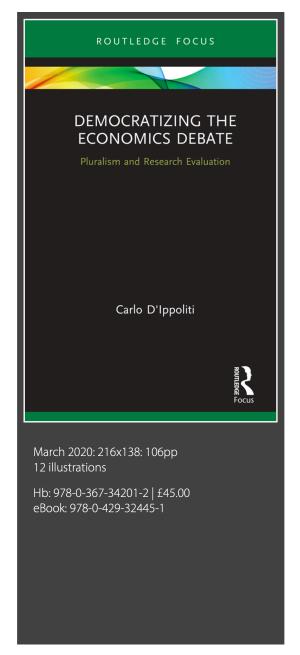
# Econexit. Do we like economics so much that soon we will have two?

Carlo D'Ippoliti, <u>carlo.dippoliti@uniroma1.it</u>





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#### For economists, often populism = disliked school/approach

# The Macroeconomics of Populism

Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards

Latin America's economic history seems to repeat itself endlessly, following irregular and dramatic cycles. This sense of circularity is particularly striking with respect to the use of populist macroeconomic policies for distributive purposes. Again and again, and in country after country, policymakers have embraced economic programs that rely heavily on the use of expansive fiscal and credit policies and overvalued currency to accelerate growth and redistribute income. In implementing these policies, there has usually been no concern

#### ... but it runs two ways

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In an interview with Faisal Islam of Sky News on June 3, 2016, Michael Gove, the UK's ... Gove: Britons "Have ...

#### Michael Gove: "People in this country have had enough of experts ...



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Michael Gove: "People in this country have had enough of experts". David

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#### Opinion Populism

## The economic origins of the populist surge

Inequality and joblessness will fuel and sustain the wave of voters' anger

**MARTIN WOLF** 

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# Outline: lack of trust is justified!

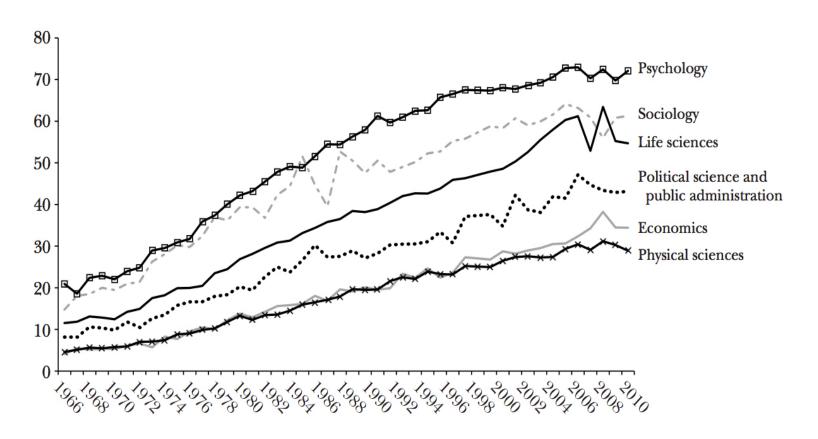
- 1. Economists themselves have expressed criticisms
  - Even more, sociologists and historians of economics
- 2. The idealized view of science never was realistic
  - ... even according to the (mainstream) economics of science
- 3. There are structural problems with the organization of economic research
  - ... among which citation metrics and research evaluation schemes
- 4. What to do?

#### 1) Uneasiness with and among economists

- After the 2007-8 Great Crisis there has been a wide discussion about the failures of economics
  - e.g. Krugman (2009), Solow (2010), Blanchard (2016), Rodrik (2016), Romer (2016), Rubinstein (2017), Akerlof (2019)
- AEA survey (2019): 30% of women feel they have been discriminated against; 21% of the sample agrees that "My ideas and opinions are often ignored within the field of economics"
- Structure and organization of the economics profession denounced among the problems (Fourcade et al., 2015; Colussi, 2018; Heckman and Moktan, 2019). The field has been found to be:
  - Very hierarchical;
  - Not inclusive;
  - Lacking diversity;
  - Narrowly focused on the "top"
  - ...

## The "superiority of economists"

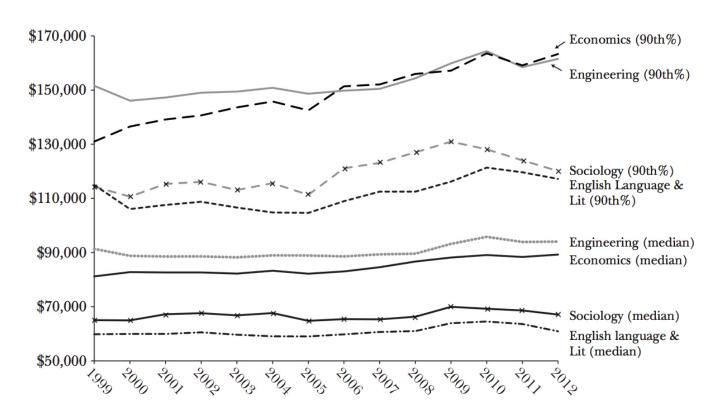
#### Percentage of Doctorates Awarded to Women in Selected Disciplines, 1966–2011



Source: Fourcade et al. (JEP, 2015)

#### The "superiority of economists"

Annual Median and 90th Percentile Wages in Selected Disciplines, 1999–2012 (2012 constant dollars)



Source: Fourcade et al. (JEP, 2015)

# Publishing and Promotion in Economics: The Tyranny of the Top Five<sup>†</sup>

JAMES J. HECKMAN AND SIDHARTH MOKTAN\*

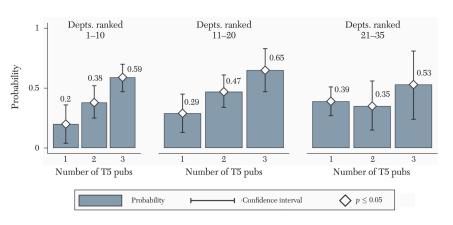
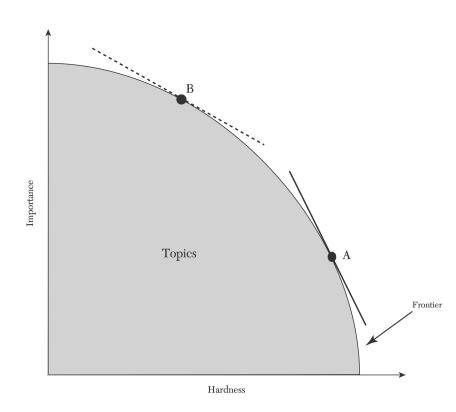


Figure 4. Predicted Probabilities for Tenure Receipt in the First Spell of Tenure-Track Employment, by Department Rank (Logit)

# Sins of Omission and the Practice of Economics<sup>†</sup>

GEORGE A. AKERLOF\*



## The are, however, still a minority

... why?

