is desirable in the humanities. The idea seems to be that scholarship that is innovative and efficiently externalised is more beneficial than anything else—any other form of advancement of discourse and any other form of voice. It is a neglect of the way scholarship impacts on people—students, avid readers, fellow scholars—which partake in practices of society and, thus, turn esoteric discourse by means of their personality and identity into culturally-desirable, principled human conduct without manipulative detour. Efficiently externalised means that teaching is inferior to narrated cases of external impact. For sure, teaching *can* be submitted for the REF. But it requires 'corroborating evidence for impact case studies' (REF, 2019: 13), such that teaching needs to be put in an eventful, narrative context where mere notions of learning or debating do not suffice. Dialogue is a distraction.

If we consider Germany, the impact is divided. As discussed, publishing is not as much affected by such procedures as it is the case in the UK. Nevertheless, academia is caught in a hybridity of traditionalism and progress—in the being of the *Gelehrte* and the governance of NPM. Formal proceduralism persists from earlier times next to a new governmentality so that publishing practices are bound to both historically grown principles and new progressive terms of excellence and internationality. This results subtler, semantically contradictory, but nonetheless systemic forms of an instrumentalization of publishing. Firstly, there is a race to catch up in Germany, a desire to be legitimated in an international *market of scholarly ideas*. To fit this market's terms, publishing practices of German scholars have to adapt to an international context. While the German *Exzellenzinitiative* has almost no direct impact on authorship and publishing, it exemplifies rationalistic governance principles where excellence and efficiency are guiding terms without consideration of a local specificity of humanities scholarship. Secondly, formal authorship is a tool of bureaucratic accountability. To publish, in this sense, means to legitimate and fulfil requirements of funding. A conference is not finished without the publication of a *Sammelband*. In turn, discourses become crowded by unread accounts of conferences or, on terms of similar traditionalist logics, with qualifying scriptures such as PhD theses.

The matter of enforced internationalisation is particularly pertinent. Publishing practices become geared towards internationality as the publications are mediated by a governance that favours international output above regional specificity, irrespective of discourse. This insinuates a formalism where, indeed, internationality gains a symbolic value that can be measured without qualitative judgement of content. Remember here the data provided above about the use of secondary language in German humanities scholarship: English or a mix of English and German dominate. German scholars see in this a potentially disastrous tendency for their scholarship. Internationality is not global inclusivity and neither specific to discourse.[17] The drive towards English cannot be justified by means of reception or content. As Stekeler-Weithofer states, actual internationalisation becomes manifest through the *reception* of a *diversity* of languages, instead of through mere *publishing* of *English* as is currently evident (2009: 36), a statement that reiterates the

[17] This *Westernisation* results in epistemic injustices as the debate about global OA shows (Knöchelmann, 2021b).

humanistic ideal. Boehm repeats this very ideal for art history and bemoans the discipline's canonisation as anglophone discourse (2009: 62). It is manifest even in obituaries that '"internationality" is a more pressing imperative for academics in Germany than the US' (Hamann and Zimmer, 2017: 1427). Jehne reiterates the ideal for the discipline of history in Germany where the reception of different languages is still common, while the publishing practices, ideally, also tie language with topic focus of scholarship. And yet, he recounts the telling story (Jehne, 2009: 60) that a funding body initiated the introduction of a rating but had to realise that the parameter *internationalisation* (in terms of a diversity of languages and geographies) would lead to the exclusion of most of the esteemed American journals—they often require English only. This made the impasse obvious that desired esteem not necessarily connects with the scholarly ideals rooted in diversity or regional specificity.

If the increase of citation rates, collaboration, and mobility of scholars are considered good measures of success, then internationality may indeed be a precondition of success of national academic fields (Aufderheide and Neizert, 2016). But are citation rates, crude collaboration, and mobility of scholars good measures in the humanities? Tools to increase productivity and internationalisation claim to foster collaboration and invite international scholars into a nation's academic institutions. This appears to be a favourable endeavour. And yet, an indifference to intrinsic purposes of scholarship may mean a focus on such an endeavour without acknowledging the societal and cultural role the—to be internationalised—scholarship has regionally. In other words, what is cut off by enforcing international scholarship in every project? What remains if more and more contributions to discourse are forced to be contributions to a regionally-unspecific discourse? Will this enforce, in one of my interviewee's terms, a *dereliction of language-specific discourse*—an abandonment of the humanistic ideal of culture and languages co-existing in the humanities?

