

The field of sociological research in Denmark

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Introduction

That sociology as a scientific discipline is highly differentiated social science discipline is well known and recognised.¹ The principles of differentiation are many, from methodological differences between qualitative and quantitative approaches, through theoretical assumptions about the social to the means and ends of the discipline (Abbott 2001; Burawoy 2005). But the discipline is not only differentiated on the basis of intellectual or cognitive differences: important social differences also cut through it. On a global scale the discipline is thus differentiated between the North and the South along obvious economic and historical lines; but at national levels we also find differences between old and new institutions, sociologists with different educational backgrounds and so forth (Patel 2010). Sociology is in this way characterised by two structures of differences: cognitive and social (Burawoy et al. 2010).

The aim of the paper is to address the relationship between these two different structures and to look into how they are related and historically constructed. More specifically, the aim is to show how Danish sociology is structured, and thereby to scrutinise the specific national constitution of the field of sociological research. Like sociology more generally in the western world, Danish sociology has gone through big changes since the institutionalisation in the years after the Second World War to its contemporary constitution (Bannister 2003; Patel 2010). Danish sociology was in this way heavily effected by the student rebellion and the rapid intake of students in

the late 1960s, and after a very troublesome period from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, when it began to rebuild itself as a 'normal' social science discipline among others (Gundelach 1997; Kropp and Blok 2009).

The paper is structured into three parts. In the first section I lay out the theoretical and methodological framework. Here I sketch out how scientific disciplines are conceptualised as a relatively autonomous social space using Bourdieu's notion of fields of force and struggle. In this part I also show how I use specific MCA in constructing a social space of sociological research, and combine this sophisticated statistical tool with qualitative interviews and historical material on the history of Danish sociology. In the second part I briefly sketch out the history of Danish sociology. I here claim that after 1945 this can to a very large degree be understood in three periods, each characterised by differences in the internal organisation of the field and by its relation to other fields both within the academic field and what Bourdieu calls the field of power. In the third and most important section of the paper, I construct a social space of sociological research using sMCA on data from a questionnaire among Danish social science researchers. In this part I look into how the space of sociological position, dispositions and forms of practice are homologically structured and sketch out some principles of vision and division that govern the field of sociological research. In the last section I explain the relationship between the contemporary constitution of Danish sociological research and its history.

A social space approach

As stated above, this paper looks into the constitution of sociological research in Denmark. Sociology is indeed – depending on one's point of view – a diverse or fragmented discipline with very weak intellectual integration and institutional boundaries. So how do

¹ This paper is written in connection with the Carlsberg Foundation founded research project 'Social and cognitive changes in the Danish Social Sciences 1945-2010'. An earlier version was presented at the XVII World Congress of the ISA in Gothenburg July 2010 at the RC08 and at the conference 'Distinction - Thirty Years After', Paris October 2010. I extend my thanks for the interesting and encouraging comments. I also like to thank Brigitte le Roux and Frédéric Lebaron and the anonymous reviewer for their comments and questions from which I have benefitted greatly.

we theoretically grasp and understand the relationships between the many different forms of research practices that are designated as sociology? In this paper I will interpret scientific disciplines as a social space or, in Bourdieu's terms, a social field (Bourdieu 1996).

So what is a scientific discipline? Disciplines are first of all important parts of the function of modern universities and the scientific system. They are important parts of the scientific organisational structures, structuring courses, departments, journals and careers (Wittrock 2001). Thus they can be described as a logical and almost natural divisional unit in the sciences (Stichweh 1992). But this functionalistic vision overlooks the fact that disciplines are also political institutions that deal with scientific struggles (Bourdieu 1998; Heilbron 2004). Following Bourdieu's inspired approach, the American science historian Timothy Lenoir sums up a Bourdieusian working definition of disciplines in this way:

"Disciplines are institutionalized formations for organizing schemes of perception, appreciation, and action, and for inculcating them as tools of cognition and communication. At the same time, as embodied practical operators, disciplines are political structures that mediate crucially between the political economy and production of knowledge" (Lenoir 1997)

A scientific discipline can thus also be understood as a relatively autonomous part of the social space, i.e. a field in the sense of Bourdieu. Bourdieu defines a field as a relatively autonomous part of the social space with its own norms, laws and interests (Bourdieu 1996). Having the introduction in mind, we must of course remember that sociology globally and in Denmark is a weakly integrated field. It means that its boundaries and internal structure is easily contested and influenced by other fields like other social sciences disciplines and non academic fields and interests. As I will show in the historical part of the paper, sociologists thus have to develop and practise various strategies in relation to these different agents and interests. However, fields are not monolithic blocs, but spaces of differences and it is these differences that constitute them. In a field analysis, one must therefore look for the properties differentiating the agents and institutions rather than those uniting them. In Bourdieu's terms, it is the amount and composition of capital which sets agents and institutions apart. Here, capital is understood as a property effectively used and pursued by agents in the field in the struggle over the constitution of the field (Bourdieu 1991). Capital is also used to conceptualise the differentiation of the total social space. In a study like this

of a specific part of the social space, it is important to stress that scientific capital is specific to the scientific field and must be accumulated and used in accordance with the *nomos* of the scientific field (Bourdieu 1975; Bourdieu 1988; Bourdieu 1998). This means that all agents who participate in the struggles of the field (here the scientific or sociological) must to some degree act according to the institutionalised rules or strategies of the struggle in order to be recognised as legitimate participants in the struggle, and by doing so also confirm and (re)produce the rules and structures of the field. In the struggle, the actions of the agents are to a very large degree a function of the forms and the amount of capital possessed by the agent. One could say that there tends to be a homology between the position of the agent and his position-taking (Bourdieu 1988; Bourdieu 2005). Bourdieu conceptualises academic capital differently in different works, but throughout the conceptualisations there is a distinction between temporal and specific scientific capital and between institutionalised and scientific prestige capital. The different forms of scientific capital also have different strategies of accumulation. To accumulate institutional capital, one first of all needs time: time to spend on committees, board meetings and other collective activities where this specific form of social capital can be accumulated. In this way the institutional scientific capital is to a large degree connected to the institutions of science and its management and production systems and the process of handing over this form of capital therefore has a close connection with these bureaucratic parts of the science institutions. On the other hand, specific prestige capital comes from recognised scientific work such as inventions, discoveries and significant contributions to scientific progress. Significant scientific progress often contains a heresy and in that way a revolt against the established scientific institutions and is therefore harder to control and institutionalise in order to pass on (Bourdieu 1998). As demonstrated, the forms of capital are connected to different, and to a certain degree, opposing strategies. One strategy depends on and utilises established structures and another depends on breaking with these structures. In the analysis I use the concept of capital to select variables for the MCA, but they have also served as the analytical guidelines in writing the history of Danish sociology. Here I have used them in trying to understand and differentiate between different institutional strategies.

Methods and data

In addressing the relationship between position and disposition, or between the institutionalised places and habitualised viewpoints and forms of practices, this article draws on a number of both quantitative and qualitative empirical sources. The analysis first of all draws on data from a questionnaire among Danish social scientists carried out in October and November 2009. The response rate was 49% (n=1295). The sample was even regarding gender, position and institutional affiliation. From this data I have defined the sociologists, drawing both on institutional and cognitive criteria. I have thus defined the sociological researchers as those who were employed at a sociological department or were members of the Danish sociological association or research unit who designate their research as sociology, or who mentioned a sociological research association as important to their work and who read two or more sociological journals. This definition yielded a population of 152 sociologists. In the questionnaire the respondents were asked a range of questions regarding institutional matters, research practices and epistemological assumptions and preferences. In addition to the survey data, the article draws on written resources, both primary and secondary, as well as 23 in-depth qualitative interviews with Danish sociologists.² Through the documents and qualitative interviews I construct a relational and institutional biography of the field of sociological research (Broady 2002; Charle 2001).

For the survey data I use MCA or what is also known as geometrical data analysis (Le Roux and Rouanet 2004; Le Roux and Rouanet 2010). This method is well known, especially from the work of Bourdieu, and has in recent years attained international recognition (Lebaron 2009). In this paper I construct a space of sociological research using a number of positional variables or what we in the language of Bourdieu could call different types of academic capital. The variables I use in the MCA are:

Variables	Number of modalities (passive modalities)
Acquired capital	
Education subject	7
Educational institution	6 (1)
Habitation	2
Institutional capital	
Managerial level	4 (1)
Member of editorial boards	4 (1)
Member of research councils	3 (1)
Position	5 (1)
Number of grants	4 (1)
Type of institution	3
Symbolic capital	
Grant awarding authority	6 (1)
Academic honours	2
Number of books	3
Number of articles	3
Number of feature articles/pop-articles	3
Age at master degree	4(1)
Social capital	
Research with research only	2
Research with state institutions	2
Research with local authorities	2
Research with private enterprises	2
Research with private organisations	2
Inherited capital	
Fathers highest educational level	5 (1)
Mothers highest educational level	5 (1)

Table 1: Active variables, active and passive modalities

Historical context: Danish sociology since the post-war era

Parallel to most other western countries, sociology was institutionalised in Denmark for the first time following the Second World War (Wagner 2001; Wolf 2001). By the end of the 1960s, the country had four main institutions carrying out sociological research: two departments at the University of Copen-

² The interviews are not quoted in the paper, but constitute a very important foundation for my understanding of the historical analysis. They have provided me with both knowledge of historical events and changes, as well as an insight into different ways of taking positions towards sociological research and institutional organisation and change.

hagen (sociology and cultural sociology); a department of Organisation and Industrial Sociology at the Copenhagen Business School (CBS); and a governmental Institute of Social Research (SFI) mainly concerned with social statistics. All of these sociological institutions were closely connected to the Danish state: one way or the other, they participated in the social reforms and the social planning of the welfare state throughout the 1960s (Agersnap 2002; Anderson and Dabrowski 1996).