To project unanimity





To the extent that the Very Serious People relied on economists at all, they cited ideas about expansionary austerity and red lines for debt that were actually heterodox — and have since been discredited 2/

1:12 PM · 16 Jan 21 · Twitter Web App

# Authority principle



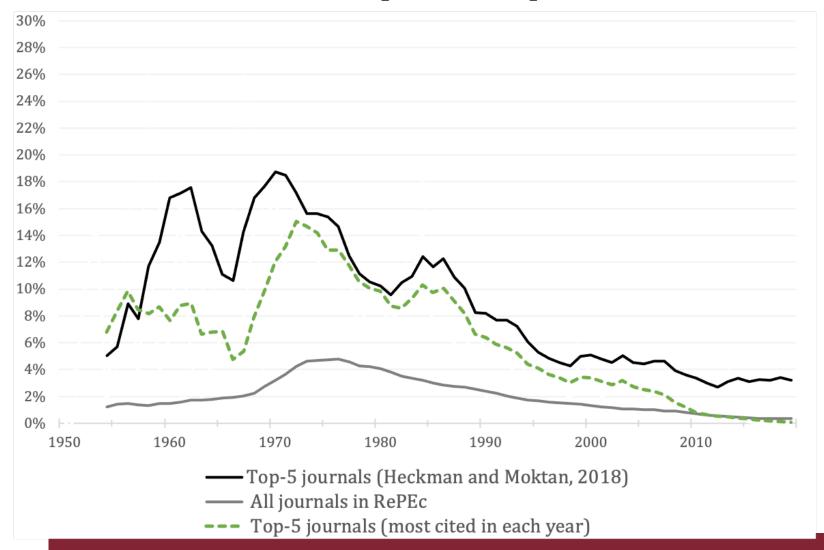
# We can only trust debate

"Now every form bestowed on created things by God has power for a determined act[uality ...]. And thus the human understanding has a form, viz. intelligible light, which of itself is sufficient for knowing certain intelligible things, viz. those we can come to know through the senses" (St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, I-II, Q109a1"



# ... and (fair and open) debate is what we lack

#### Share of comments and replies on all published articles



# Jumping to conclusions



- Lack of trust in economics is *justified*
- We can and must rely on scientific debate, but only in so far as it is wide and honest, i.e. *plural* and *fair*
- Economics is a *diverse* discipline, both within and outside of the mainstream
- Partisan (corporations and state-led) attempts to influence the economic debate are huge *challenges*

# What are the problems?

## Science 2012: editors coercing authors to cite their journal

Journal Title	Number of Coercive
	Observations
Journal of Business Research	49
Journal of Retailing	43
Marketing Science	29
Journal of Banking and Finance	24
Information and Management	19
Applied Economics	18
Academy of Management Journal	14
Group and Organization Management	13
Journal of Consumer Psychology	9
Psychology and Marketing	8
Journal of Accounting and Public Policy	7
Journal of Financial Economics	7
Academy of Management Review	6
British Journal of Management	6
Financial Management	6
Journal of Management Information Systems	6
Journal of Management Studies	6
Organization Science	6
Production and Operations Management	6
Strategic Management Journal	6
Asia Pacific Journal of Management	5
Decision Support Systems	5
European Journal of Political Economy	5
Industrial Management and Data Systems	5
Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science	5
Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes	5

# Editors of top journals favour their colleagues

Table 3: Social ties and publication outcomes

	Pooled	Same faculty	PhD advisor	Same PhD	Co-authors	Same field
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A: Articles						
InCharge	0.2419*	0.2670**	0.1456*	-0.0570	0.0463	0.0704
	(0.1373)	(0.1046)	(0.0777)	(0.0776)	(0.0575)	(0.0922)
Panel B: Pages						
InCharge	10.9883**	10.2054***	6.0008**	-1.3440	2.7016	4.6627
	(4.4484)	(3.4194)	(2.7478)	(2.4186)	(1.9209)	(2.9171)
Panel C: Lead articles						
InCharge	0.0714	0.0921**	-0.0098	-0.0075	0.0315	-0.0199
	(0.0505)	(0.0377)	(0.0290)	(0.0234)	(0.0219)	(0.0331)

Source: Colussi (RES, 2018)

## Evidence of malpractice: Necker (2014)

Economists' admitted own research behavior.

No.	Have you ever		Percent "Yes"	Std. dev.	[95% CI]		Norms by behavior	
							Not admitted	Admitted
5	Copied parts from work of others without citing	422	2.13	14.46	0.75	3.52	1.05	1.67
6	Fabricated some data	348	2.59	15.90	0.91	4.26	1.14	3.22
7	Corrected data to fit the theory	348	1.15	10.67	0.02	2.27	1.21	1.21
8	Excluded part of the data (e.g., outliers) without reporting this	348	3.45	18.27	1.52	5.37	1.47	3.08
9	Used tricks to increase $t$ -value, $R^2$ , or other statistics	348	7.18	25.86	4.46	9.91	1.52	2.64
10	Failed to correctly give a colleague co-authorship who has worked on the paper	423	1.42	11.84	0.29	2.55	1.82	1.50
11	Refrained from citing results or opinions that are not in line with your own analysis	422	21.09	40.84	17.18	25.00	1.83	2.67
12	Refrained from checking the contents of the works cited	422	51.90	50.02	47.11	56.68	1.62	2.48
13	Refrained from citing work in lower ranked journals, which in a ranking from A+to C rank lower than A	421	19.95	40.01	16.12	23.79	1.94	2.94
14	Presented empirical findings selectively so that they confirm one's argument	348	32.18	46.79	27.25	37.12	1.82	2.99
15	Searched for control variables until you got the desired results	348	36.49	48.21	31.41	41.58	1.75	2.94
16	Stopped statistical analysis when you had a desired result	348	37.93	48.59	32.81	43.05	1.94	3.23
17	Copied from your own previous work without citing	423	23.64	42.54	19.58	27.71	2.18	3.37
18	Refrained from citing work from other disciplines	419	19.57	39.72	15.76	23.38	2.40	3.24

## But it is not necessarily about corruption

- For example, Bagues et al. (2017) show that in Italy and Spain candidates for promotion within academia, who have personal connections with members of the judging (ASN) commission are more likely to be promoted
- However, when controlling for candidates' methods and topics of research (Corsi et al., 2019), the statistical relevance of connections with the commission members disappears

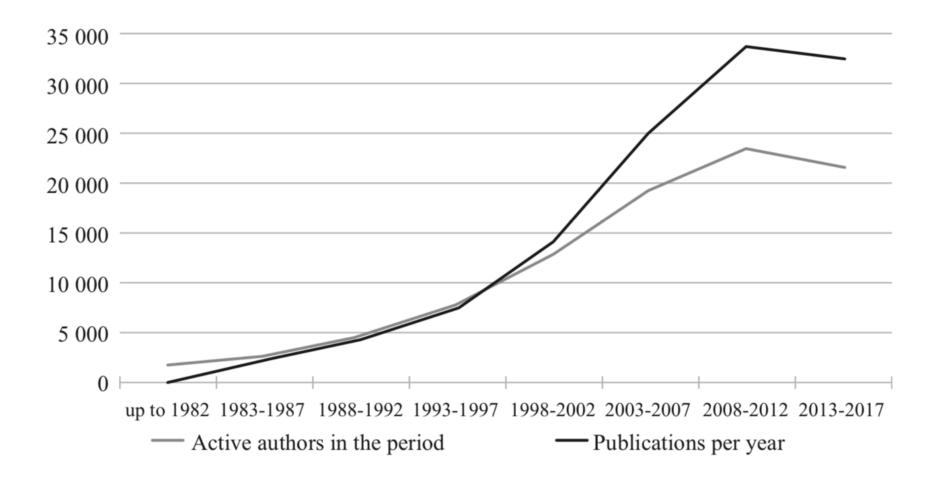
#### Probability to qualify as associate prof., Italy (ASN), marginal eff.