Besides forced internationalisation, publishing practices are marked by a mode of formal proceduralism in Germany. Many publications seem to exist as archives instead of as communicative means as they are reformulations of conference material. The result is the release of published artefacts that pile up on library shelves without readership—those interested in the reception have usually already received the message during the respective projects or meetings. In the critical terminology of Münch, these masses of artefacts contribute little to discourse and cause a feeling of *over-satiation* among scholarly communities (2008: 176). Such *over-satiation* is well documented in my interviews as well. Likewise legible in my interviews, and as Münch also asserts, submissions to the *Sammelbände* are often half-baked (Münch, 2011: 160; see also: Fohrmann, 2009; Jehne, 2009). They have been discussed already at conferences and no one expects them to be read. Authorship is considered to be a means of accountability here. This reiterates the principle of formal output, though it is not for the sake of providing evidence for new information, but for formally fulfilling the requirements of funding.

Such mechanisms provide insights into the constitution of publishing practices in Germany and how they differ from the UK. It shows that it is much less institutional pressure in the form of performative output of something new that affects publishing, but traditional logics *next to* demands of a new governance. All the while, actualisations of NPM evoke a conflict with the traditional, deemed quasi-feudal hierarchies of the German *Lehrstühle* (professorial chairs) within German universities. It is because of this combination—tenured professors maintaining reputation and position, formal rationalistic terms of competition among the *Mittelbau*—that lead to the empirical situation that young scholars bear pressure induced by new governance while senior, tenured professors experience almost none. It is also for this reason that a proposed solution to the devastating employment situation in Germany is to replace the *Lehrstuhl* with a departmental structure that resembles that in the UK (Specht et al., 2017). This would spoil the eminence of the German professorship and put more power into the hands of the exploited *Mittelbau*. It is questionable, however, whether this would also usher in more demands of output (as is already visible with the *Juniorprofessor* throughout the data above). The strengthening of the individual in such new departmental structures would, therefore, have to go hand in hand with a different recognition and reward of scholarly work. Changing the career setting is one aspect; changing the way scholarly work is respected is another.

Looking more abstractly at assessment exercises, their peculiarity is that they are 'perverting a procedure […] which is inherent in modern science and scholarship anyway' (Liessmann, 2006: 100; translation by the author). Most of what the humanities originally have is discourse. It comes about in the form of oral dialogue or published artefacts in which scholars take on each other's work recursively. Evaluation constantly takes place *within* both these means in the form of engagement with and judgement of content. The very basis for the symbolic value of contributions and venues comes about via the discursive approval and appreciation *within* discourse. The social objectification that enables symbolic reward of venues is possible in the first place only as scholars interact with content from a venue's programme (even though this may be a historical relict). In other words, the value of scholarly work is most visible in the recursive structure of dialogue.

National politics of research management hardly take note of this. This is the primary mark of alienation resulting from them. The REF and the *Exzellenzinitiative* meet in their proposition to manage scholarship so that it fulfils a certain function. Principles of marketable impact, internationalisation, and measurable output are manifest in both countries. And yet, while the REF does so by means of publication output, Germany does so by means of future project proposals (that are partly tied to output). Thus, looking at the

REF helps understanding publishing practices much more than looking at the *Exzellenzinitiative*. The REF marks an elongation of the principles articulated by *publish or perish* such that the scholar has to legitimate her productivity through formal authorship. In Germany, the impact is more differentiated: the imperative to internationalise effects a change of the ways to engage in discourse—even the question of which discourse to contribute to in the first place. The proceduralism of accountability, instead, can much less be understood in terms of individual pressure in relation to subsistence. It is a systemic mobilisation that slowly clogs the pipelines of reasonable communicative practice. In both cases, nonetheless, an enforcement of an alienated condition becomes manifest, legitimated by governance.

All this is reminiscent of the *Thatcherite nationalism* that already Readings lamented (1999: chapter 3; see also: Harvie, 2000: 109). It is a raising of awareness for a nationalist sense of performance irrespective of the cultural specifics of that region, its society and (sub-)cultures, so that consumers of *world-leading* education and scholarship find their ways to the excellence of the UK's institutions. Such *Thatcherite Nationalism* becomes likewise visible in Germany—except that the denotation *Thatcherite* seems defective. Short governmental cycles may provide the keywords, but they are usually only name-giving references to larger political trends that they exemplify. In the case of excellence and internationalisation as mechanisms aiming to improve a nation's standing, *Thatcherite*, thus, is a denotation only to the drivers of neoliberalism and its governmentality that are actualised in almost all institutions of society.

