

***Fennia*: positioning a ‘peripheral’ but international journal under conditions of academic capitalism**

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Universities and academic publishing cultures are transforming in developed societies around the world. This is related to the changing relations between the state and universities and to the increasingly common approval of neoliberal new public management doctrines. This has led to the adoption of diverse evaluation and ranking systems in science policies that in the last resort have an impact on how resources are delivered to universities, faculties and individual departments. New imperatives that researchers have faced seem to emphasize articles written in the English language that are published in so-called international quality journals. This paper scrutinizes at first the changing institutional basis and pressures that characterize current international academic publishing cultures; secondly, how such tendencies reflect the rise of academic capitalism; and thirdly, the shifting position of the well-established Finnish geographical journal *Fennia* in the international publishing space. A major dividing line between contemporary journals seems to exist between those that are included in the Web of Science/ISI-system of Thomson Reuters and those that are not. This paper shows by using the ISI data that *Fennia* has been, despite the fact that it is not an ISI-listed journal, a widely used and circulated forum for a long time. A major challenge for the future reputation of the journal will be attracting more high-quality international submissions and articles, regardless of whether the journal will be included in the ISI system.

Keywords: geography, academic publishing cultures, Web of Science, academic capitalism

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Introduction

Academic researchers have been facing substantial pressures during the last 10–15 years or so. Increasing claims for better research performance or for winning more national or international research awards seem to be the order of the day around the world. It is also more and more common in the science policies of practically all developed countries to stress the importance of ‘internationalization’ – whatever this shibboleth means in practice in different national academic contexts. Scientific communication across borders and geographical distances is a phenomenon that is as old as the sci-

entific enterprise itself (Hakala 2002), but present claims indicate altered premises. Universities, “the bright satanic mills of the emerging global knowledge economy” (Harding et al. 2007: 3), have all around the world adopted a new language of performativity including such expressions as ‘world class’, ‘excellence’, ‘top’ and ‘international’. The self-promotion of universities has vastly enlarged and through branding exercises they “parade their ostensible strengths and draw a discrete veil over any weaknesses”, write Harding et al. (2007: 2). The recent changes have been closely associated with a variety of university, national, and international level ranking exercises based on comparable sets of performance metrics.

For academic scholars such external pressures often mean increasing demands to publish their research 'more internationally' in 'better forums'. This has very likely led to a growing calculation, probably more often externally forced than voluntary, in which researches have to weigh the pros and cons of miscellaneous publication forums. Should she or he write a monograph, an article for an edited collection, or a journal article? And if to write a journal article, the most conspicuous claim today, where to submit it, since the range of publication forums is also expanding. The current ethos of ranking individual scholars, academic departments, universities and even 'nations' on the basis of research performance, and the often one-sidedly mechanical measurement of research output and citations, are major features of contemporary, increasingly competition-oriented academia (cf. Agnew 2009). Citation counts are seen, as Fuller (2002: 207) writes, "as votes cast in an ongoing election over whose work matters." Increasing claims for competitiveness and the actions taken to promote this condition in higher education – 'market-like behaviour' – have been labelled critically as academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie 1999).

I will scrutinize three things in this article. At first I will look at the changing institutional basis of publishing cultures and the related pressures that characterize contemporary academia, and secondly, how such new tendencies relate to academic capitalism. Thirdly, as an empirical example I will scrutinize the changing position of the by long established Finnish geographical journal *Fennia*. I will do this by locating the journal in a wider, perpetually transforming *international publishing space* that increasingly crosses national borders but is simultaneously uneven in many ways (Paasi 2005a). This unevenness is related to (hegemonic) languages, national academic cultures and contexts, to the power of publishing houses in marketing and promoting journals, editorial policies and gatekeeping, and to the power of indexing and ranking such journals into various data sets (like Scopus and/or Web of Science).

The Geographical Society of Finland labels *Fennia* as an international journal of geography. It is hence interesting and important to examine briefly what the ongoing internationalization of publishing cultures means in practical terms for this journal, how international tendencies, ideologies and institutions in general shape how international publishing is understood and, finally, how these

tendencies perhaps challenge and reposition *Fennia*, by tradition a notable journal in the international publishing space.