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Cronyism			
Connections with the ASN commission <b>Diversity of ideas</b>	0.0607** (0.0276)	0.0303 (0.0275)	0.0279 (0.0272)
Wide interests: n. of different JEL codes Heterodox economist (share of pubs)		-0.433*** (0.0906)	
Observations	586	540	540

#### Malice is an unnecessary assumption!

- Among the problems of the profession, many (e.g. Ferguson and Johnson, 2018; Corsi et al., 2019) highlight **bibliometric indexes** and their use in research evaluation
  - The trend was already there (e.g. on the RAE: Oswald, 2007; Lee et al., 2010) and partly reflects growing discontent with the use of bibliometrics across disciplines
  - See e.g. the International Mathematical Union, the International Council of Industrial and Applied Mathematics, and the Institute of Mathematical Statistics (Adler et al., 2008); the San Francisco DORA; the Leiden Manifesto for research metrics (Hicks et al., 2005); or more recently the joint declaration by the Académie des Sciences, Leopoldina, and Royal Society (2018); or Science Europe (2020)
- In all disciplines, new **incentives** are introduced for both researchers and institutions. Regardless of scientific malpractice or misconduct even the "normal" process of scientific debate is being affected

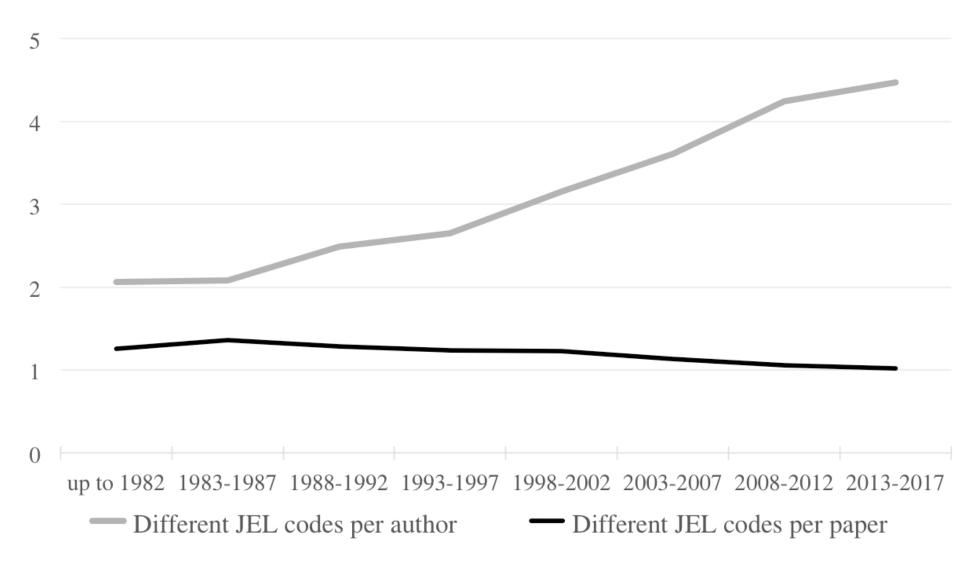
# 1<sup>st</sup> trend: excess supply of econ papers



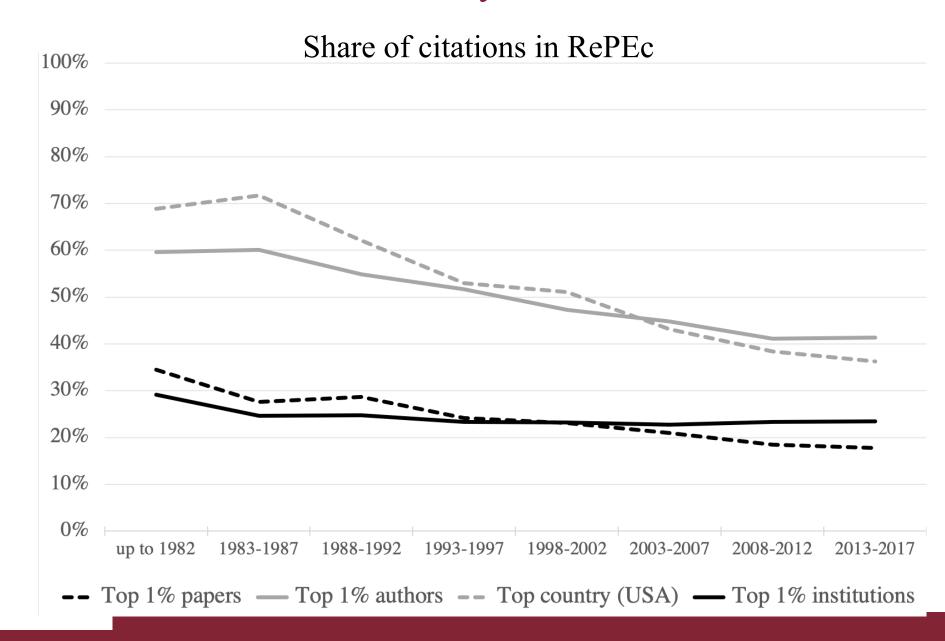
"most people do not have or care to take the time to read the articles any more!"

Eugene Garfield, Founder and Chairman emeritus of ISI (now part of Clarivate Analytics) (2005, p. 20)