5. Publishing as Production and the Meaning of Authorship

What exactly is the point of publishing? After having discussed the empirical reality of authorship and publishing in the three preceding chapters, can a comprehensive answer to this question be spelled out? I aim to do so in this last chapter. This will be both a conclusion to the data and the interviews and an abstraction from it in order to reach a more general understanding of the recognition of scholarly work in today's humanities departments.

This also connects the discussion of authorship and publishing with wider issues of the humanities, particularly the debate of their—assumed, suggested, or projected—normative purpose. Calls of a crisis of the humanities are ongoing alongside chases for potential solutions (Belfiore, 2013; Drees, 2021; Fish, 2008; Kagan, 2009; Marquard, 2020a; Small, 2013). To be sure, this book is by no means an answer to this debate. And yet, the identification of the self-referential practice that authorship and publishing have become very well provides an argument for it. Its claim is to seek a different recognition of the work of scholars that, in turn, allows for new ways—or the strengthening of old ways—of integrating and positioning scholarship within society.

I first conclude the discussion of authorship and publishing with two shorter sections on the constitution of publishing and the resultant meaning of authorship. I then turn to the concept of the distancing of scholar and text which aids understanding of the self-referentiality of publishing.

The Constitution of Publishing

A conclusion of the preceding chapters—and of my conversations with scholars in the humanities in particular—is that individual intellectual development and the difficult dialogical engagement with others are subordinate to the production of output. Appearing productive on time and being measurably visible are key for making a career as a scholar; scholarship has to accommodate to the production of output. Intellectual development and dialogue cannot be counted, measured in terms of easy heuristics, or marketed in a global race to excellence. It is in this sense to be understood that publishing and authorship are geared more towards formal criteria of *marketable output* than to *contributing to discourse*.

This is already visible on an individual level in the semantics of answers to the question about motives to publish. The scholars I interviewed claim they are paid to publish, publishing is demanded for their career, required to be visible, or to get the next grant. Publishing practices are ways to negotiate and adapt to managerial formal requirements. The wish to communicate scholarship often appears only as a secondary, somewhat implicit reason. This hierarchy—first production of output, second engagement with discourse—is the summary of a systemic alienated condition in the sense of a distancing of scholar and text, a distancing of scholarship and the communicative purpose of textual resources. The result are scholars with CVs full of publications but no resources to engage with teaching purposes or the masses of publications out there, and masses of publications that neither receive the due attention of an audience, nor the focus and care of a writer. These masses are the majority; its race to become visible only strengthens the heuristics that visibilize the elite.

This is not to say that scholars universally do not engage purposefully with discourse. They still tend to be rooted in an intrinsic desire of knowing and sharing knowledge. Likewise, the accumulation of reward accounted for in text as output or in the reputation of venues is bounded by the reception of text. As long as the reception of text—its substance in discourse—does play a crucial role in the humanities, heuristics only work up to a degree. And as all interviewees agreed, at a certain stage in the process of awarding a grant or promotion, some pieces of text are being read. In other words, reception still matters. It does so less and less, though. The terms for being able to become a scholar or for remaining in a paid position to furthering knowledge depend more and more on an efficiency that the awareness to text in individual reception cannot provide. This efficiency is the established praxis of a particular mode of governance. Its principle is that formal evidence of output is the existentialist precondition of being a scholar.

The result is not only a burden—an experienced pressure—on the individual. It affects scholarly collectives as well as society. The advancement of knowing and understanding of what it means to be human is funnelled through formal output regimes. Understanding, cultural meaning-making, and hermeneutical competences appear in the form of pieces of information. Other forms of evidence of intellectual pursuits—of scholarly labour—decrease in value. Teaching or informal communication are side-lined by the publication as output that results in formal authorship. Deliberation and dialogue—the foundations of humanistic scholarly endeavour—are degraded to minor tasks. They are not marketable in official assessments as their elusiveness misses the definite form that comes with authorship and the concreteness of a product. Text in the manifestation of produced output can yield the mystical added value of an efficiently comparable product better than any other form of scholarship.

The *publication as output* is a belief in the righteousness of some forms of publications and their heuristics above others as well as in the position of *published research* above all else. It is a belief enforced by research management much more than by scholars themselves. Publishing practices, in this sense, centre on the transformation of text into the *publication as output*. It is the practice of making thought—its elusiveness, complexity, and specificity—comparable and generalisable. It means making it an equivalent next to others in the form of a product that steps out of the complexity and specificity of discourse. Text becomes manageable in its relation to others of the same output class.

The Formal Form of Authorship

This mode of recognition of scholarly work adds ambiguity to the already ambivalent term *author*. The dualistic appreciation of the author—the one that readers evoke in discourse and the individual who writes—is side-lined by formal authorship. This is the authorship accounted for on the CV.