Changing publishing cultures and contexts

Publishing cultures around the world seem to be in a state of rapid change. This is related to the changing relations between the state and universities, and to the increasingly common adoption of new, neoliberal public management policies. The state, academic institutions and individual scholars have always formed a complex network of power relations (Granö 1981; Paasi 2005b). However, new public management policies have led to the adoption of diverse evaluation and ranking systems in science policies that ultimately have an impact on how resources are consigned to universities, faculties and individual departments. New demands that researchers face in many states emphasize articles written in the English language published in so-called international quality journals. The latter, for their part, at present seem primarily to be journals that have been accepted into the Web of Science/ISI database which has been developed and maintained by the multinational corporation Thomson Reuters. In spite of the recent efforts of geographers to seriously consider possibilities for specifically European publishing outlets as a counterweight to Anglophone journals (Gregson et al. 2003; Aalbers & Rossi 2006), the harsh fact is that inclusion in the ISI database, a feature characteristic of most well-known Anglophone human geographic journals, is more often than not acknowledged around the world as a synonym for 'quality'. The academic reputation of a specific classified journal reinforces the power of this database and also modifies the prevailing understanding of what counts as relevant, high calibre science and what is not. Neoliberal competitive pressures related to publishing in high impact factor journals (IF) and money allocated on the basis of ISI-classified articles also tend to transform academic publishing into power struggles over prestige between and within academic disciplines.

It goes without saying that the use of the ISI apparatus in evaluation is appreciated especially by the representatives of academic fields that gain some advantage (prestige, research money) of the use of such instruments and is opposed by fields

that stand to lose. Fields that gain advantage from the system are very likely to be characterized by large research groups or networks, as well as a deep departmental, national and international division of labour. Such instruments are typically resisted by social scientists and humanists, especially outside of the Anglophone world, who may still prefer monographs over brief articles and tend to publish in their national languages rather than in English.

It seems that in both physical and human geography the ISI system now has a worldwide presence, and publishers, for example, use the ISI status and its impact factors in their advertising. Impact factors are presented by Thomson Reuters annually on the basis of a journal's citations during the two previous years. In spite of its apparent 'objectivity', the calculation of impact factors is complicated and relates to issues such as what items are ultimately calculated in the sum of citations and which articles are used in dividing the total number of citations – the procedure that ultimately defines the impact factor.

Calls to publish journal articles, rather than monographs, have thus emerged around the world. This tendency has also raised a critical debate amongst geographers. Some scholars have suggested that such claims may lead to a situation where academic researchers deliberately begin to avoid substantial, complicated and time-consuming research themes and instead concentrate on relatively small, focused, 'sexy' topics that attract the interest of researchers around the world for some time and are then soon replaced by new sexy topics (Castree et al. 2006; Harvey 2006; Amin & Thrift 2007; Ward et al. 2009). 'Fashion' is the term that some scholars have recently used to criticize such 'fast-food' research tendencies (Agnew 2012). In the worst case such approaches may lead to imitation and to the fast circulation of unvarying ideas around the world. This would present a problem since the social sciences deal with *open systems*, which argues for both contextual and conceptual sensitivity on the part of researchers, not moving 'ready-made' conceptual frameworks from one place to another.

Since the practice of academic research consists of, besides 'hard work', a very complicated constellation of power relations, practices and discourses related to grant systems, publications, review work, evaluation and rankings, it is no exaggeration to suggest that language plays a crucial role in this enterprise (Bauder et al. 2010). An-

other wide-ranging debate, closely related to the previous issue, emerged at the turn of the millennium. It was related to the ever more powerful, even hegemonic position of the English language as the new *lingua franca* of academic publishing (Minca 2000; Gutiérrez & López-Nieva 2001; Garcia-Ramon 2003; Gregson et al. 2003; Kitchin 2005; Best 2009). A major question in this debate has been how one specific language, English, has become a global synonym for 'international', even though the ideas about what *international* actually means might themselves be deeply contested and contextual. While the hegemony of the English language was questioned, some authors also proposed that the use of English in fact makes the communication between academic scholars across borders easier (Rodríguez-Pose 2004). As far as global communication between scholars is concerned, there does not seem to be many alternatives to the hegemony of English as a language, especially for small linguistic communities like Finnish, but many journals have taken proactive steps towards a more equal position. The online journal ACME, for example, publishes articles not only in English but also in French, Italian, German and Spanish. A further step taken by this journal is that articles written in other languages may be accepted for review after consultation with the editors. Some other journals (like Geoforum) have helped non-English speakers with language problems.

The contested nature of the 'international publishing space'

Many researchers have now challenged an idea that is today often taken for granted in the academic world, namely that it is English language publications, preferably produced in the US and UK, that are 'international', while publications in other languages are 'national' or 'parochial' (cf. Minca 2000; Simonson 2004). The international community of social scientists in particular has become much more sensitive not only to the fact that language and context are decisively related in the construction of scientific accounts, but also to the forms of power (or 'geopolitics') that are involved in such relations. Not only geographers but also post-colonial scholars and the representatives of marketing science and international relations studies, for example, have participated in the debate (Canagarajah 2002; Tietze & Dick 2009).