With the advent of the 1970s, all of the above-mentioned institutions were affected by student rebellion and Marxist radicalism; however, particularly for sociologists at the University of Copenhagen, change was quite dramatic. Conflicts were played out between an older generation of staff and a coalition of younger staff members and students. One can say that the conflict stood between different modalities of Danish sociology: traditional alliance of a professional and a bureaucratic oriented mode of sociology was challenged by a new coalition of younger sociologists committed to critical and participatory sociology of a Marxist bent.

These attempts to challenge relations between sociological research and the Danish welfare state met with growing attention and, later on, with harsh political reactions. During the 1980s, three major departments of sociological research were dismantled through state intervention and administrative restructuring. In 1983, social work education at RUC was closed down and a few years later, both sociology departments at the University of Copenhagen were politically dismantled (Gundelach 1997; Gundelach 2001; Hansen 1997; Hansson and Nielsen 1996). Even with three major sociological (or sociologically-imbued) departments dismantled, sociological research was still conducted by sociologists at other institutions, before and after the 1980s. However, reflecting the divergent external pressures on sociology as a discipline during this period, the sociological research undertaken then mainly concerned professional and bureaucratic oriented modes of the discipline, attempting to re-establish traditional state-sociology linkages. Reading through the empirical documentation and reflected in my qualitative interviews, I identify two main strategies pursued by sociologists in those times of institutional crisis. First, one aiming for academic recognition through behaving like an 'ordinary' social science discipline; and second, a strategy of re-establishing close relations with the welfare state.

Overall, I thus point to two main strategies pursued by sociologists in this time of crisis: one directed

towards internal academic recognition, and one towards the external usability of sociological knowledge. The main point to note is that these strategies very much reinforced each other in a rearticulation of a traditional alliance of professional and policy sociology in Denmark.

The political context of renewed growth in the 1990s

As already suggested, since the middle of the 1990s the sociological community in Denmark has experienced steady growth and renewed public and political attention. A number of sociological or sociologically imbued university degrees have been established; the amount of sociological research is growing from 168 full-time equivalents in 1997 to 387 in 2006,³ and sociological theory and methods have emerged as an integral part of many trans-disciplinary educational and research programmes. Before describing the contours of this growth period in more detail, the point I want to make here is that to understand this context of renewed growth, we should pay attention to far-reaching changes in science policy in terms of the organisation of funding and management of research institutions in Denmark. In many ways, these changes in national policies correspond to the more general tendencies of changing science-society relations across Western Europe (Whitley and Gläser 2007). In this context, I pay attention to the specific features of how these policies affected Danish universities in general, and sociology in particular.

Importantly, the research policy changes of the 1980s and 1990s led to a clear centralisation of administrative power at national institutional levels (Aagaard 2000; Grønbæk 2001). From the point of view of the research policy bureaucracy, perhaps the most important outcome of this period was the accumulation of experiences in using 'new public management' inspired tools in relation to research institutions, continuously refining instruments of control and implementing them on ever larger scales. During the 1980s, universities had experienced heavy cutbacks in funding from the state, paving the way for increasing competition over grant money. In the 1990s total public spending on research rose, but the system of distribution changed again, as the share of state funding organised in central 'strategic' pools and projects increased steadily. Related to this development, evaluations of welfare state institutions and other forms

³ According to statistics in the following sources: (Dansk Center for Forskningsanalyse and Danmarks Statistik 1997; Dansk Center for Forskningsanalyse and Danmarks Statistik 2008).

of cooperation with external partners became increasingly important sources of funding for ever larger shares of sociological research projects. For sociologists, as for other researchers, framing research proposals to fit specific politically selected themes and problems, while building and maintaining external networks, became more important in order to secure continued research funds. Likewise, academic institutions experienced changes at an organisational level. Since the 1990s, the managerial organisation of universities in Denmark has twice undergone changes, leading to higher degrees of centralisation of managerial competences. By way of two successive reforms, the tradition of democratic government of universities has been largely abandoned, replaced by a structure with a board dominated by external members and hired leaders throughout the organisation (Wright and Ørberg 2008).

Running through these changes have been calls for 'accountability', efficiency and usability in both research and higher education, stemming from shifting governments, industry organisations and international governance bodies such as the OECD. From within research institutions, reactions have been predictably mixed: while some have welcomed the tightening of administrative procedures, hoping this will release new resources for research and education, others – including notable sociologists – continue to be vocal critics of what they see as an overblown bureaucracy and a stifling of academic freedoms.

Re-establishing Danish sociology

In the following section I sketch out three institutional strategies followed by the sociologist at major sociological research environments. At all the departments sociologists managed to utilise the changes in institutional structures to build up and establish space of sociological research. But the specific strategies followed differed according to local power relation and resulted in very different constitutions of sociological research.

Roskilde University – entrepreneurial sociology

The changes in research policy made it possible for departments who understood the new system to grow via external funds and increases in student numbers. A department that understood the importance of directing its research towards areas that could supply an income and make up a study programme with many students was the Department of Social Science at RU. During the 1980s the department had built itself up around research on welfare states and labour market relations, mainly drawing on economics and political

science, but it changed its research focus during the 1990s. From the beginning of the 1990s the department followed a strategy of expansion of both degrees and research. This allowed sociologists and typical sociological research areas more space. The educational strategy was quite simple. Because of the close connection between numbers of students and allocated resources, it was important for the department to offer degrees that could attract many students. After the closing of Socionomi in 1984, students and some of the staff at RU had expressed wishes for a sociologically-orientated education – if not an education in sociology. In 1994 a course in social science opened. It comprised a sociologically-orientated education aiming at studies of the welfare state and its institutions at different levels, and was from the beginning quite successful. In addition to this change a number of research centres and projects gave space to sociologists and sociological research. The research at the CLIF (Center for Lokal Institutionel Forskning = Center for Local Institutional Research) was an example of this. The research focused on at the centre encompassed civic society, 3rd sector initiatives and the decentralisation of the public sector; studied in a theoretical frame of new-institutionalism. This combination of a typical sociological research area and a theoretical school within political science that drew on sociological insight gave space to a number of sociological PhD students and younger researchers (Institut for Samfund og Erhvervsøkonomi 1994; Institut for Samfund og Erhvervsøkonomi 2003; Institut for Samfund og Erhvervsøkonomi 2004). Some of the researchers needed to change their research focus to obtain a scholarship or position and to some degree adapt to the problems, viewpoints and theoretical approaches of CLIF. On the other hand, here they had the opportunity of establishing or continuing their academic career. So the challenge to the sociologists was to word their proposals in a way would fit in with the central frame of political science, while still maintaining the space to practise their research in accordance with their own beliefs and ambitions. The growth of social science education and funding from evaluations and projects from different public institutions and ministries, municipals and non-governmental organisations combined with a very enterprising approach from the sociologists caused the beneficial environment to grow and in around 2000 the department hosted one of the largest sociological environments, mainly organised in a research group on welfare state and welfare society (The Danish Social Science Research Council 2006). The entrepreneurial approach that the sociologists at RU showed was in many ways

a product of the experiences of the 1980s when they had learned not to rely on unreliable funding from the state. Instead, they worked hard to build up connections to other sponsors in different sectors, making them less exposed to sudden changes in public funding, but increasing the importance of the administered funds, connections and research areas in a way that did not preclude future funding and collaboration.

Professional sociology in relation to state institutions

The reopened Department of Sociology at the University of Copenhagen followed another strategy to re-establish the reputation of the department and gain an important position within the field of sociological research. At a rhetorical level, the department stressed the point that it was the only 'pure' sociological department and had a specific obligation to conduct fundamental research in general sociology, and at the same time emphasised its difference to other sociological research environments involved in evaluations, applied and commissioned research. Through a number of guest professors, the department also tried to position itself at the forefront of the field. Through the 1990s it hosted a number of prominent foreign professors. By inviting and receiving such prominent professors, the department was drawing on symbolic recognition in addition to academic achievement. Parallel to this relations with major governmental research institutes were established throughout the 1990s. This gave the department access to different empirical research and opportunities to exchange students and research and placed it in a central position because of its symbolic position and the fact that only universities could award such educational degrees as the PhD and other symbolic signs of academic prestige. At a more practical level, the cooperation between institutions also emerged from the fact that much research and education demanded considerable administrative capacity and academic capital to obtain funding which could give time and personnel for the establishment of a research environment. Much of the empirical research was in this way outsourced to governmental research institutes that already had the institutional infrastructure to conduct empirical sociological research. Both strategies stressed the importance of the discipline and that sociology had some sort of theoretical core that made it different to other disciplines and that this core should tie research and education together. It was, in other words, a strategy that put the discipline and its 'core' first and so promoted a classical disciplinary system of sciences.