Among many other things, authorship can be understood as a function in discourse in a Foucauldian sense (Foucault, 1979); it can be a community-constructed social reference (Ramdarshan Bold, 2018); it may denote being 'entitled to some portion of the credit for writing the manuscript' (Borenstein and Shamoo, 2015: 268); it may be a point of reference in the construction of corpora of knowledge (Hyland, 1999); it can be a reference in a politicised linearity of names with indifference to contributions as is common in the *team sciences* (Falk-Krzesinski et al., 2011) of scientific disciplines (this politicisation and questionable contribution is exemplified by the discussion of what constitutes authorship in the sciences; see: Franck, 1999; Hundley et al., 2013; Siegel, 2008). In the sciences, the author might be regarded as a story-teller constructing the story of nature (Knöchelmann and Schendzielorz, 2023). Authorship can represent the complexity of writing practices and may simply be the name of a person on a publication, being a material denotation in terms of copyright, inventorship, or ideational ownership.

All these relations—clustered in regard to discourse and social subject—need to be borne in debates about authorship. Authorship ambivalence and its reflexive effect cannot be cut out to favour either side of it; they are mutually dependent. Authorship denotes the complex of references of both intellectual contribution to its contributor *and* of material publication to individual. The former refers to discourse or content, and a communicative intent or implication of text in reception; the latter refers to the social interrelation since it implies the material, political, and non-textual symbolic motives. The author of text contributes to discourse, advances it by differentiation, and gains symbolic meaning as an intellectual position; the author also identifies with an individual who gains material reward. This ambivalence continues into the minutiae of writing and referencing text. In all these relations, the modes of authorship are interdependent.

Formal authorship cuts through these layers and their interdependency. It stands outside of discourse—it precedes it. Nevertheless, it is this form of authorship that fares as a key resource in the recognition and governance of scholarly work. The pervasive focus on output production is a reduction of the layered complex of discursive author and writer. Text no longer primarily communicates; it is a product that refers to its producer, to be located within a peer-reviewed venue. Reward depends on this reduction; its required efficiency cannot deal with the complexity of text in dialogue.

This authorship is a formality—a formal reference in a list of publications—but it is this that opens doors to careers and grants. It is the material focal point of the way scholarship is being managed. Writing and developing ideas—even sharing them in dialogue with others—is one thing. Having a formal and standardised reference to them is another. The difference of being an author of text and formal authorship is this: you have a hard time getting a job with a couple of manuscripts only, but you stand a chance applying with a proper personal list of publications that formally evidence the production of new information and *REFability*.

That which is accounted for formally can easily be categorised, sorted into abstract classes and, thereby, appears to become meaningful in comparison. This is confronted with that which is elusive, non-formal, characterizable only by complexity and specificity. This is much less efficiently comparable. It remains—beyond the linearity of its material representation—dependent and contingent on the competence of the receiver. It does not have a surface that can be used for efficient measurement; it always remains ambiguous, chaotic, and idiosyncratic. The ephemeral character of thought and knowing can be fixed materially in text. But this substance requires qualitative engagement, the dialogical opening towards meaning irrespective of materiality; oral, written, and residual text merge in this engagement. The publication establishing formal authorship, accumulated on personal CVs, or re-packaged as potential for institutional (mock-)REF stars, can be measured efficiently. It transforms substance into formal significant. The development of formal rationality in modernity can be conceived of as a development of a dependency on such formal forms. It means making the incomparable comparable—of reducing everything to equivalence—and claiming its formal originality. The formal form allows for a reduction of abundancy by providing a means for efficient external calculability where there is mostly complexity and chaos internal to scholarship.

Formal authorship signposts: I am knowledgeable, productive, and visible. I can compete in the 'permanent competition *for* visibility' (Krüger and Hesselmann, 2020: 157; emphasis in original; translation by the author). Its focus shows a turning point from being visible in order to exhibit ideas, to deploying ideas in order to becoming visible. Above all, this visibility is signified by the venue. No-one knows who has read text in evaluations, even for purposes of peer review; bibliometric accounts are, at the least, ambiguous in the humanities. Nevertheless, the high-ranking journal makes acceptable claims of visibility; it needs to do so since visibility depends on heuristics. And these heuristics make established venues the scaffolding of the establishment.