# 2<sup>nd</sup> trend: über-specialization

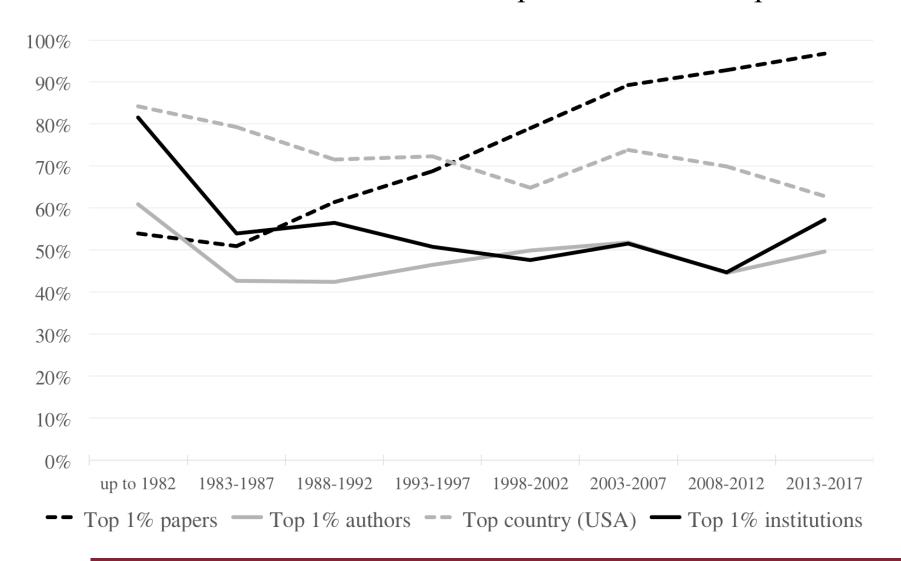


# 3<sup>rd</sup> trend: excessive hierarchy

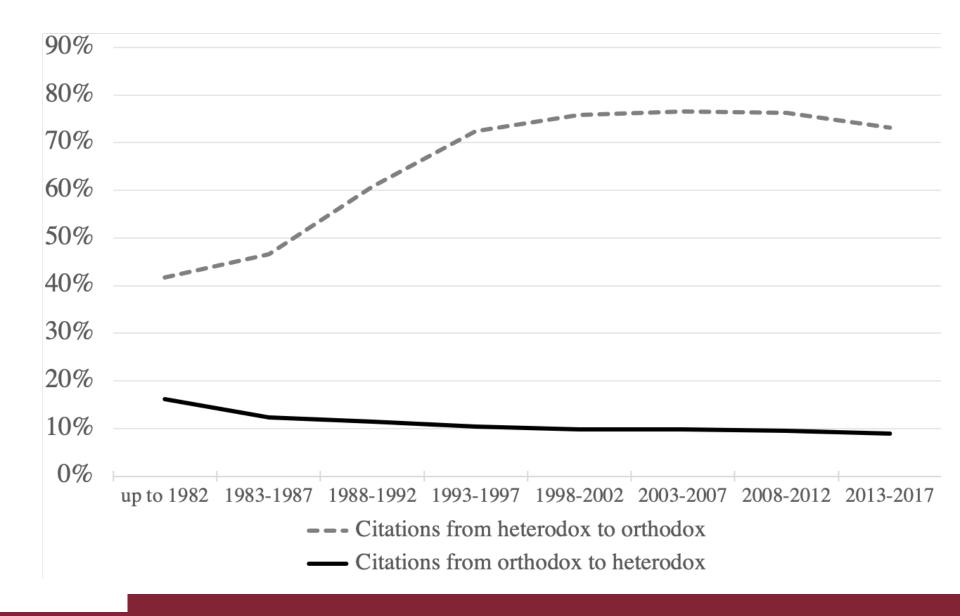


# 3<sup>rd</sup> trend: excessive hierarchy

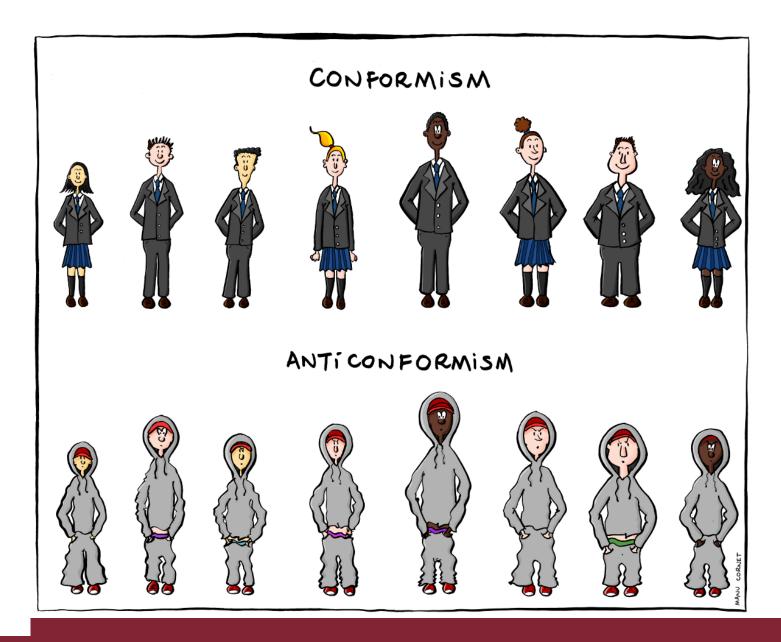
Share of citations from articles published in the top-5



## 4<sup>th</sup> trend: mainstream-heterodox division

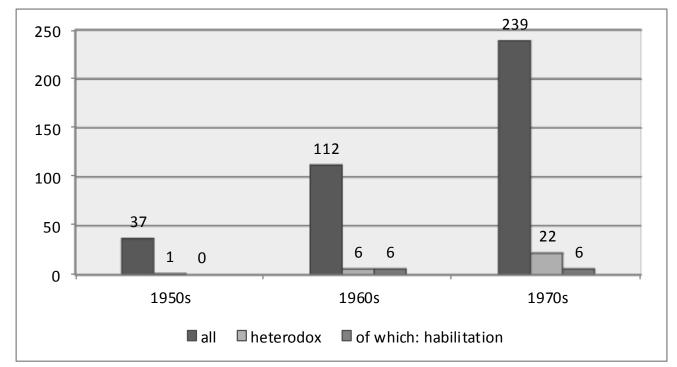


## "Mainstream"? "Heterodox"?



# Germany: Heise (2016)

Figure 3: Professorial appointments of economists 1950 - 1979



Source: Heise et al. 2015

# Australia

	1980		2011	
<b>Economics Units Taught</b>	No. of	%	No. of	%
	units		units	
Mainstream economics	626	66.5	1257	80.3
Heterodox economics	289	30.7	219	14.0
Other economics	27	2.9	90	5.7
	942		1566	

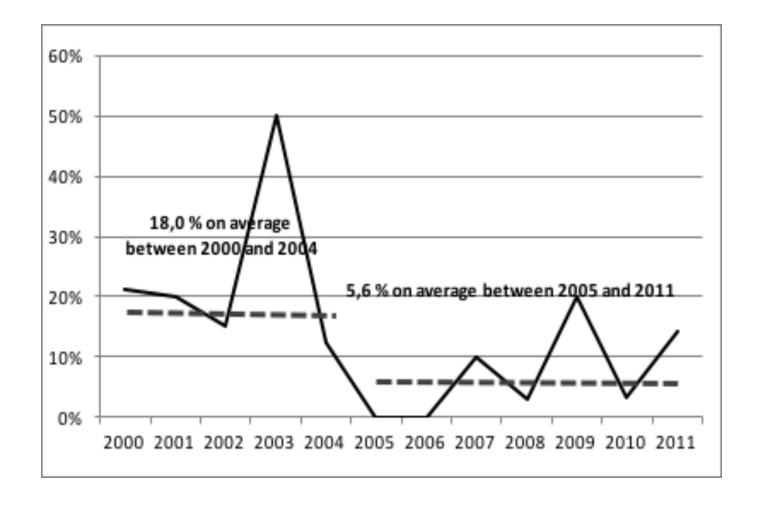
Source: Thornton (2013)

# Italy: Corsi, D'Ippoliti & Zacchia (2018)

Candidates for full professorship					orofessors
Total Qualified		Total	Qualified	Candidates for promotion	Not candidates
385	174 (45%)	571	272 (48%)	715	396
68 (18%)	12 (7%)	57 (10%)	32 (56%)	88 (12%)	57 (14%)
84 (22%)	26 (31%)	193 (34%)	79 (41%)	229 (32%)	89 (22%)

Total Heterodox Women

# France: % of heterodox prof (Chavance & Labrousse 2018)





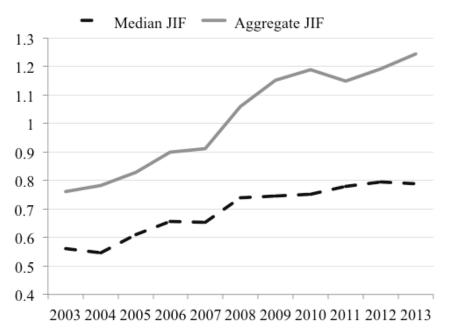


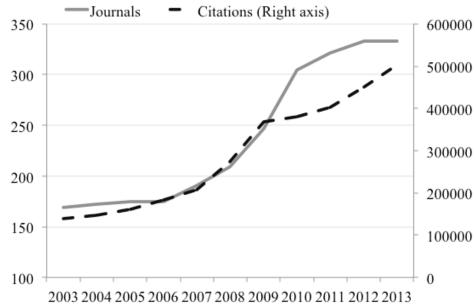
# What are the problems?

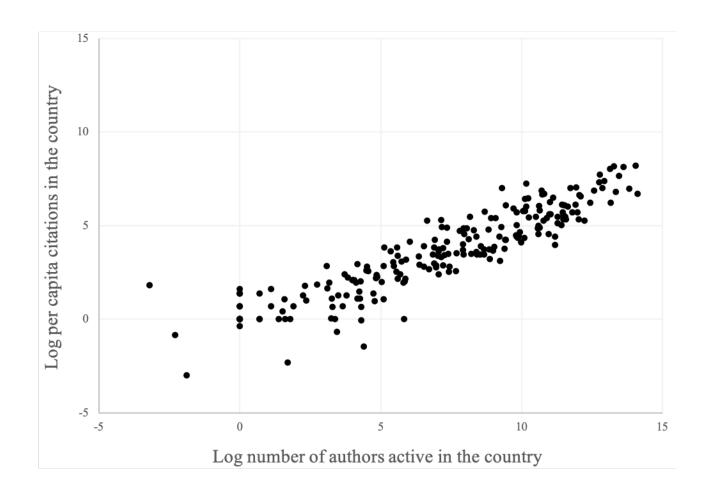
#### Economists support the use of citation counts