Disciplinary sociology in trans-disciplinary settings

The constitution of sociological environments as a discipline was not only a phenomenon in the capital but also in Ålborg. At the AAU students were admitted to a new educational programme in sociology and sociology gained a space as an academic discipline, in this case at a trans-disciplinary university. The AAU had already applied for a degree in sociology in 1988 but the application was rejected owing to the conditions at KU. In 1997 the first students were admitted and the second degree in sociology in Denmark was created. The differences between the two degrees were minor, but one worth noting is that the director of the degree at AAU, Jens Chr. Tonboe, stressed the orientation towards the practical use of sociology (Tonboe 1998). The second difference with potential influence on education and research was the fact that much of the research conducted by the teachers was on social structures and everyday life, social work and other subjects concerning the welfare state and its institutions (The Danish Social Science Research Council 2006). The research at the AAU was still organised in a number of trans-disciplinary departments and the degrees drew teachers from a number of them. Sociological research gained a more important position within the university during the 1990s and the Department of Social Work and Organisation included sociology in its name to underline this development in 2000 (Christiansen et al. 2008). The history of the AAU and the RUC are in many aspects similar: both institutions were founded as university centres and both focus on problem-orientated project work. Both also have a trans-disciplinary approach. However the traditional disciplines still seem to have more space at the AAU than at the RUC. How is it that this way of entering into academic struggle seems logical and possible from one institution but not from another? What is the difference regarding both internal organisation and the position of the institution in relation to other universities? The three departments described here represent an important position within the field of Danish sociological research, both regarding size and perhaps more importantly because of their institutional history. Despite their differences they are all still engaged in research dealing with some of the classical and (in size) important problematics within Danish sociological research regarding welfare states, social work, labour markets and political sociology. One of the major differences between them is the orientation towards social theory and thereby the philosophical traditions of sociology.

Summing up

In brief, the three different institutional histories represent two distinct paths in the history of Danish sociology, one heading towards a more discipline oriented sociological research and one in which sociology is conducted in more trans-disciplinary settings cooperating and competing with other approaches and traditions within social science. In both cases (and also in one institution not included in this brief historical outline) sociology has been strengthened throughout the last twenty years and has regained its institutional foothold. But as we shall see in the following section, sociology is conducted very differently in these different institutional settings.

A three dimensional positional space

In the following part of the paper I address the contemporary constitutions of Danish sociology. Here I show how this intellectual field is structured according to three different principles of differentiation: the first two classical principles of differentiation (volume of capital and orientation of production) are both well known in the sociology of science. The third derives from the specific history of Danish sociology and addresses the difference in institutional history and institutional strategy shown in the first part of the paper.

As shown earlier, the space constructed through the specific MCA draws on 22 variables, each measuring different kinds of both institutionalised and prestige academic capital. For further statistical and sociological interpretation, the first three axes are retained (Table 2), and the social space of Danish sociology can in this way be understood as a three dimensional space. In table 3 we find the relative contribution of each heading to the overall variance.

Axis	Eigenvalue	Percentage	mod rate
1	0,184	8,6 %	40%
2	0,128	6,0 %	15%
3	0,111	5,3 %	10%

Table 2: Eigenvalues and rates of variance

Headings	Over all cont of headings
Acquired capital	23,7
Institutional capital	25,9
Symbolic capital	26,8
Relation to audience (social capital)	10,7
Inherited capital	12,9
Total	100,0

Table 3: Headings contribution to overall variance

First axis: a measure of capital

The first axis (figure 1 and table 4) in the MCA is a measure of the total amount of academic capital, both institutionalised and prestige, as they together contribute to over 70% of the variance of this axis. In this way we find on the left side of origo the lack of academic resources. No publications, no grants, no managerial positions. Some of this is understandable when looking at the other modalities located on this part of the axis. It is here that we find PhD students and research assistants, or in other words agents who have just entered the academic game and thus have not spent the time required to accumulate either institutional or specific prestige capital. In this way this first axis also represents difference in age, but not only in biological sense. On this part of the axis we hence find the modality – education at Roskilde University – related to the ‘younger’ institutions. On the right side of origo we find modalities representing various kinds of academic capital. We find both the institutionalised and managerial forms for academic capital, such as position and signs of managerial power and modalities representing academic prestige capital, such as researchers with habituation (the old version of a doctorate) and a large number of publications.

Second axis: orientation of research

The second axis (figure 2 and table 5) represents the orientation of research or what one could call the audience of the sociological products. In this way the questions under the heading of social capital account for 60% of the overall variance of the axis. In an article looking into the changing audience structure and disciplinary organisation of economics and sociology, Canadian sociologist Mathieu Albert draws an analytical distinction from Bourdieu’s work on fields of cultural production. Using Bourdieu’s models of a field of cultural production, Albert develops two different analytical categories to show different orientations of the research. On the one hand, there is the production for producers (the restricted production (Bourdieu 1996)) and on the other production for non-producers (Albert 2003), production to a restricted field or to an enlarged field. This axis can largely be understood in these terms.

Using this analytical distinction we find on the lower (left) part of the axis modalities representing sociological production for producers – the restricted form of production. We thus find the modality indicating researchers solely cooperating with other researchers and obtaining their grants more from public research councils and less from extra academic insti-

tutions. On the upper part of the axis we find a number of modalities that represent sociological production for non-producers. Here we find cooperation with various different kinds of extra academic organisations and institutions. Interestingly, we not only find modalities representing the external orientation of the research, but also modalities representing a high amount of financial capital in the form of many research grants (3+ grants).⁴

On the lower part of axis we find none of the modalities representing much financial capital and the modality of one research project. This difference between the part of the social space oriented toward production for producers and the one oriented towards production for non-producers not only represent differences in allocation of resources, but also two different strategies of producing sociological knowledge and different modes of production. Here the lower part represents a long-term investment strategy, or what Bourdieu calls a long production cycle (Bourdieu 1996; p. 146ff), where the researcher is deeply involved in one or two in-depth research projects over a longer time span - the typical mode of production of the university researcher. The upper part of the axis on the other hand represents a short production cycle. Here the researcher is involved in a large number of research projects for a shorter period, before he or she continues on to new and different projects: the typical mode of production for the governmental research institutions.

Third axis: symbolic structure of Danish sociology – insiders and outsiders

The third axis (figure 3 and table 6) represents a difference between insiders and outsiders or the difference between the established researchers and newcomers to the field of sociological research. The acquired capital thus accounts for 40% variance of the axis, but the institutional (24%) and symbolic capital (22%) also contribute and add to this interpretation of the axis. In this way it represents a difference between the recognised positions within the field of sociological research and the more marginal positions that have to strive for field specific recognition. On the lower part of this axis we find modalities that indicate a high concentration of various forms of academic capital. But when looking more closely, we can see that what makes a difference from the upper part of the axis is not only the concentration of financial capital; on this part of the axis we also find modalities that indicate

affiliation to sociology through education and the old educational institution for sociology - the University of Copenhagen. We also find two modalities here that one following the distinction between production for producers and production for non-producers would assume should be located opposite to each other. This is the modality of holders of a doctoral degree associated with production for producers and cooperation with both private enterprises and organisations associated with the production for non-producers mode of production. These two modalities are here located close together and thus represent the coalition of two different dominating forms of legitimate sociology: on the one hand the professional mode of legitimising within the academic field and on the other a mode of sociological knowledge production with strong ties to an extra academic audience.

On the opposed upper part of axis we find the modalities of the newcomers or what could be understood as the dominated and heterodox part of this social space. Here we find researchers with education in disciplines other than sociology and from institutions other than the University of Copenhagen. We also find modalities representing less financial capital and lower position in the academic occupational structure and a higher age at masters degree level. But what we also find here are two modalities representing internal academic recognition. On this part of the axis we thus find both the modality of four or more articles and grants from Danish research councils. But not only do we find modalities that in this way represent specific field recognition; we also find one representing an orientation towards an extra academic audience in forms of feature articles and other public outlets.

⁴ Testing variables measuring number of grants and total amount of external funding shows that there is a strong correlation.