There are many new media in scholarly communication—new transformative technological environments—that potentially allow (aspiring) scholars to disseminate their ideas and arguments. These media have enabled new ways scholars *can* approach scholarship: it is easier to share initial ideas, to try provocative arguments, or to test the coherence of conceptions as they are shared informally via, for instance, blogs, social media, or preprint repositories. Scholars can make use of all sorts of digital tools that help them with what have formerly been core publishing activities such as writing, formatting, or disseminating work. These technologies have influenced practices in their own right; they enabled new practices. But they did not change the governance of scholarly work substantially; they did not open them up. Instead, the governance of individual scholarly work depends on the need to produce and put forward evidence of production in formal means of authorship more than ever. It is a sense of technological determinism to suggest that new technologies alone suffice to change this. Much rather, it is irrespective—or within some communities even because—of a new technology that the notion of output dominates. In other words: however worthwhile technology may be in a particular environment, conjuring up a utopia on technology compares to suggesting the wind turbine alone will stop climate change. It will not do; governance and culture shape the use of technology and not vice versa.

This focus on technology can even go so far as to question the endeavour of the humanities generally. Adema exemplifies this in the technological utopia of a post-humanities, which is instructive for understanding the importance of our grasp of authorship. Common ownership, collaboration, and de-commodification are not mere means to achieve a liberation of the humanities from the powers of capitalist principles in a post-humanities critique. The means are used to liberate materiality itself. Technology shall enable new thinking through reenvisaged, digital spaces so that the material becomes alive.

A performative author is constructed, a role that blurs the line of author and reader as all individuals are to engage openly in a mode of co-creation (Adema, 2021: 85–119). This seems worthwhile for the creation of art; its mode of sampling is widely employed. Moreover, it seems only justified to challenge the notion of the author as original inventor, as Adema does. Every author is embedded in intertextual references irrespective of this necessarily being materially inscribed; this is part of the ambivalence of authorship. But abolishing the author as a producer of text ushers in a highly individualistic agenda that inhibits intertextual reference and the engagement in dialogue in the first place. Communities dissolve if the author who is responsible for her utterances disappears within a cloud of unidentifiable voices. It fuels the individualism of production as it suggests technology needs to be put in place so that everyone can talk. But a fundamental problem of our scholarship is that content misses readers—those who engage with the complexity of the other *without* the constant desire to immediately imprint their own voices. The 'authorial output' that Adema identifies as problematic (2021: 71), is suggested to be problematic as it is an *authorial* voice. This dismisses that communities require authorial voices.

Authorship has gained its disproportionate momentum in the humanities as it is reduced to output, not as it is bounded by technology or by identifying as an *authorial* voice. Rather than trying to liberate technology, what is to be liberated is the interrelation of author and reader, the intertextuality that arises within the engagement of authors who contribute to an audience, and an audience that engages with an individual voice. Such a liberation would demand diminishing the overburdening of communication with other purposes. It would require avoiding recognising and rewarding formal output, and to appreciating scholarship again—in the diversity of forms and contents it serves the advancement of knowing and understanding.

The formal author is like an aura that suppresses the speaking of the authorial voice and disguises appreciating the author in dialogue. With reference to Benjamin ([1935] 2010: 15), formal authorship evokes an appearance of equivalent nearness, however distant the content may be. This appearance diminishes the communicative complexity and qualitative contextuality of text. In the dialectical fashion of an aura, it carves out the content from its discursive context and intertextual references and, all the while, evokes its value from being placed within this tradition. This appearance suggests that the work can be reduced from complex ritual of scholarship to abstract comparison of its signification of new information.

The *job market* demands the operationalisation of this appearance. By so doing, it produces both the seductions and pressures of a single market. It turns the recursion of dialogue into a self-referential dependency: output is produced so that output can be produced. The dialogical interrelation of the scholarship that precedes output—the dialogue that, at best, reaches society—stands in the shadow of this self-referential dependency. It creates the distance between scholar subject and an intrinsic communicative purpose of text.

Self-Referentiality: The Distancing of Scholar and Text

The distancing of scholar and text is an alienated condition. The pressure determined in this book is an everyday idiom of alienation. Such pressure can be understood as an affect in practices that demands engagement that is perceived as not connecting to the substantive purposes of that practice. This often-slippery concept can be found throughout interpretations of modernity. May it be in grim practices of the individual who becomes 'dominated by the making of money' (Weber, 2001: 18), in the calculating, individuality erasing objectification of practices in the metropolis (Simmel, [1903] 2008), or, foremost, in the writings of Marx and Heidegger. Jaeggi overcomes these earlier conceptions by providing the social theoretical toolbox to comprehend what alienation may mean today. In short, it 'describes relations that are not entered into for their own sake, as well as activities with which one cannot "identify"' (Jaeggi, 2014: 4). This illuminates the disturbed relation of a subject to its practice: by doing something, the subject seems to be estranged from the purpose of so doing. Such relations are *mute* (Rosa, 2019: 305): they have lost purpose and the individual even becomes apathetic towards them irrespective of the result of action (such as economic benefit or social recognition). The frantic dash for ever more publications to compete on formal authorship shows the very characteristics described in these social theoretical accounts.