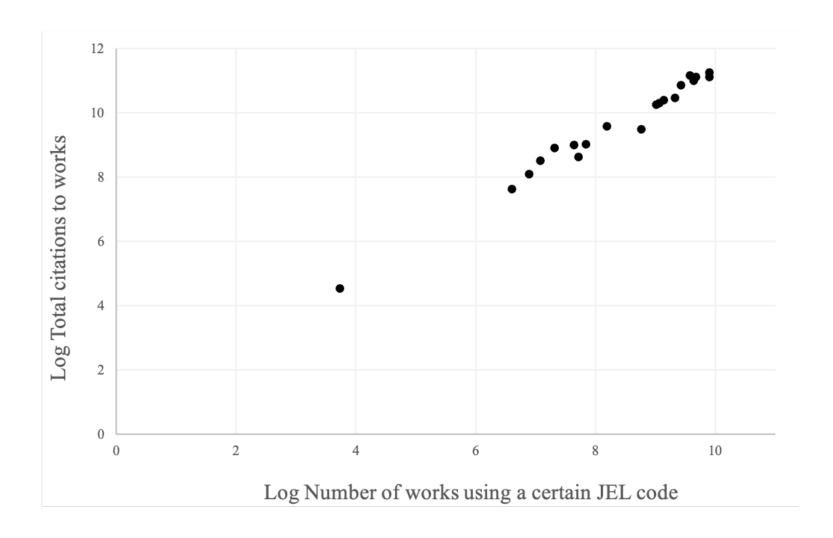
- "Most of the published research on citations in economics has considered them as measures of quality" (Hamermesh, 2018, p. 117)
  - Economists produced journal, department, university, and individual rankings;
  - justified their use for the sake of funding/HR (e.g. Ellison, 2013);
  - took on administrative responsibilities (Corsi et al., 2019).
- Ductor et al. (2020) assume the "value of an idea" is a unidimensional continuous variable. It determines the quality of a paper, and by aggregation of authors and journals, and can be empirically measured by citation counts.
- Ex post it has been found that peer review ratings in economics are correlated with citation indexes in the UK REF: Stockhammer et al. (2017); in Italy: Baccini and De Nicolao (2016); and in France: Chavance and Labrousse (2018)

### But citation counts have their own bias!





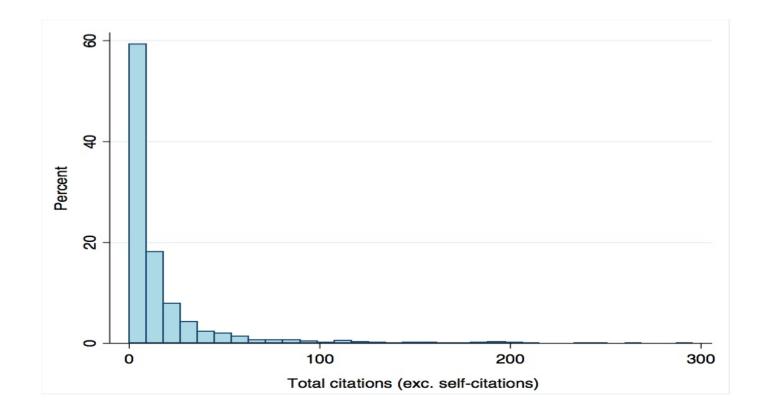




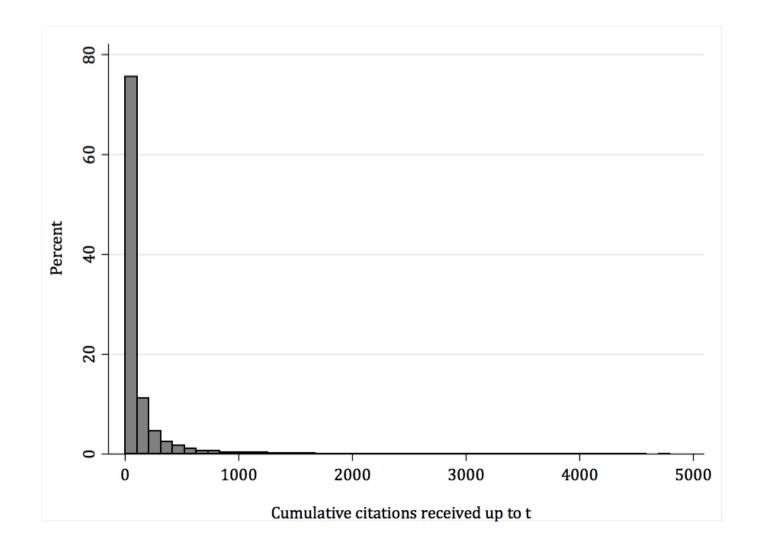
### Citations: skewed, biased, and ambiguous

- citation counts correlate with (D'Ippoliti, 2020):
  - at the publication level: the number and reputation of the authors, publication age, language, the kind of publication (review articles, editorials, studies using primary data, etc.), the reputation of the journal, the number of pages, and even title length (Letchford et al., 2015) or whether the title contains a hyphen;
  - at the author level: academic age, field and degree of specialization, gender, disciplines or sub-fields (King et al., 2016).
  - Additional sources of bias: self-citations, selective and/or implicit citations, the increase in the total number of citations with time
    - several widely used bibliometric indexes, for example the *h* index, are not robust to even trivial changes in the papers or citation counts (Hicks and Melkers, 2012).
- Most of all, citations do not measure scientific "quality" alone

### Citations to Italian economists in Web of Science, 2011-2016



## Total citations in RePEc to UK-based authors (1980-2019)



### Citations don't count: they are counted

## Do Bibliometricians Cite Differently From Other Scholars?

#### Donald O. Case and Joseph B. Miller

College of Communications and Information Studies, LCLI 341, University of Kentucky, 500 South Limestone, Lexington, KY 40506-0224. E-mail: dcase@uky.edu

Why authors cite particular documents has been the subject of both speculation and empirical investigation for decades. This article provides a short history of attempts to understand citation motivations and reports a replication of earlier surveys measuring reasons for citations. Comparisons are made among various types of scholars. The present study identified six highly cited articles in the topic area of bibliometrics and surveyed all of the locatable authors who cited those works (n = 112). It was thought that bibliometricians, given that this is their area of expertise, might have a heightened level of awareness of their own citation practices, and hence a different pattern of responses. Several reasons indicated by the 56% of the sample who identified themselves as bibliometricians differed in statistically significant ways from nonbibliometricians, and also from earlier samples of scholars in Communication and Psychology. By far the supportive of their own conclusions (Ziman, 1968), and written by noted authorities (Kaplan, 1965)—a "persuasive" citation strategy (Gilbert, 1977).

Over the years a variety of reasons for citation have been suggested by scholars, based on close reading, speculation, and empirical measures. Among the various typologies of citation motivations are the 15 reasons identified by Garfield (1965), 28 by Lipetz (1965), 26 by Duncan, Anderson, and McAleese (1981), and the variety of smaller (e.g., 7 to 10 types) typologies reviewed by Cronin (1984) and Cano (1989). All of these were considered in the development of the study described below.

The degree to which we can study an author's decision to cite another document has been debated for many years.

Table 1 – Theoretical perspectives on the meaning of citation counts<sup>2</sup>

Author	References are	Cites measure		
Garfield (1979)	Supportive, illustrative or	Importance		
<u>.</u>	elaborative of points in a document			
Small (1978)	Elements in a symbol making	Highly cited papers are concept symbols		
1. **	process			
Merton (1996)	Registration of intellectual property	Intellectual influence Socially defined quality		
Cole & Cole	& peer recognition			
(1967)	& peer recognition			
Gilbert (1977)	Tools of persuasion	Authoritativeness		
Cronin (1984)	A reflection of authors' personalities	Unclear, complex interplay of norms and		
	and professional milieu	personal factors		
Martin & Irvine	Influence, social and political	With matched groups, differences		
(1983)	pressure, awareness	indicate differences in influence		
Zuckerman	Response to Gilbert - motives and	Proxies of more direct measures of		
(1987)	consequences analytically distinct	influence		
Latour (1987)/	Resources authors wield to support	Usefulness to subsequent authors in both		
Luukkonen	their knowledge claims in a	social and cognitive dimensions		
(1997)	dynamic and hostile environment			
Cozzens (1989)	Reward, rhetoric, communication	Recognition, persuasiveness, awareness		
	intersect in refs – rhetoric first			
White (1990)	Acknowledgements of related	Co-cites = historical consensus of		
	documents	important authors and works		
Van Raan (1998)	Partly particular, but in large	highly cited = top research		
	ensembles biases cancel out			
Wouters (1999)	Product of scientist	Product of indexer		

Source: Hichs and Melkers (2012)

### Productive and ceremonial motivations

- "we didn't want to be told we had neglected to cite certain people. So there are people in here, for example, **X** is one of these people we anticipated being a referee" (quoted in White and Wang, 1997, p. 145)
- "[i]n economics there are all different kinds of levels of journals .... So, when we picked out references, we tried to stay in that group. It is a little bit of gamesmanship in a way, to be citing the right people" (ibid., p. 136)
- Camacho-Miñano and Núñez-Nickel (2009): a maximum number of references can be included in a paper. So first, a researcher collects all studies that may be considered as relevant; then, from this pool she picks those that she will actually cite, necessarily choosing in a discretionary way

### Henk Moed (2005, p. 219):

"In any field there are leading groups active at the forefront of scientific development. Their leading position is both cognitively and socially anchored. Cognitively, their important contributions tend to be highlighted in a state-of-the-art of a field. But to the extent that the science system functions well in stimulating and warranting scientific quality, leading groups, and particularly their senior researchers, tend at the same time to acquire powerful social positions."