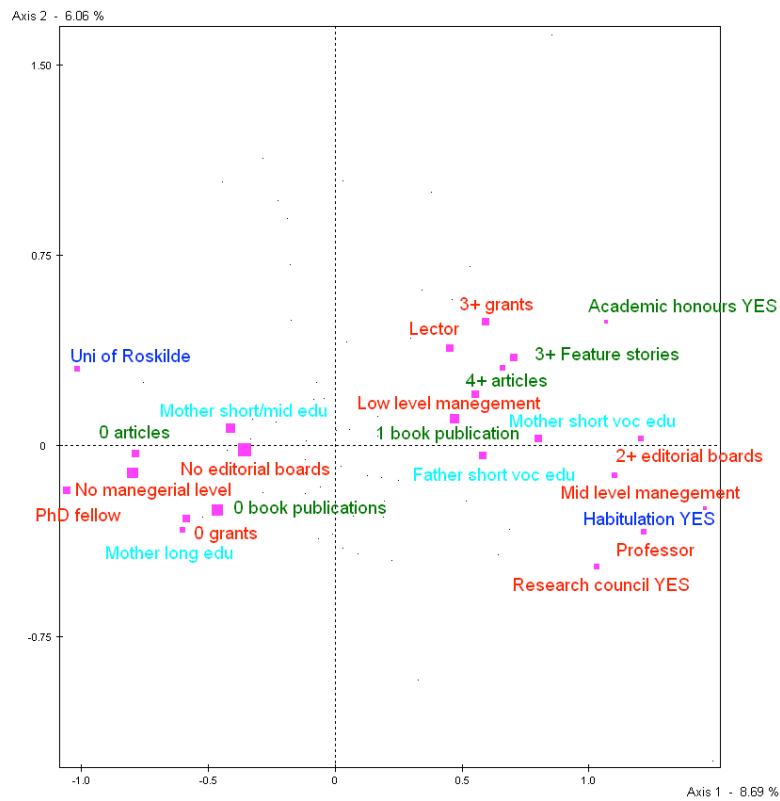


Figure 1: Modalities one the first axis

2. axis	Ctr_head	Categories		Ctr_cat	
		Left	Right	Left	Right
Acquired capital	15,79	Edu: Sociology	Edu: Interdisciplina	1,90	4,81
			Uni of Aalborg		4,34
Institutional capital	9,11		Lector/senior resear		1,76
			3+ grants		2,06
Symbolic capital	13,04		Grant: other publ. a		3,08
			2+ book publication		2,31
			0 Feature stories	1,70	
Social capital	59,33	Coop. only researche	Coop. not only resea	10,54	5,64
		No coop. w/ state in	Coop. w/ state insti	4,34	9,13
		No coop w local inst	Coop w local institu	2,20	8,95
			Coop w priv. compani		4,90
		No coop w priv. orga	Coop w priv. organis	3,21	9,63
Inherited capital	2,56				

Table 4: Modalities contributing over average to second axis

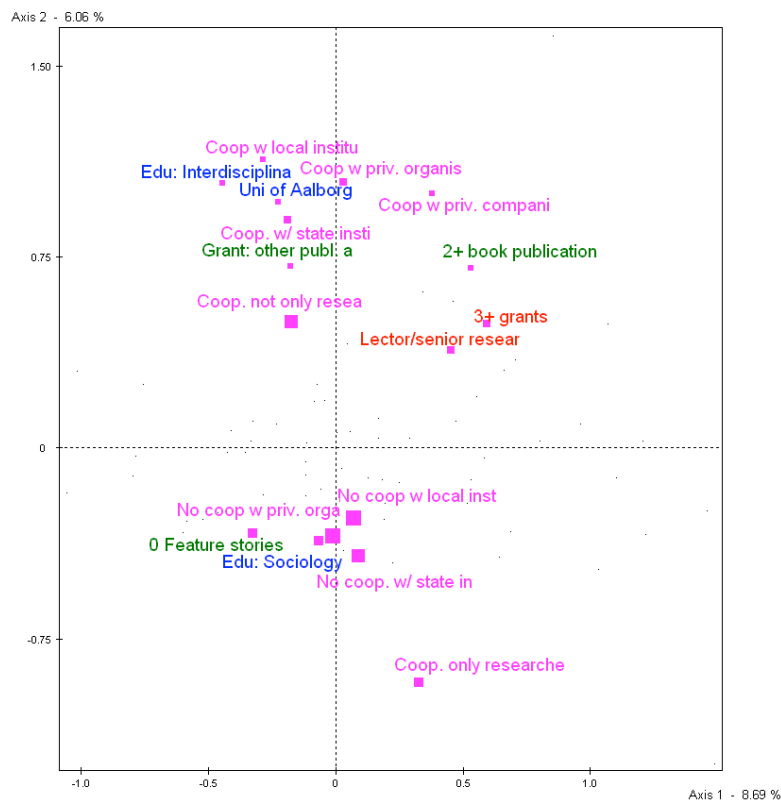


Figure 2: Modalities on the second axis

2. axis	Ctr_head	Categories		Ctr_cat	
		Left	Right	Left	Right
Acquired capital	15,79	Edu: Sociology	Edu: Interdisciplina	1,90	4,81
			Uni of Aalborg		4,34
Institutional capital	9,11		Lector/senior resear		1,76
			3+ grants		2,06
Symbolic capital	13,04		Grant: other publ. a		3,08
			2+ book publication		2,31
		0 Feature stories		1,70	
Social capital	59,33	Coop. only researche	Coop. not only resea	10,54	5,64
		No coop. w/ state in	Coop. w/ state insti	4,34	9,13
		No coop w local inst	Coop w local institu	2,20	8,95
			Coop w priv. compani		4,90
		No coop w priv. orga	Coop w priv. organis	3,21	9,63
Inherited capital	2,56				

Table 5: Modalities contributing over average to second axis

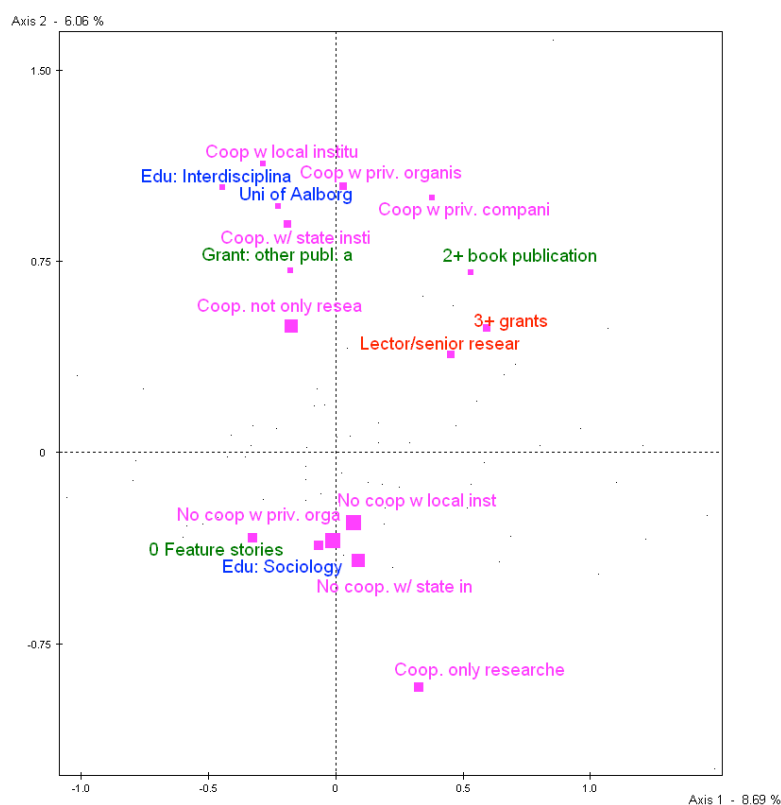


Figure 3: Modalities on the second axis

3. axis	Ctr_head	Categories		Ctr_cat	
		Left	Right	Left	Right
Acquired capital	38,28	Edu: Humanities	Edu: Sociology	5,79	7,67
		Edu: Political Sc		5,99	
		Uni of Roskilde	Uni of Copenhagen	3,60	4,53
		Uni of Aarhus		5,73	
			Habitation YES	2,69	
Institutional capital	25,6	Lector/senior resear	Phd fellow	5,88	1,56
			Professor/research d		4,85
		1-2 grants	3+ grants	3,78	3,03
			Sector research inst		2,12
Symbolic capital	22,59	Grant: DK research c		2,78	
		4+ articles	0 articles	2,84	3,49
		3+ Feature stories		2,44	2,73
		Master at 28-29 year	Master at <27 years	3,34	
Relation to audience/cooperation (social capital)	8,43		Coop w priv. Com- panies		2,09
			Coop w priv. organis		2,68
Inherited capital	5,1				

Table 6: Modalities contributing over average to third axis

The space of sociological dispositions and forms of practice

We have now seen the space of sociological research in Denmark organised in three dimensions, each representing a principle of differentiation. The three principles of differentiation were first the distribution of various kinds of academic capital, thereafter a difference in orientation of production, and lastly a difference between the established researchers in the field in relation to the newcomers. The question is how this space of sociological positions is structured in relation to both sociological position-taking and forms of practice. In the following part of the paper I sketch out how modalities representing a number of problematics and matters of conflict within sociological research are distributed when projected into the space of position. Methodologically, I project a number of variables into the above constructed space of sociological positions as supplementary variables. These variables do not contribute to the statistical construction of the space, but are in the following analysis used to expand and support the analysis of the field of sociological research. In addition to that, in a more analytical language, we can also say that this use of supplementary variables enables us to illustrate how specific ways of position-taking within sociology are related to a specific position – or in other words, the relation between the ways of producing knowledge and social position within the space of sociological production

The problematic and matters of conflict in the sociological field that I will examine further in this part of the paper are the question of methods, of the means and ends in sociology and the choice of theory and subject.