We can find the 'academic who publishes solely with a view towards the citation index' (Jaeggi, 2014: 4) as a phenomenon of alienation. Vostal also touches upon principles of alienation at several instances throughout his work on the experience of time and work in academia (2016). Harvie refers to the researcher who is alienated from the products of her labour, the actual scholarship, since all that matters is produced output (2000: 113). And the sense of alienation is implied as the REF is said to lead to a 'compartmentalising of research into certain kinds of publication outputs, and an unhealthy climate of competition' (UCU, 2013: 45).

By instrumentalising publishing, negotiating quantity with quality, and steering scholarship so that it fits the demand of the job market instead of discourse, scholars reproduce the practices that lead to a *relation of relationlessness* (Jaeggi, 2014: 25). These practices are ingrained in a teleology of instrumental ends. The iron cage of formal rational terms seems difficult to escape. The road to engage in discourse is paved by rationalisation so that the will to publish as a non-strategic, communicative means cannot simply be actualised. Any aspiring scholar has to gain the advantage of a secure position for which she is required to publish in the first place. She needs to utilise venues to make herself visible and she needs to prove herself valuable for institutional positions by *having* output. Certainly, all of this does not work without an argument about history, a philosophical idea, a philological concept, or elsewise constituted substance; but such substance and the way they are borne by discourse do not suffice. The scholar has to feed formalised text into a great machine to prove that she *is there*, and to provide evidence that she *is competent in* the provision of something new.

Alienation matters as it indicates the futility of the practices—the futility of this feeding of a machine that is, most of all, self-referential. The principles embodied by publishing practices are shaped by an ideology of constant increase that is the operating mode of modernity. Underlying this is a notion of the appropriation of world by means of scientific-analytical progress (Rosa, 2019: 682). Such progress builds on the provision of instances of information. To explain a natural or social phenomenon in numbers and analytic abstraction results a definite statement. It can be represented in text in the abstraction of methods and results. The more explanations being produced, the more statements may—though not necessarily do—follow. Weber explicated that this principle was inert to research already a century ago ([1917] 2015: 16). The shift is that the humanities now have to conform to this principle, too, and that the practices of publishing encompass this logic fundamentally.

The humanities do not operate such mode of scientific progress, though. The ideas and arguments of earlier times are not historical relicts that are to be archived in the light of new information. Every new instance is not seen as being worth more than engagement with available content. Effectively-shared research information does not side-line teaching. By the recursive structure of their discourses, the humanities exist through their histories.

They advance by differentiation, by relating in dialogue to each other. Text, therefore, is relevant not as an instance of information that claims a truth here and now, until progress allows to move on. Text has substantial meaning within a tradition of this differentiation.

Understanding is elusive as it is a competence, not an instance of information. Truth is not revealed as things to have; ideas are not mere take-aways. Text in the humanities does not state a result; it reflects the process of understanding. It is an approach to a representation of its revelation. Text is, in this sense, the death mask of the fluidity of a competence. To comprehend this revelation and experience the competence behind it requires an audience to engage with its complexity and contextuality. Using thought as instance of information as a service is reductive translation. The humanities cannot be a service that can be employed as a direct means; it can always only be a dialogue from which something can be learned.

The engagement with complexity is circular: the author is no singular producer, but herself the entangled member of an audience. The constant focus on the production of something new disturbs this engagement. It claims individuals simply *hold on* to knowledge instead of forming the intellectual capacity to understand and substantially teach others to do so. It demands innovation and shallow originality. This is the production of information in the sense of scientific progress, but not the representation of understanding in the intrinsic dialogical recursion of discourse communities. The 'cogency of a substantial piece of work seems more closely bound up with the individual voice of the author' (Collini, 2012: 75). The emphasis on measurable output opposes this and claims text is an instance of objectifiable representation.