"Macroeconomics [...] has succeeded: Its central problem of depression prevention has been solved, for all practical purposes, and has in fact been solved for many decades."

Lucas R.E. (2003), "Macroeconomic Priorities", *American Economic Review*, vol. 93 (1): 1-14.

1193 citations on Google Scholar (26/5/2018)



"[Last year] I expressed serious worries about the American economy, which strongly conditions the economies of the other countries, particularly in Europe."

Sylos Labini P. (2003), "Prospects for the world economy", *PSL Quarterly Review*, vol. 56 (226): 179-206.

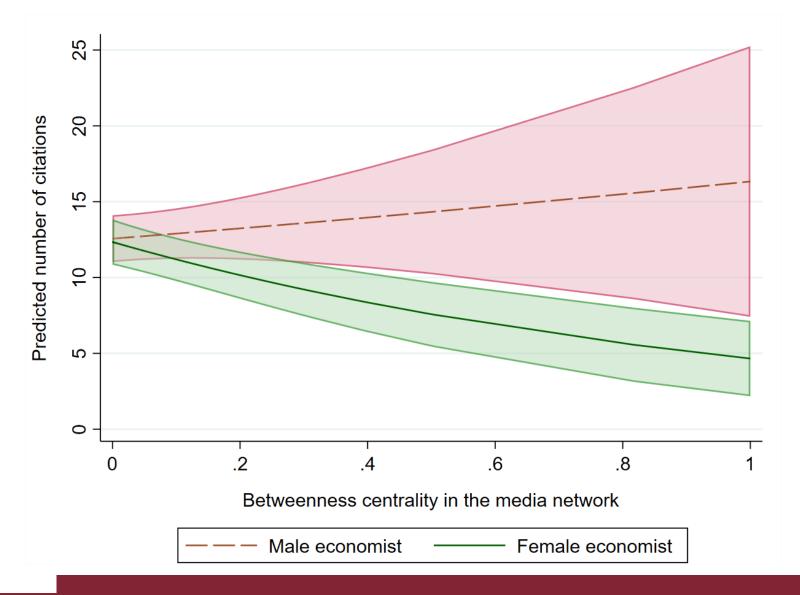
9 citations on Google Scholar (26/5/2018)



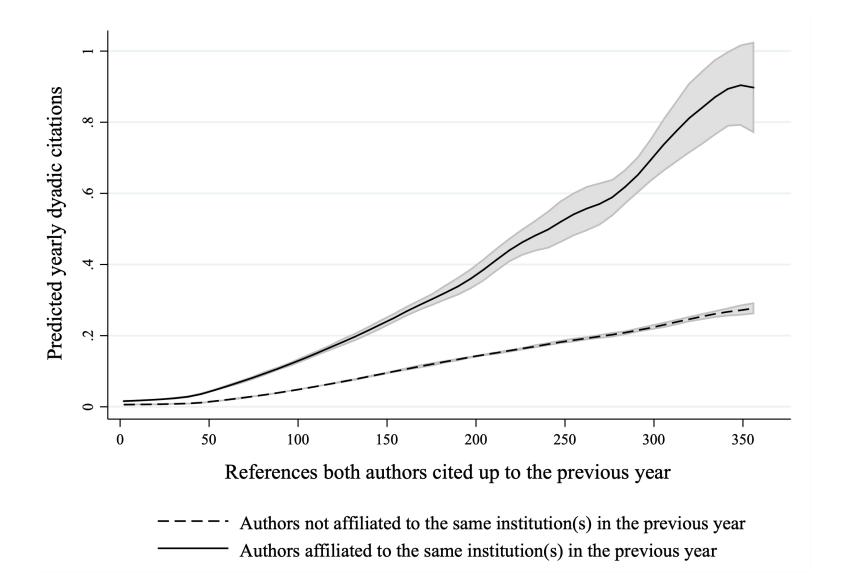
### Known issues with the use of citation counts

- Use of bibliometrics in research evaluation:
  - 1. produces discrimination within academia (e.g. of women, minority views, etc.), and
  - 2. promotes conformism: the diffusion of a single-minded faculty of academics prone to group thinking
  - 3. induces opportunistic behaviours
- In economics, negative impact on **pluralism** has been documented in Italy, France, Australia, Germany, and the UK.
- Impact on "peripheral" countries:
  - On personnel: 43% of papers published in the "Top 5" is authored by scholars in leading US universities (Harvard, Yale, Princeton, MIT, Chicago, Berkeley and Stanford); 81% by scholars living in the USA
  - On contents of research, in terms of topics and economies
- Yet, as of 2019, 25 of 30 countries (covering 90.3% of economists in RePEc) had introduced some form of research evaluation, to which at least 58.4% of all research-active economists are subject

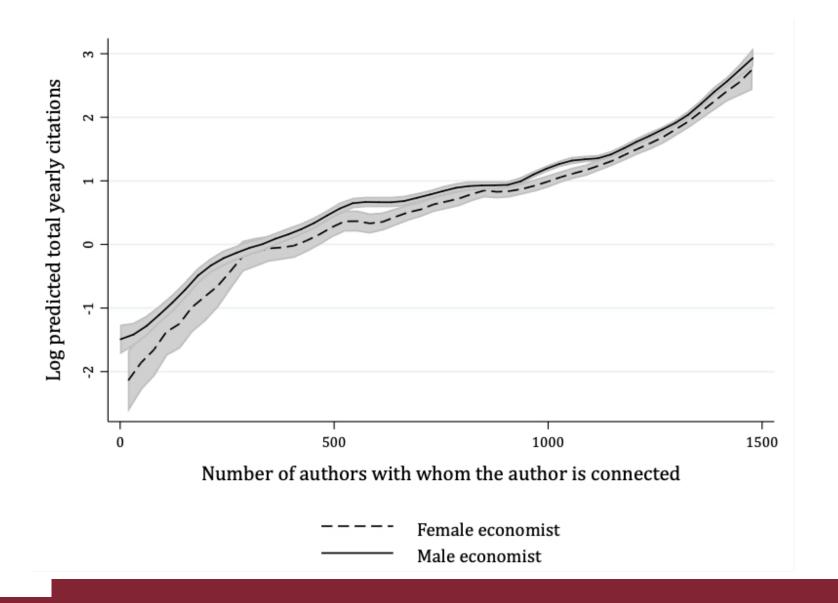
# D'Ippoliti (2021): Italy's female economists should not be bipartisan