Relation to audience – means and ends in sociological research

The first matters of conflict and differentiation that I will examine more closely relate to the question of the means and ends for sociology and the question of orientation of the sociological research. This discussion about the kind of knowledge that sociology produces and/or should produce is as old as the discipline itself, but nonetheless rearticulates itself over and over. To illustrate this line of conflict I have chosen seven variables as supplementary variables.

The seven variables are used to illustrate conflicts around the role of theory and empirical material, the cooperation with extra academic audiences and the objectives of sociological research.

Looking at the first axis (see figure 4) we find that it only represents minor differences in relation to the

problematic addressed here⁵. Only in relation to the question on inspiration from theory and whether sociology should strive to find regularities or causal relations do we find differences. Regarding these questions we find a difference between the young with less academic capital and the older academic protagonists. As shown in figure 4, the older researchers associated with more academic capital also tend to be more inspired from sociological theory and to have more of a nomothetic aspiration on behalf of sociology than the younger and ‘poorer’ researchers.

Remembering the difference structuring the second axis (see figure 5), the differences found on this axis are not surprising. On the upper part of the axis we find the modalities indicating cooperation with extra academic institutions when formulating research questions and a strong inspiration from their work with empirical material. Likewise, we find researchers who think that evaluation in relation to given objectives are very important and that social sciences should contribute towards solving practical social problems. Now looking at the lower part of the axis we find the opposite modalities. This part of the axis thus represents a theoretically-oriented part of the field, which does not involve the cooperation of extra academic institutions and agents in the formulation of research questions, and where research questions do not arise from empirical material. On this part of the axis we also find researchers who do not find it important to evaluate in relation to given objectives and reject the notion that social science should contribute towards solving practical social problems.

On the third axis (see figure 6) we find differences between the insiders and the outsiders of Danish sociology. On the lower part of the axis we find the modalities associated with the established insider part. Here we find modalities representing a non-theoretical inspiration for the research questions, and research questions are formulated in association with external partners. On this part of the axis we also find the modality representing a rejection of a critical aspiration for the social sciences – a very unusual position taken within sociology. Thus do 60% (91) of the sociologists endorse the statement that social sciences should be critical sciences, but only 6.5% reject

⁵ I here follow the recommendations from Brigitte Le Roux and Henry Rounet for interpreting supplementary variables. I thus consider a deviation greater than 1 as large and smaller than 0.5 as notable (Le Roux & Rouanet 2010). A complete list over coordinates and frequencies for supplementary variables can be found in the appendix.

the statement.⁶ On the upper part of the axis we find modalities that represent an opposite viewpoint. In short we here find a mode of sociological production that values critical and theoretically-informed research where research questions do not arise in close cooperation with external interests.

Methods

The use of different methods in sociology is an everlasting conflict. But as we shall see here, the conflict is not only a matter of epistemology, as some studies suggest (Lamont), but also a stake in a broader game of and on legitimate ways of practising sociology. Three variables have also been chosen to represent the use of different empirical material; two are mostly associated with quantitative methods and one with qualitative methods. The first axis (figure 7) is differentiated between those who use many different kinds of empirical material and those who use fewer kinds of empirical material⁷. The first mode of sociological production is associated with the part of the first axis that represents a concentration of academic capital, where less academic capital also means use of fewer kinds of empirical material. Hence the concentration of academic properties is in this way homologically structured. But the first axis also represents a difference between the use and non-use of quantitative data. Here we find that the pole associated with much academic capital also tends to use quantitative data more often than the sociologists on the other pole.

On the second axis (figure 7) we find the first difference in the use of empirical material. On the upper part of the axis, the part we earlier designated as production for non-producers, we find the modalities representing the use of different empirical material. On the upper part of the axis we find modalities representing the use of various different kinds of empirical materials, whereas on the lower part we find only the modalities representing that non-use of the empirical materials. This does not mean that the researchers on the lower part do not use any kinds of empirical material. What it indicates is that they are more devoted to one specific method or type of empirical material and, as we saw above, draw more on theory. The use of qualitative interviews represents this difference. This kind of data is the most common

type used by sociologists (70% of whom say that they use qualitative interviews in all or most of their research; and only 5% never use this method). Not using this kind of data thus represents a very different kind of sociology – a less empirical kind. The axis represents in this way the difference between the use of many different methods, quantitative as well as qualitative, and is opposed to the lower part of the axis with the use of a single method and – as we saw earlier – a more theoretical orientation. Hence the axis also represents the difference between a more theoretical approach as opposed to a more empirical mode of sociological production.

On the third axis (see figure 8) we find the opposition between quantitative and qualitative methods structured in accordance with the symbolic structure represented by this axis. The lower part of the axis thus represents the quantitative methods and data associated with the modalities of public statistics and register data. On the upper side of the axis we find the non-use of quantitative data. The opposition represents two distinct modes of sociological production associated with the established pole of the field, two modes of productions related to two important institutions in the struggle for symbolic and intuitional recognition: the field of social science research (and more broadly the academic field) and the bureaucratic field. On the one hand we find a sociological mode of production largely concerned with legitimising sociology as a scientific discipline providing useful (quantitative) knowledge for the welfare state in competition and cooperation with economists and economics. On the upper part of the axis we find the newcomers or heterodox part of the field and here the use of a various different qualitative methods and sociological theories.

⁶ This difference is not significant when testing the two extreme modalities partly because of the very low number in the 'non-critical' modality. The deviation is nonetheless over 0.5 as recommended by Le Roux and Rouanet (2010). Furthermore, it is this 'non-critical' position taking a very rare property in sociology that is worth mention.

⁷ This difference is not shown on the maps, and the deviation is not very great. The tendency is nonetheless clear.

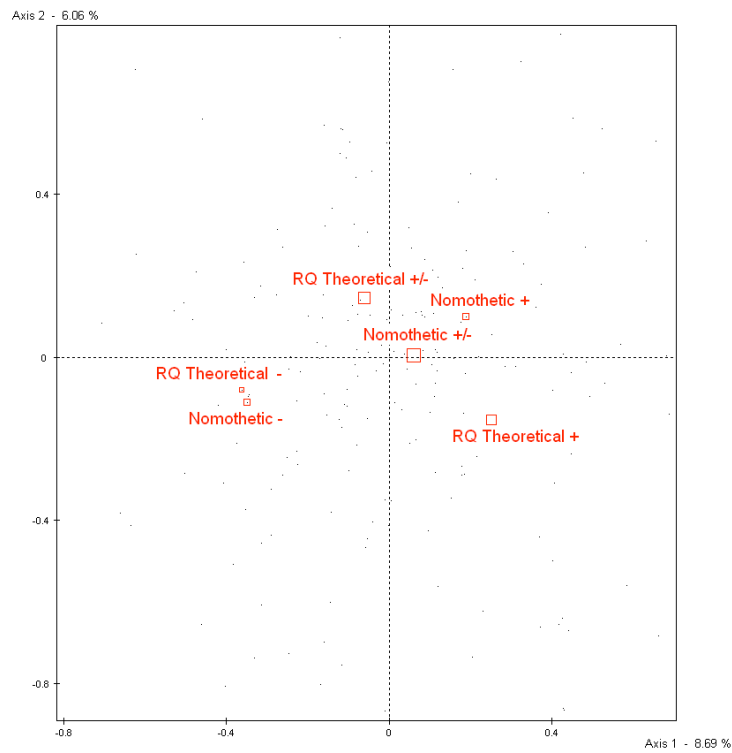


Figure 4: Supplementary modalities on the first axis, means and ends in sociology



Figure 5: Supplementary modalities on the second axis, means and ends in sociology

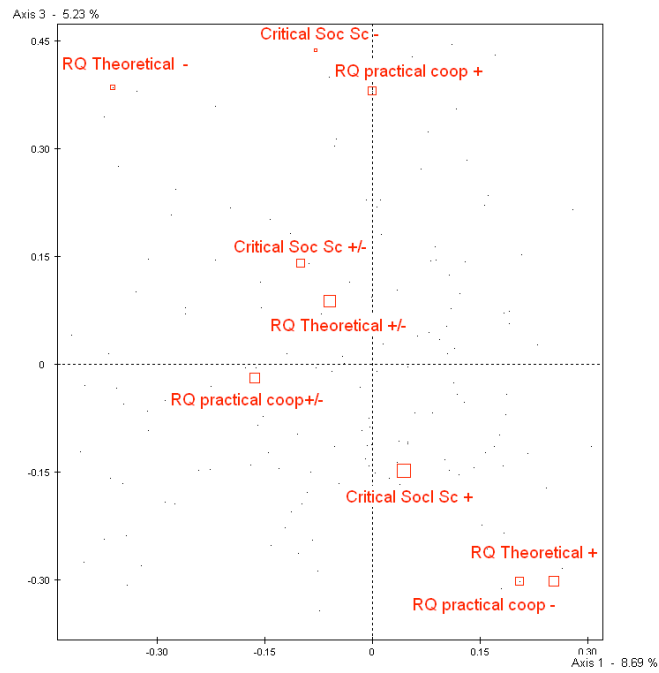


Figure 6: Supplementary modalities on the third axis, means and ends in sociology