As both REF and *Exzellenzinitiative* show, such output production is made valuable for institutions and nations that operate in a realm of marketized education (Frank et al., 2019; Furedi, 2010). And yet, they are not directly responsible for this marketisation. They merely exemplify a governance of scholarly work and academia generally. Particularly in the UK, this enforces the production of an excellence 'based on output measures' (Brink, 2018: 115). The strategic publishing encouraged by such performance measurement results in a form of *assembly line production* (Münch, 2011: 219). Output can be marketed as world-leading so that students and scholars apply for positions, or to be better positioned for various forms of material reward. But masses of scholars do not conduct better scholarship by producing masses of publications they have no time to engage with. Students do not learn more from masses of publications. They learn from better teaching and the deep engagement with complexity that a few texts suffice to provide; education builds upon dialogue (Freire, [1970] 2017). Society benefits from these students as they become teachers of the essential skills necessary to function in society, or from engagement with the enlightening, well-crafted texts in professional or crossover books.

The humanities are no project of a rush towards progress. They are, instead, the societal resource for maintaining senses for and of origins, as they teach historical-hermeneutical competence—the prowess to interpret and understand—which keeps origins alive and makes futures inhabitable; the 'humanities help the traditions, so that subjects can endure modernisations' (Marquard, 2020a: 178; translation by the author). This is reflected in the intertextuality of discourse, as Hyland suggests that 'new knowledge' in the humanities 'follows altogether more reiterative and recursive routes as writers retrace others' steps and revisit previously explored features' (1999: 353). Formal authorship is a neglect of this intertextuality. The latter requires engagement with difficulty and complexity. It is not efficient. But relentlessly increasing efficiency bears within it the mark of deficiency. Measuring intellectual achievement efficiently has come to favour marketable output so fundamentally that this favouring risks reducing individual authorship and publications to their antithetical irrelevance.

The appearance of communication being commodifiable output is the result of a single, competitive market with marketable goods, price tags, and efficiently measurable value. These are principles shaping the practices and institutions in which society claims to understand what it means to be human. But this meaning cannot exist in instances of information. It requires an institutional setting that allows individuals the engagement for laying foundations for understanding. This is the ideal of the humanities' knowledge interest, its value for society: hermeneutic understanding 'makes possible the form of unconstrained consensus and the type of open intersubjectivity on which communicative action depends' (Habermas, 1971: 176). Issues of solidarity, social cohesion, and principles of equality cannot be answered with instances of information. They require dialogue.

This ideal needs to be reinstituted so that the governance and recognition of scholarly work becomes reoriented towards the complexity of understanding. It requires a shift towards more nuanced terms of competition and towards building an environment where scholars are allowed, even encouraged, to publish less. Such an institution may mean reducing input in order to regain an appreciation of complexity, the elusiveness of knowing, and the slow, intrinsically purposeful sharing of scholarship. It requires an openness to the manifold ways communication may take place not just in technological means, but in terms of recognition and reward. This might re-enable an appreciation of each publication as a substantial piece with a communicative purpose rooted in discourse, as well as allowing teaching and oral dialogue to take back their due space. It would be a strong step towards renewing the potential for purpose in the humanities, and for repairing the foundations of rational discourse within society.

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Appendix

Detailed statistics to accompany the descriptive representations in the preceding chapters.

		n	mean	sd	med	min	max	range	se
Germany	Humanities	17	2.94	1.71	2	1	7	6	0.42
		148	9.51	6.02	9	1	35	34	0.5
		34	13.3	5.94	12.5	7	32	25	1.02
		52	23.1	8.22	21.5	8	44	36	1.14
		106	26.1	8.57	24.5	10	50	40	0.83
	Soc Sci	14	2.71	1.49	2	1	5	4	0.4
		86	7.45	4.73	7	0	25	25	0.51
		26	10.8	4.39	10	4	20	16	0.86
		18	18.6	8.28	17	6	38	32	1.95
		44	23.1	9.99	21	10	60	50	1.51
UK	Humanities	13	4.62	5.5	3	1	22	21	1.53
		94	10.5	5.71	9.5	1	32	31	0.59
		80	19	8.2	18	5	40	35	0.92
		61	33	7.15	32	20	50	30	0.92
	Soc Sci	13	7.92	8.15	5	1	30	29	2.26
		89	9.09	3.99	9	2	20	18	0.42
		66	17.4	8.04	16.5	3	42	39	0.99
		56	27.4	9.98	25.5	7	52	45	1.33

Table 6: Detailed statistics to figures 2 and 3.

	n	mean	sd	med	min	max	range	se
Germany, no pressure	107	23.59	10.43	24	2	50	48	1.01
UK, no pressure	50	26.62	12.03	27	4	50	46	1.7
Germany, low pressure	159	15.96	9.55	14	2	45	43	0.76
UK, low pressure	114	19.58	11.12	17.5	1	45	44	1.04
Germany, high pressure	74	10.32	6.44	10	1	35	34	0.75
UK, high pressure	71	13.54	7.62	12	1	40	39	0.9

Table 7: Detailed statistics to figure 33.