# D'Ippoliti et al. (2021): pairs of UK economists



# D'Ippoliti et al. (2021): UK economists



### Reference to "peripheral" economies in journals

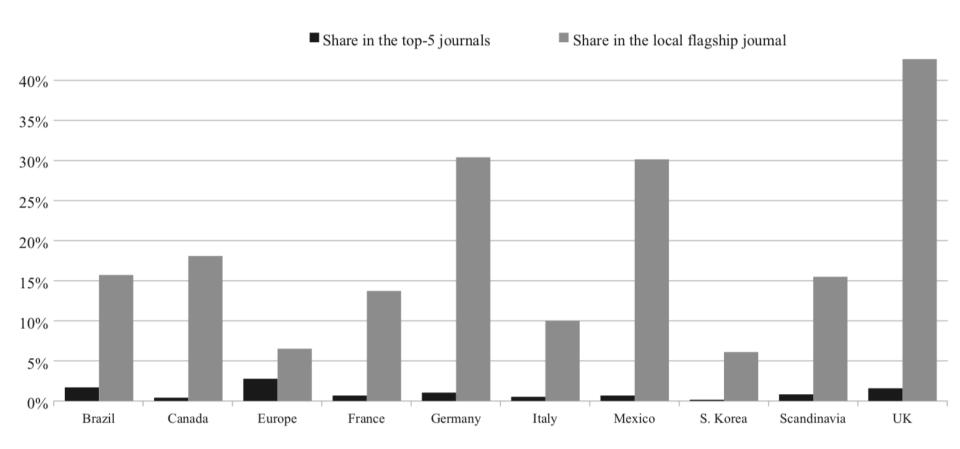
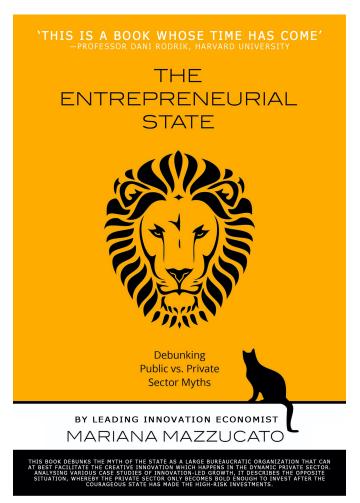


Figure 3.3 Share of articles published in the top-5 journals and in flagship national or area journals since year 2000 that contain the country name or adjective in the metadata

Notes: country names have also been considered as adjectives; for Europe, "European Union," "EU," "E.U.," and "Europe" (as well as "European") have been considered; for Scandinavia and the Nordic countries: "Sweden," "Norway," "Denmark," "Finland," "Nordic," and "Scandinavia." The journals considered are, respectively: Revista Brasileira de Economia (Brazil), Canadian Journal of Economics (Canada), Journal of the European Economic Association (Europe), Revue d'économie politique (France), German Economic Review (Germany), PSL Quarterly Review (Italy; until 2007 known as BNL Quarterly Review), Investigación Económica (Mexico), Korean Economic Review (South Korea), Scandinavian Journal of Economics (Nordic countries), and The Economic Journal (United Kingdom).

### Are books important?



 $For more information, \ please \ visit \ the \ book's \ website: \ \underline{www.entrepreneurial state.anthempress blog.com}$ 

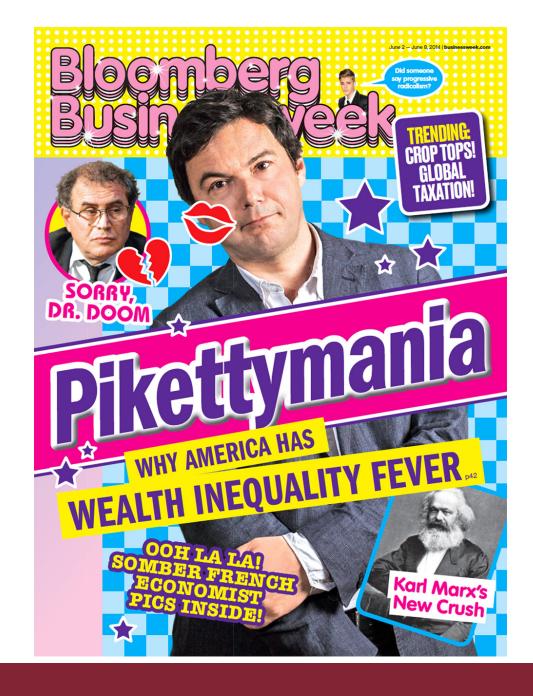


Table 3.1 Formalized research evaluation schemes

	Start year	Object of assessment	Evaluation method in economics	Purpose and uses	
Turkey	1981	Individuals: qualification as ass. or full prof.	Mixed: publications + oral/practical exam	Qualification	
Mexico	1984	Individuals	Bibliometrics + quant. indicators	Rankings, individual remuneration	
Mexico	1984	Universities	Bibliometrics + quant. indicators	Funding, rankings	
UK	1986	Universities: RAE, since 2014: REF	Mixed: informed peer review	Funding, rankings	
Netherlands	1987	Department/schools	Bibliometrics*	Rankings	
South Africa	1995	Universities	Mixed: informed peer review	Funding, rankings	
Germany	1998	Universities (independent NGO)	Mixed: bibliometrics + survey	Rankings (university profiles)	
Finland	1998	Universities (Academy of Finland at irregular intervals)	Mixed: bibliometrics + peer review	Funding, rankings	
Germany	2001	Individuals: qualification as a prof.	Peer review (decentered)	Qualification only	
China	2001	Universities	Bibliometrics	Rankings, individual remuneration	
Austria	2002	Universities	Quantitative indicators (no research outputs)	Funding	
Austria	2002	Individuals: qualification as asst. or ass. prof.	Bibliometrics	Qualification (not mandatory)	
Switzerland	2002	Individuals: qual. as a prof. (German-speaking cantons)	Peer review (decentered)	Qualification only	
Netherlands	2003	Universities	Mixed: bibliometrics + site visit	Rankings	
Japan	2003	Universities	Mixed: complex multi-party system**	Funding, rankings	
Norway	2004	Universities	Bibliometrics	Funding, rankings	
Germany	2005	Universities (government)	Peer review	Funding	
Italy	2005	Universities	Mixed: informed peer review	Funding, rankings	
Brazil	2006	Universities	Mixed: informed peer review	Rankings	
France	2007	Individuals: qualification as asst. or full prof.	Peer review: CV + interview	Hiring, promotion	
France	2007	Universities; since 2014: HCERES	Mixed: bibliometrics + site visit	Funding, rankings	
Spain	2007	Individuals: qualification as asst., ass., or full prof.	Mixed: publications + interview	Qualification only***	
Sweden	2009	Universities	Bibliometrics	Funding	
Denmark	2009	Universities	Bibliometrics	Funding	
Australia	2010	Universities	Mixed: informed peer review	Funding	
Italy	2012	Individuals: qualification as asst., ass., or full prof.	Mixed: informed peer review	Qualification only	
Slovakia	2013	Universities	Mixed: informed peer review	Funding	
Poland	2013	Universities	Bibliometrics	Funding	
Croatia	2013	Universities	Bibliometrics	Funding	
Korea	2014	Universities	Mixed, but no eval. of research outputs	Funding, rankings	
Portugal	2015	Universities	Peer review	Funding	
Sweden	2016	Universities	Peer review	Funding	
Turkey	2016	Universities	Peer review	Rankings	

### Baccini et al. (2019): self-citations as evidence of gaming?

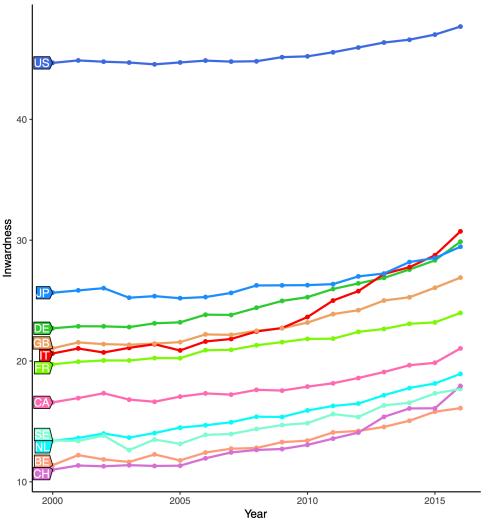


Fig 1. Inwardness for G10 countries (2000-2016). Source: elaboration on SCIval data.