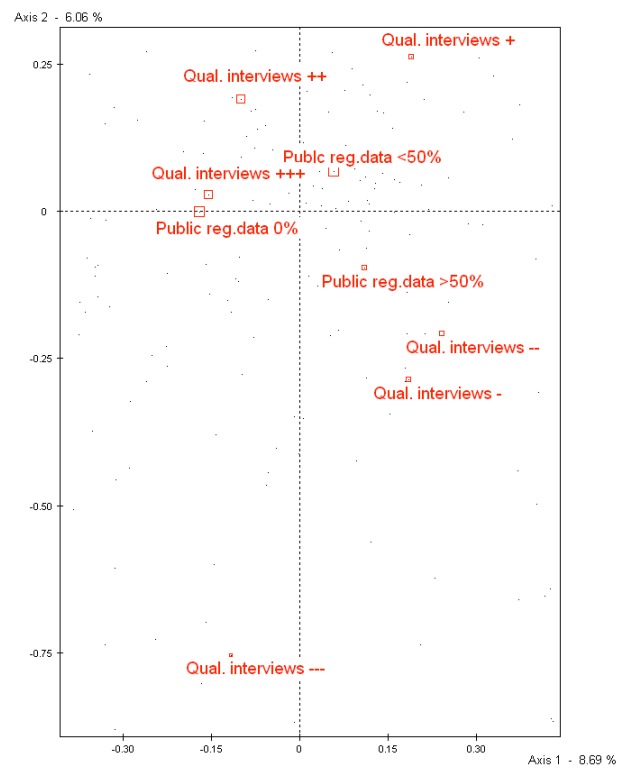


Figure 7: Supplementary modalities on the first and second axis, methods in sociology

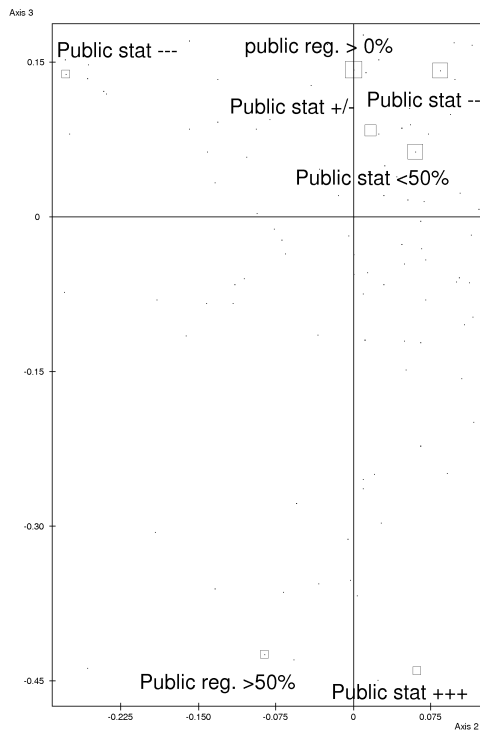


Figure 8: Supplementary modalities on the third axis, methods in sociology

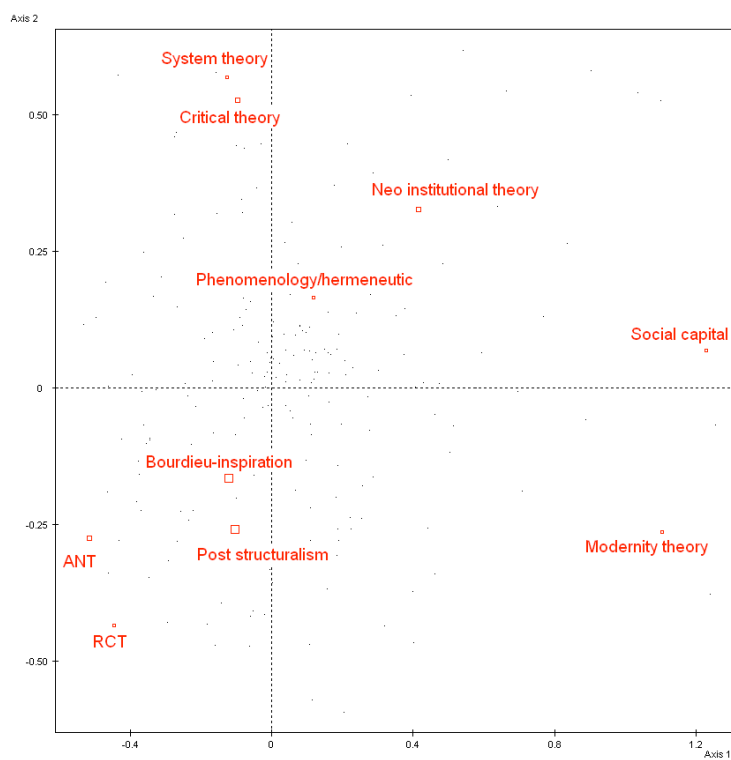


Figure 9: Supplementary modalities on the first and second axis, use of social theory

*The use of sociological theory*⁸

When students are introduced to sociological theory, it is typically to a wide range of theoretical schools and traditions. These intellectual structures can be categorised in a number of ways using different typologies such as conflict/consensus, agent/structure and so forth. In this section I will show how different theoretical perspectives are distributed in the field of sociological research. In the survey we asked the respondents to indicate which theoretical tradition or theoretician had inspired them the most. These answers were later coded into a number of categories summarising the answers.

On the first axis (see figure 9) we find a difference between young and old researchers regarding theory, but simultaneously we also find differences in the analytical perspective provided by the theories or school of thought that is related to the respective position within the field of sociological research. It is thus worth noticing the difference between the theoretical position associated with the part of the axis representing much academic capital and the one representing less. On the right side of the axis we find theories representing well-established mainstream traditions in sociology and those associated with analysis and developments in the welfare state (institutional theory and theories on social capital) or providing theoretical concepts to 'legitimise' or account for societal changes (theories on modernity). In the part of the axis associated with less academic capital, we find newcomers and heterodox theoretical approaches in sociology. In this way we find RCT and ANT, two theoretical positions both drawing on well-established sociological positions, but re-casted and rearticulated by (in Denmark) young sociologists in opposition to both the established critical tradition (mainly German and French inspired) and more 'functional' or policy-oriented theory.

Now turning to the second axis (see figure 9) we find on the upper part of it theoretical positions such as critical theory, system theory (mostly in a Luhmannian sense) and institutional theories. Looking at the lower part of the second axis we find theoretical positions that reinforce the picture of this part of the

axis as representing the theory-oriented field. In this way we find sophisticated theoretical and other positions which may or may not be of immediate use, such as various kinds of post structuralism, ANT and other kinds of philosophically informed theories.

When looking at the third axis (see figure 10) the difference is hard to see, but when recalling the variations found in the previous analysis, the difference between old and new sociological theoretical positions found here is very much represented, as is the difference between the more theoretically informed parts of the field as opposed to the more empirical parts. On the lower part of the axis we thus find more classical (and partly uncritical) sociological theoretical positions, contrasting with the more philosophically informed theoretical positions at the upper end⁹.

Subjects of study

Like the theoretical orientation, the subject of study is an important principle of distinction in the field of sociological research and, as we shall see in this section, different sub-sociologies are likewise associated with specific positions within the field and often stand in antagonistic relation to other subjects. In this section we will look into how different subjects of study are distributed in this social space and associated with specific modes of sociological production. In the survey the respondents were asked to identify their subject of study. These answers were later coded into a number of categories in a single variable. In this part of the analysis this is used as a supplementary variable.

Starting with the first axis (see figure 11), we once again find that the subjects are differentiated according to age and distribution within Danish sociology. In this way we find on the part of the axis associated with much academic capital sociological research subjects that were established as important in the 1970s and that are today still the research focus of some older sociologists. Here we thus find the modality of gender and sexuality, the one of democracy and political systems and general social theory, confirming this pole as the theoretically-oriented of the first axis. On the 'young' and less established part of the axis we find the modality of media and communication and the one representing an emerging field within Danish sociology (and Danish social science more

⁸ In the following two paragraphs I use the supplementary variable very illustratively. There are two reasons for that. First of all it is data which differs from the data used in the rest of the analysis. It is thus not on a predefined scale or representing a specific institution. I thus use the differences already constructed to understand the difference between theoretical position-taking and choice of research subject. Also the number of respondents in each category makes it hard to push the conclusions too firmly, and the following analysis should be read in this light.

⁹ On the upper side of the axis we also find modalities representing 75 individuals that have all taken clear positions towards a theoretical position. On the lower side we only find 34 who have done the same. The missing or not relevant responses (43) are located on the lower side very near origo.

broadly), health and nutrition. In the middle we find a number of modalities representing the large and well-established research areas such as research on welfare state organisation, social work, labour market studies and social theory. When looking at the concentration ellipses, it can also be seen that these subjects of study are dispersed along the first axis. In this way they represent well-established research areas for both young and old researchers.