	Item	Question	Type
General	Gender	What's your gender?	closed (female, male, other)
	Age	How old are you?	open
	Active	For how many years have you been active as a researcher?	open
	Career position	Please indicate which of the following best describes your current academic level (multiple answers possible)	closed (from junior to senior/tenured, incl. open other option)
	Discipline	Please indicate which discipline you are mainly working in (for instance, philosophy, linguistics, mathematics, history, nuclear physics, information studies, etc.)	open
	Cluster	Do you consider yourself a researcher in the…	closed (Humanities, Social Sciences, Arts, etc., incl. open other option)
	Affiliation	What kind of institution are you affiliated with?	closed (country-specific types of institutions such as Russell Group, New University in the UK or Excellence University in Germany)
Portfolio	Articles	How many articles in scholarly journals have you published in your career so far?	closed (0, 1-9, 10-19, 20-29, 30-49, >50)
	Contributions	How many contributions to edited volumes have you published in your career so far?	closed (0, 1-9, 10-19, 20-29, 30-49, >50)
	Monographs	How many edited volumes did you edit/oversee in your career so far?	closed (0, 1-9, 10-19, 20-29, 30-49, >50)
	Textbooks	How many monographs have you published in your career so far?	closed (0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-9, 10-15, 16-24, >25)
	Editor	How many textbooks have you published in your career so far?	closed (0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-9, 10-15, 16-24, >25)
	Articles OA	Have you published any of your articles Open Access so far?	closed (Yes, No, Not applicable)
	Monographs OA	Have you published any of your monographs Open Access so far?	closed (Yes, No, Not applicable)
	Popular books	Have you published any non-scholarly books that deal with your research?	closed (Yes, No)
	Blog	Do you publish in an online blog on a regular basis?	closed (No, Yes, my own blog, Yes, a collaborative blog)
	Other non-traditional	Have you published in any other non-traditional format, where the content deals with your research? If so, please indicate:	open
	Language	Do you usually publish in English or German language?	closed (English, German, Both, depending on the research, incl. open other option)
	Second Language	Is this a second language for you?	closed (Yes, No)
Publishing	Affected by REF	My publication behaviour is affected by official research assessments (for instance, the REF in the UK, or the *Exzellenzinitiative* in Germany)	closed (Yes, negatively; Yes, positively; No; I don't know)
	Publish article	I feel pressured to publish more journal articles	Likert scale
	Publish monograph	I feel pressured to publish a monograph	Likert scale
	Publish OA	I feel pressured to publish Open Access	Likert scale
	Publish faster	I feel pressured to publish faster so that the quality of the research suffers	Likert scale

	Publish faster REF	I feel pressured to publish faster so that the publications can be included in research assessments (for instance, the REF in the UK or the *Exzellenzinitiative* in Germany)	Likert scale
	Publish fewer	If I had the choice, I'd publish fewer articles or contributions to focus on a monograph	Likert scale
Publishing Perception	Single authorship	Single authorship is predominant in my area of research	Likert scale
	New articles	Too many new articles are being published each year in my area of research	Likert scale
	New monographs	Too many new monographs are being published each year in my area of research	Likert scale
	Metrics for books	I know/follow the development of metrics (for instance, citations or downloads) of my books	Likert scale
	Metrics for articles	I know/follow the development of metrics (for instance, the Impact Factor, citations, downloads) of my articles (journals respectively)	Likert scale
	Quantifiable value	The value of research in my area of research can well be expressed in quantifiers/metrics	Likert scale
	Salami slicing	Salami slicing (making as many publications as possible out of a single analysis or finding) is common in my area of research	Likert scale
	Monograph	Research in my area of research can best be expressed with a monograph	Likert scale
	Publication list	My career is built on my strong publication list	Likert scale
	Publisher brand	A publisher's brand is an important indicator for quality when I'm browsing through a bibliography	Likert scale
For my next monograph…	Selfpublishing	I would publish my next monograph with a self-publishing service (i.e. without a traditional publisher).	closed (Yes, No, I don't know)
	Rapid publication	Rapid publication process focussing on immediacy	Scale (importance)
	Bookshop	Availability in bookshops	Scale (importance)
	OA publication	Unhurried publication process focussing on content improvement	Scale (importance)
	Unhurried publication	Discoverability in online databases	Scale (importance)
	Availability in library	Open Access publication	Scale (importance)
	Discoverability online	Availability in physical form in libraries	Scale (importance)
	Comment	Any other comments?	open

Table 8: Structured questionnaire of the quantitative survey.