In geography, scholars operating outside of the Anglophone world (especially in many European states such as Germany, Denmark, Hungary, Italy and Spain), along with some in North America, the United Kingdom, and the formerly colonized 'peripheries', have commented on the monopolization of the idea of 'international publishing' by a group of journals published in English in the UK or the US. This was part of a wider critique of the views of geography practised in the US and UK as the product of a global 'core' and that practised in other areas as a product of the 'periphery' (Berg & Kearns 1998; Gutiérrez & López-Nieva 2001; Olds 2001; Garcia-Ramon 2003; Gregson et al. 2003; Berg 2004). Johnston and Sidaway (2004, cf. Rodríguez-Pose 2004) challenged the idea of a unified Anglo-American geography by showing that, in spite of common roots, there are major differences between British and US-based studies. Ulrich Best (2009) has recently usefully summarized these wide debates on the Anglophone hegemony and provided some theoretical interpretations of what centres and peripheries in practice mean. Timár (2004), for her part, has reminded that from the perspective of the former Eastern European countries, it is better to speak about a 'Western hegemony' than merely about an 'Anglo-American' one. In spite of these wide critiques the role of the English language as *the* language of science is nowadays powerfully supported by many national ministries of science outside of the English-speaking world, e.g. in Scandinavia and in many continental European states (Paasi 2013).

These rather intense deliberations within geography as well as the empirical research motivated by such debates (Paasi 2005a) have revealed that most of the ostensibly 'internationally significant' journals, particularly those classified by Thomson Reuters in ISI data, were published by major publishing houses in the UK and US. The fact remains that even today, even though progressively more non-Anglophone geographical journals have been accepted into the ISI database during the last 5–7 years or so, almost 90% of authors publishing in Anglophone journals represent the English-speaking world (Banski & Ferenc 2013).

Human geography journals were for a long time very poorly represented in the ISI data, but during the last few years new geographic journals have been accepted into the ISI system. Surprisingly enough, many of these journals are published outside of the Anglophone world, and also in other languages than English, for example, in German,

French, Spanish and even in minor languages such as Czech and Slovenian. This implies that Thomson Reuters has altered its policy in accepting journals into the database and that some sort of linguistic and national representativeness has come into play. This may be related to the earlier observations and critical comments on the poor international representativeness of the listed journals, especially with respect to the wider non-Anglophone world (Paasi 2005a). It may also be an expression of a tendency to widen the 'market logic' inside the database: the journals in each field are, at any rate, 'automatically' classified according to their impact factors and in practice 'quality' is still related to the journal's position in this hierarchy. Many colleagues, especially those based in the UK, have told how their head of department or dean often clearly specifies which journals they should publish in. These journals typically represent the top of the ISI hierarchy. According to recent comments, this kind of coercive accountability has produced much anxiety and discontent and has instilled a destructive competitive spirit in the university system (ACME 2007).

Putting previous tendencies in a context: the rise of academic capitalism

The current claims regarding the internationalization of contemporary academia are one imperative element in the neoliberal globalization of academic life. The processes related to globalization are being shaped in complex ways in and by transformations of the world economy and geopolitics, and involve many core forces of social life such as transformations in capitalist production, technological innovation in communications, the spread of rationalism as a dominant knowledge framework and various forms of governance enabling the establishment of new regulatory frameworks (Scholte 2000; Paasi 2005a; Harding et al. 2007). More often than not, a competitive market orientation has entered into higher education, often following the policies outlined in national ministries, and a whole new vocabulary has been created to depict the links between science, universities and society (e.g. McUniversity, Triple Helix, for-profit higher education, Mode 1 and 2). Teichler (2004) has analysed the definitions of internationalization and makes an analytical distinction between inter-

nationalization and globalization of science. He argues that the former typically refers to physical mobility, academic co-operation, academic knowledge transfer and international education. The latter, for its part, is often associated with competition and market steering, transnational education and commercial knowledge transfer.