On the second axis (see figure 11) we find differences in the orientation of research. On the upper part of the axis we find subjects related to management of the welfare state and on the lower part more academically-oriented subjects. In this way we find on the upper part subjects such as social work and labour market studies, but also research oriented in the direction of business management and educational sociology. On the lower part of the axis we find modalities of more academically-oriented subjects such as social theory, science studies and gender and sexuality.

The third axis (see figure 12) is perhaps the most interesting one as it is concerned with the symbolic meaning of choice of subject, using the distinctions found in the previous analysis. On this axis we find a different distinction in orientation through choice of

subject than that between production for non-producers vs production for producers represented by the second axis. The difference we find here cannot be summarised in the classical distinction between basic opposed to applied science or internal opposed to external orientation of science. On this axis the difference is represented as between the subject central to sociologists as opposed to the subject in the periphery of the discipline, and between sociologists with a close connection to the University of Copenhagen and sociology as opposed to researchers with other educational and institutional backgrounds. There are two interesting observations on the right side origo. Here we find researchers educated in political sciences and humanities and in choice of subject associated with political science researchers in democracy and political culture and welfare state research and in Denmark associated with humanities (educational sciences and philosophy) studies in education and social theory. On the lower part – the insider pole of the axis – we find a large number of subjects all associated with powerful institutions in society. We thus find studies in business administration and different kinds of research oriented towards public institutions and the handling of social problems.

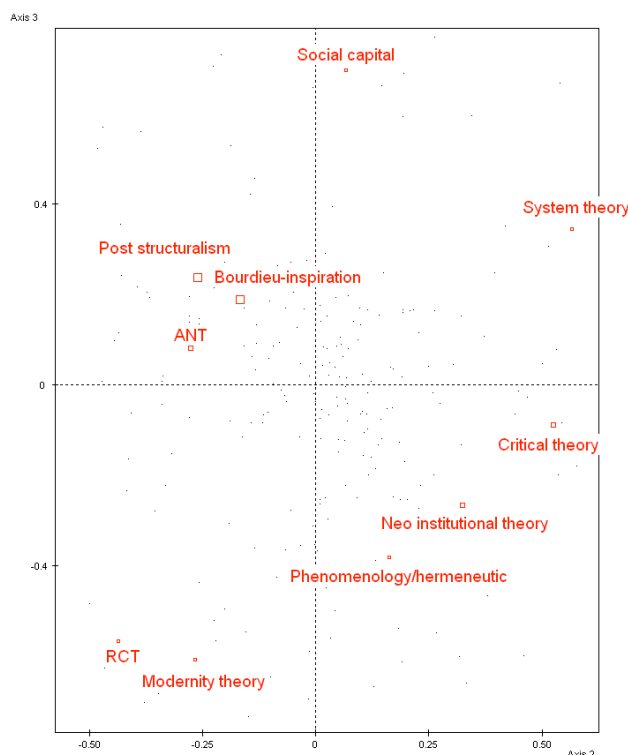


Figure 10: Supplementary modalities on the second and third axis, use of social theory



Figure 11: Supplementary modalities on the first and second axis, subject of study

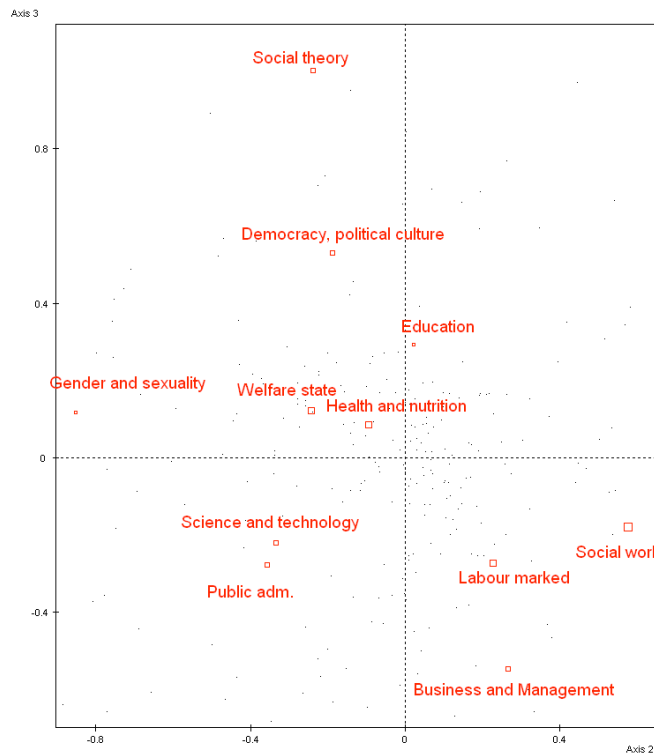


Figure 12: Supplementary modalities on the second and third axis, subject of study

Conclusion

This paper set out to address the relationship between position and disposition in the field of sociological research in Denmark and to relate the contemporary constitution to the history that has produced it. In this conclusion I will try to summarise the two empirical analyses of the paper and provide some key elements for understanding why Danish sociology is constituted in this specific way. First I summarise the statistical analysis and thereafter use the historical accounts to provide an explanation for this specific structure.

The first axis summarises the overall amount of academic capital from institutional to specific prestige capital. This axis represents a very important principle of distinction in the academic world between those who dispose of desired symbolic and material properties as opposed to those who do not. The axis also represents the difference between the older and the younger agents within the field and likewise the opposition between the old and new institution. Simultaneously it represents important differences which do not necessarily relate to the time spent in the field, but are normally understood as differences in epistemology or tradition of sociological thought and practice. The second axis represents different orientations of sociological research, differences that can be summarised in the opposition between production for producers of sociological research and production for non-producers. In this analysis I show that the differences not only concern the orientation of sociological research, but represent two distinct modes of production with very different time horizons and audiences. The upper part thus represents the short-term mode of production, while the lower part represents a long-term mode of production. On the upper part of the axis we find the production for non-producers where as the lower part represents production for producers. The third axis represented the symbolic structure of Danish sociology. Summarised, we can understand the axis as the established researchers opposed to the newcomers in the field, but in an extended analysis we can also understand the dominating pole of Danish sociology opposed to the dominated and also representing two distinct antagonistic forms of sociological knowledge. Beginning at the established part of the axis we find the modalities representing both academic and social recognition. On the other part of the axis we first of all find the opposite modalities representing the lack of academic and social recognition, but on the other hand this pole is associated with a high academic productivity. The axis also represents very different orientations and views on the means and ends in sociology. We thus find a less theoretical

orientation with the established researchers and a rejection of any critical obligation within sociology. On the contrary, the researchers on the other part of the axis find the theoretical inspiration and critical ambitions important. The axis represents a distinction between the 'critical' and the 'scientistic', or what I called the orientation toward either the right or the left hand of the state.

The two first axes represent a quite common structure within the social sciences, whereas the third axis reveals a specific structure of Danish sociology. Recalling the history of Danish sociology in relation to the statistical analysis, one specific historical development comes to mind. It represents two specific modes of sociology which have developed and become institutionalised in the last twenty years. On the one hand we find a discipline-oriented mode of sociological production and on the other a mode of sociological production in which sociology or sociological knowledge is used within and opposed to other social science disciplines. The first mode of sociological production is associated with the disciplinary focus we found in both the University of Copenhagen and to a lesser degree at AAU. It focuses simultaneously on re-establishing a professional sociology and rebuilding the productive relationship with the welfare state and its institutions. Through the new courses and the rearticulation of sociology as a distinct scientific discipline, this discipline-orientated position was built up during the 1990s at the University of Copenhagen and AAU from two different points of departure. The second mode of sociological production was represented by the road of RUC. Here, sociologists used the changing institutional and financial structures of Danish scientific institutions to build up a position drawing on the sociological virtues of the 1970s both articulating a critical and engaged sociology in a trans-disciplinary setting – but now in a more reformist mode. All in all, sociology was re-established on the premise of accepting and underpinning the social structures or principals of vision and division in both the academic field and field of power. But this development has also lead to a constitution of Danish sociological research that favours strategies and research orientated towards either institutionalised academic forms or problematics of the welfare state, while strategies questioning them seem more rocked.

I have addressed the research question in the paper through a field analytical approach. The question is whether sociological research, so disintegrated it appears, can be characterised as a field? As the empirical depiction of the sociological research in Denmark show, is sociological research a much disin-

tegrated endeavour with little autonomy from neither other academic fields or from the field of power and the state. The field analytical approach none the less provides me with a tool enabling me to understand the different strategies followed by sociologists in relation to the contemporary structures and who different strategies and agents relates. Further more the approach provides a theoretical understanding of the homological structures found in the statistical analysis.