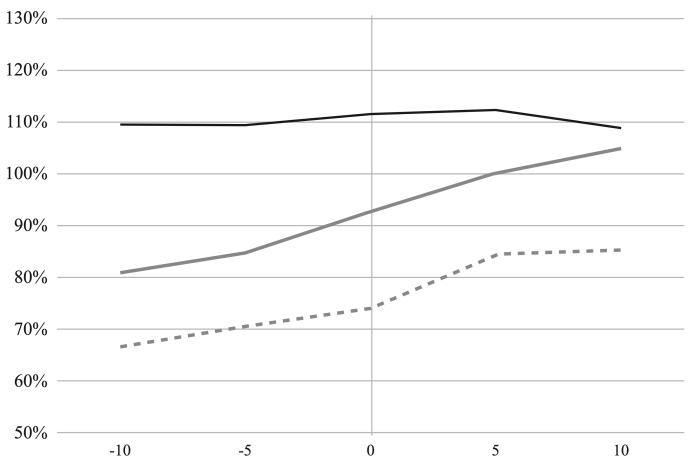
https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0221212.g001

### What are the consequences? (Necker 2014)

Table 1 Economists' norms.

No.	On a scale from 1 to 6	Obs.	Ordinal v	Ordinal variable			
			Mean	Std. dev.	[95% CI]		
Genera	l research approach: agreement						
1	A research topic should be chosen according to one's personal interest (in contrast to career concerns)	426	2.39	1.15	2.28	2.50	
2	A research topic should be chosen with respect to publication prospect	426	3.33	1.20	3.21	3.44	
3	A researcher should give credit to any published and unpublished idea by someone else (i.e., colleagues, journalists, students)	424	1.80	1.27	1.68	1.92	
4	Results should be generalized if the theoretical framework or the research design for empirical analysis allows for it.	420	2.44	1.13	2.33	2.54	

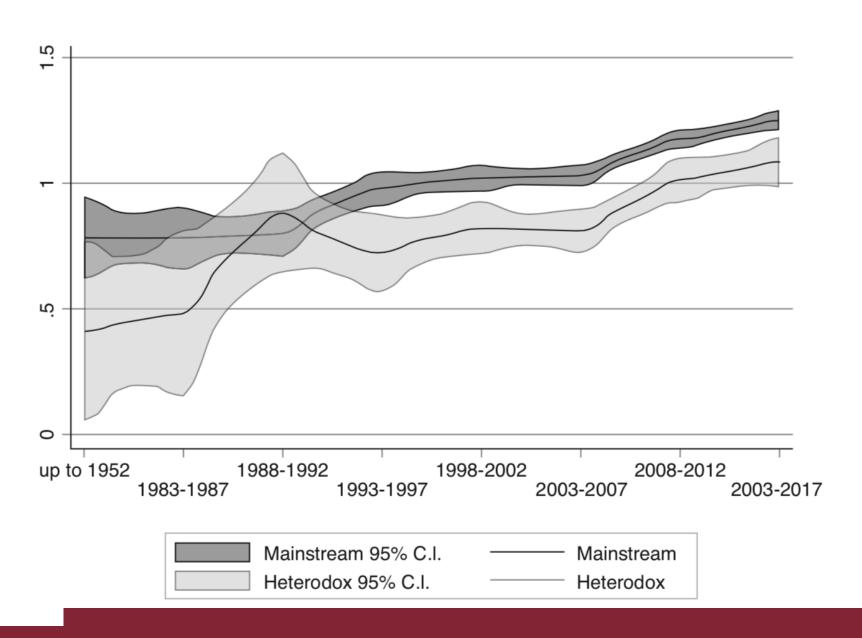
# Impact of research evaluation schemes on economics



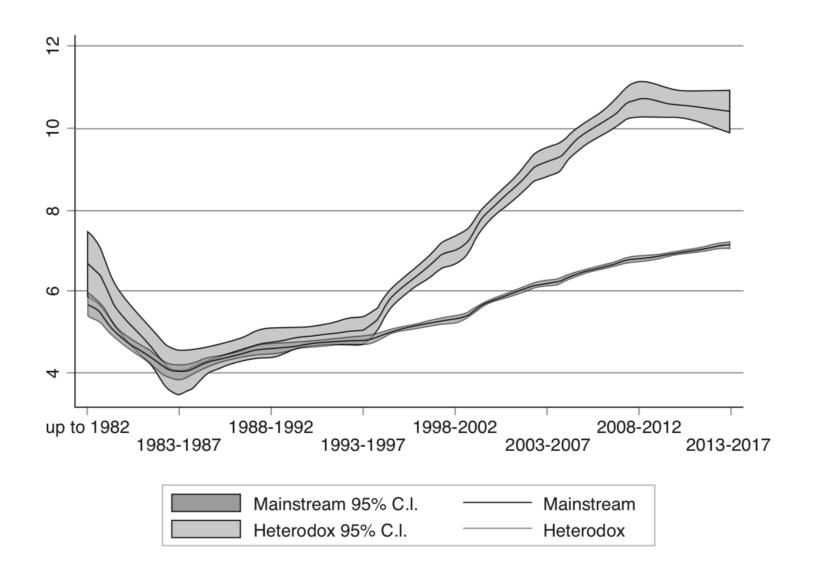
Years before and after the introduction of a formal research evaluation scheme

= Relative citations per author — Relative works per author — Relative share of heterodox economists

### Average citations per year

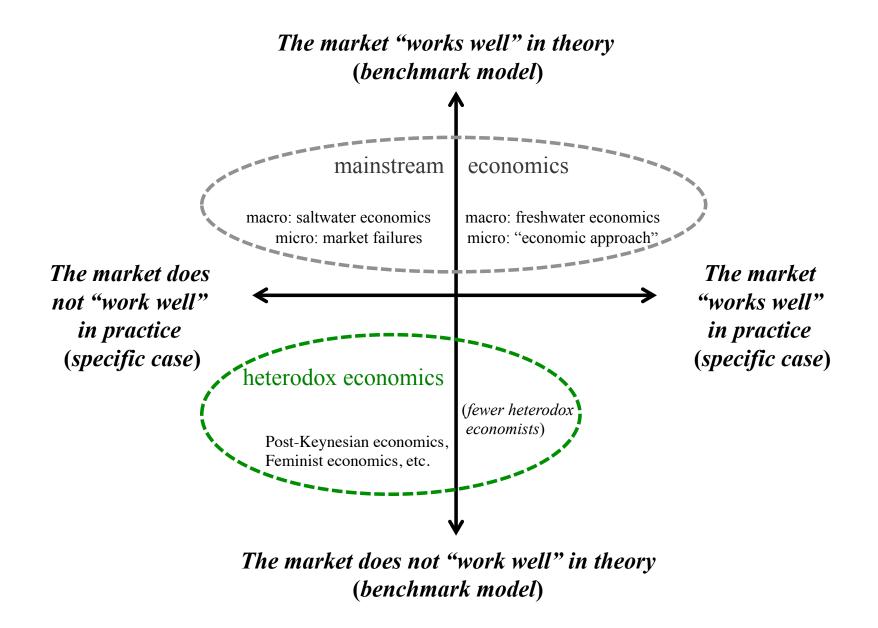


### Number of unique works in RePEc



### Main conclusions

- Economists respond to incentives: those who join larger clubs, study more popular topics, and even take popular political opinions, are more likely
  - to accumulate citations, and
  - to be promoted within research evaluation schemes
- The direction of present and future economic research risks being shaped by objectionable indicators that provide legitimation in terms of quantitative and supposedly unbiased measurement
- The discipline moves towards ever less *pluralism*



# Thank you

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# (Median) Journal Impact Factors in the social sciences