In more general terms, the paper addresses the relationship between social structures and knowledge (or intellectual structures). It shows how specific changes in the institutional organisation of sociological production impact on both the products and the ways in which sociologists take positions towards epistemological questions and conflicts. For the specific Danish case, the paper shows who and why Danish sociology was re-established in a mode that simultaneously favoured a 'professional' and policy-oriented mode of sociological production, and thus changed the ways of producing sociological knowledge. It also shows that intellectual fields are structured in a homological way, which links symbolic recognition and material and institutional conditions structuring the way sociologists practise their scientific endeavours. □

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Abstract

Sociology in Denmark has a peculiar history, involving a late institutionalisation and the closure of the two main departments in the 1980s. As a consequence of these historical events, Danish sociology is today mainly conducted at trans-disciplinary department level and in mode-2 like settings. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of field, this paper analyses how the field of sociological research in Denmark is constituted. In the paper, using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA), I construct two homological spaces to show how objective positions and ways of practising sociology are related. In other words, I look into how different sociological practices (choice of method and subject and view on cognitive properties of sociology, modes of publication etc.) are related to specific research institutions (university departments, governmental research institutions etc.) and other social properties. I show how different sociological forms of practice have different functions, both in regard of

producing legitimacy within the field and in relation to other fields. Simultaneously, the paper shows that the different ways of practising sociology constitute not only a form of division of labour, but also represent different ways of taking positions in a struggle on what should be regarded as good sociology; or, using the concepts of Bourdieu, who are entitled to define sociology as an academic discipline in Denmark.

The data analysed in the paper stems from a questionnaire among Danish social scientists carried out in November 2009 and analysed using MCA.

Keywords

Multiple correspondence analysis, field analysis, Danish sociology, history of sociology, Bourdieu

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Appendix

Label	Count	Axis 1	Label	Count	Axis 2	Label	Count	Axis 3
My research questions is mainly theoretical inspired								
RQ theory+	54	0,26	RQ theory+	54	-0,18	RQ theory+	54	0,25
RQ theory+/-	72	-0,06	RQ theory+/-	72	0,16	RQ theory+/-	72	-0,05
RQ theory-	26	-0,36	RQ theory-	26	-0,07	RQ theory-	26	-0,36
My research questions is mainly inspired from empirical material								
RQ empirical mat.+++	35	-0,11	RQ empirical mat.+++	35	0,20	RQ empirical mat.+++	35	-0,17
RQ empirical mat.++	59	0,21	RQ empirical mat.++	59	0,05	RQ empirical mat.++	59	-0,15
RQ empirical mat.+	42	-0,08	RQ empirical mat.+	42	-0,05	RQ empirical mat.+	42	0,27
FS emp.mat.--/---	14	-0,30	FS emp.mat.--/---	14	-0,43	FS emp.mat.--/---	14	0,24
0.0	2	-0,43	0.0	2	-0,77	0.0	2	-0,03
My research questions arise in corporation with partners from the practical life								
RQ cooperation+	43	0,01	RQ cooperation+	43	0,69	RQ cooperation+	43	-0,35
RQ cooperation+/-	59	-0,17	RQ cooperation+/-	59	0,10	RQ cooperation+/-	59	0,02
RQ cooperation-	48	0,20	RQ cooperation-	48	-0,76	RQ cooperation-	48	0,26
missing category	2	-0,08	missing category	2	0,35	missing category	2	0,60
The importance of finding regularities and causal relations								
Nomothetic+	35	0,19	Nomothetic+	35	0,10	Nomothetic+	35	-0,06
Nomothetic+/-	83	0,07	Nomothetic+/-	83	0,00	Nomothetic+/-	83	-0,06
Nomothetic -	32	-0,36	Nomothetic -	32	-0,10	Nomothetic -	32	0,18
missing category	2	-0,32	missing category	2	-0,14	missing category	2	0,46
The importance of providing solution to social problems								
Rec_omk1_Q100			Rec_omk1_Q100			Rec_omk1_Q100		
Improve soc.+++/>++	77	-0,15	Improve soc.+++/>++	77	0,32	Improve soc.+++/>++	77	-0,13
Improve soc.+	49	0,18	Improve soc.+	49	-0,20	Improve soc.+	49	0,27
Improve soc.--/---	26	0,11	Improve soc.--/---	26	-0,57	Improve soc.--/---	26	-0,12
The importance of carry out evaluation in relation to given objectives								
Evaluating Soc ++/+++	20	-0,08	Evaluating Soc ++/+++	20	0,44	Evaluating Soc ++/+++	20	-0,06
Evaluating Soc +	36	0,11	Evaluating Soc +	36	0,07	Evaluating Soc +	36	0,01
Evaluating Soc -	45	-0,08	Evaluating Soc -	45	0,11	Evaluating Soc -	45	0,17
Evaluating Soc --/---	45	-0,05	Evaluating Soc --/---	45	-0,41	Evaluating Soc --/---	45	-0,06
0.0	6	0,64	0.0	6	0,33	0.0	6	-0,66
The importance of carrying out critical studies								
omk2_Q104			omk2_Q104			omk2_Q104		

Critical+	91	0,05	Critical+	91	-0,04	Critical+	91	0,13
Critical+/-	49	-0,11	Critical+/-	49	0,11	Critical+/-	49	-0,10
Critical-	10	-0,10	Critical-	10	-0,20	Critical-	10	-0,49
missing category	2	0,84	missing category	2	0,26	missing category	2	-0,78
Metoder								
Use of public statistics								
Public stat+++	27	0,17	Public stat+++	27	0,06	Public stat+++	27	-0,44
Public stat+/-	39	0,12	Public stat+/-	39	0,02	Public stat+/-	39	0,08
Public stat--	58	-0,04	Public stat--	58	0,08	Public stat--	58	0,14
Public stat---	25	-0,43	Public stat---	25	-0,28	Public stat---	25	0,14
missing category	3	1,25	missing category	3	-0,07	missing category	3	-1,02
Use of public register data								
Public register data>50%	24	0,11	Public register data>50%	24	-0,09	Public register data>50%	24	-0,42
Public register data<50%	59	0,06	Public register data<50%	59	0,06	Public register data<50%	59	0,06
Public register data 0%	65	-0,17	Public register data 0%	65	0,00	Public register data 0%	65	0,14
0.0	4	1,24	0.0	4	-0,38	0.0	4	-0,70
Use of qualitative interviews								
Qual. Interviews +++	41	-0,17	Qual. Interviews +++	41	0,05	Qual. Interviews +++	41	-0,05
Qual. Interviews ++	47	-0,10	Qual. Interviews ++	47	0,18	Qual. Interviews ++	47	-0,13
Qual. Interviews +	18	0,20	Qual. Interviews +	18	0,26	Qual. Interviews +	18	-0,02
Qual. Interviews -	18	0,19	Qual. Interviews -	18	-0,28	Qual. Interviews -	18	0,15
Qual. Interviews --	21	0,25	Qual. Interviews --	21	-0,24	Qual. Interviews --	21	0,12
Qual. Interviews ---	7	-0,13	Qual. Interviews ---	7	-0,75	Qual. Interviews ---	7	0,41
Subject								
Democracy, political culture	9	0,71	Social work	27	0,58	Social theory	10	1,00
Gender and sexuality	6	0,43	Business and Management	12	0,27	Democracy, political culture	9	0,53
99.0	4	0,40	Labour marked	21	0,23	Education	7	0,29
Social theory	10	0,22	Education	7	0,02	99.0	4	0,21
Labour marked	21	0,07	Health and nutrition	17	-0,09	Welfare state	19	0,12
Business and Management	12	0,04	Democracy, political culture	9	-0,19	Gender and sexuality	6	0,12
Public adm.	9	0,00	Social theory	10	-0,24	Health and nutrition	17	0,09
Science and technology	11	0,00	Welfare state	19	-0,24	Social work	27	-0,18

Education	7	-0,02	Science and technology	11	-0,33	Science and technology	11	-0,22
Social work	27	-0,16	Public adm.	9	-0,36	Labour marked	21	-0,27
Welfare state	19	-0,24	99.0	4	-0,37	Public adm.	9	-0,28
Health and nutrition	17	-0,35	Gender and sexuality	6	-0,85	Business and Management	12	-0,55
Theory								
Social capital	2	1,23	System theory	6	0,57	Social capital	2	0,69
Modernity theory	5	1,11	Critical theory	11	0,53	System theory	6	0,34
Neo institutionalism	10	0,42	Neo institutionalism	10	0,33	Post structuralism	24	0,24
Wittgenstein/Post-an	2	0,19	Everyday life perspective	10	0,19	Bourdieu-inspiration	24	0,19
Phenomenology/hermeneutic	4	0,12	Phenomenology/hermeneutic	4	0,16	ANT	9	0,08
99.0	43	0,04	99.0	43	0,07	Everyday life perspective	10	0,02
Critical theory	11	-0,10	Social capital	2	0,07	99.0	43	-0,08
Post structuralism	24	-0,10	Bourdieu-inspiration	24	-0,17	Critical theory	11	-0,09
Bourdieu-inspiration	24	-0,12	Post structuralism	24	-0,26	Neo institutionalism	10	-0,27
System theory	6	-0,12	Modernity theory(5	-0,27	Phenomenology/hermeneutic	4	-0,38
Everyday life perspective	10	-0,20	ANT	9	-0,27	RCT	2	-0,57
RCT	2	-0,44	RCT	2	-0,44	Modernity theory(5	-0,61
ANT	9	-0,51	Wittgenstein/Post-an	2	-1,62	Wittgenstein/Post-an	2	-0,86