Respectively, as some scholars have recognized, the ongoing changes in publishing cultures and the related, somewhat heated debates are not mere random events but have been part of wider tendencies taking place in academia around the world. One of the most obvious manifestations of neoliberalism is the rise of evaluation cultures and procedures where the science organizations of various countries both draw on and imitate one another (Paasi 2005a, 2013; Castree et al. 2006). These have been paralleled and also nourished by various kinds of university ranking systems that partly draw on ISI data (Jöns & Hoyler 2013). The best known rankings are *The Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU) made by Shanghai Jiao Tong University and the *Times Higher Education World University Rankings*, which both have become increasingly powerful since the millennium. These rankings are now enthusiastically followed by political elites, ministries and university leaders, the key issue typically being where one's 'own' university (or 'nation') is positioned in relation to other national or international 'competitors'. The lists have considerable power in shaping social reality and social practices related to academic life. Kauppi and Erkkilä (2011) are ready to argue that

"the global higher education map is different today than prior to the creation of the 2003 Shanghai ranking of world universities. It has become more structured, and ranking lists have turned into established policy instruments for global governance of higher education, reinforcing the value of certain resources at the expense of others."

These tendencies clearly display a neoliberal ideology of competition that is penetrating pretty much everywhere. One background for these developments is the fact that the traditionally rather modest marketing of universities to attract students has been dramatically transformed into a fierce struggle over prestige, research money and students. This has created not only new marketing strategies but also an 'evaluation industry' in many countries and has resulted in a symbolic struggle that draws on assessments, rankings and material and symbolic distinctions (Harding et al. 2007;

Paasi 2013). Recent developments in higher education have strengthened the power and resources of new professional groups such as university managers and evaluators of research and teaching performance (Kauppi & Erkkilä 2011: 315).

On the other hand, these processes are also fitting examples of *policy transfer* (Dolowitz & Marsh 1996) where certain policy practices and ideas travel from one societal context to another across national borders and then begin to shape the dominant ways of thought and material practices in these new contexts also. Some researchers have interpreted these tendencies as expressions of the globalization of higher education, and more specifically, of the rise of academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie 1997; Paasi 2005a, 2013; Castree et al. 2006). One of the key international advisory institutions behind such tendencies towards increasing competitiveness is the OECD, the organization that originally brought science indicators into international debate. The OECD is often regarded as an 'objective knowledge producer' and it carries out international comparisons of publication activities and citations between the 'nations', using the ISI data as a gauge, hence upholding an attitude of 'competition' that is buttressed and coordinated by national higher education systems and individual universities. Correspondingly national ministries and governments use the OECD reports to steer their science policies, and in many cases actually commission such reports from the OECD to support their decisions (Kallo 2009). States around the world have adopted increasingly similar views of science policy and its instruments and forms of management (Kauppi & Erkkilä 2011). This has been part of the wider adoption of the New Public Management doctrine. The management of globalizing science around the world appears to be occurring through the standardization of scientific practice and the certification of 'quality'. It is even possible to speak of a sort of *science nationalism* that is developing in the sense that in the new landscape of economic competition investments in science and its results are compared by states in firmly national frameworks, often following models created by the OECD (Paasi 2013).

These developments thus seem to fit under the ideological umbrella of neoliberalism that covers a number of areas in contemporary social life and human experience – even if this evasive word is itself difficult to define. This argument quite obviously requires some further evidence. There are

many current processes and events occurring at various spatial scales that can be noted here. Think, for example, how the nature of academic publishing and the diverging publications themselves have become a crucial element in defining various forms of symbolic capital and prestige that characterize the supposed competition between contemporary universities. This competition is not related merely to symbolic capital but to an increasing degree also to concrete material resources: money. One of the most common present-day assumptions implied by the global university rankings is that academic departments, faculties and universities should compete with each other in global space over resources and symbolic capital.

Prevailing tendencies may manifest themselves in different ways in different national contexts. In Finland, for example, universities are just now facing the new nationwide Publication Forum Project, *the JUFO forum*, a classification and ranking of selected journals into three quality categories, 1 (lowest), 2 and 3 (highest), and book publishers into two categories, 1 and 2. The models for this classification have been adopted primarily from Norway and Denmark. Publishing in forums classified into these three categories will ultimately lead to certain sums of money being delivered to universities according to their 'research output'. The aim of the JUFO project has been to create a system in which scientific publication activity can be evaluated on the basis of 'quality, not only quantity'. Most publications in higher JUFO categories represent English language, often ISI-classified journals and are published by major international publishing houses. The ISI classification thus leads to a certain path-dependency, i.e. it helps the journals to succeed in other rankings as well. The JUFO project is a fitting example of the instrumentalization of scientific research and how the form of 'productivity', both from the angle of an individual researcher and the universities, has been determined externally (Korvela 2013).

The first proposal for a JUFO classification raised strong resistance among social scientists and humanists, and altogether 60 scientific societies representing various fields claimed in a petition that journals published in the Finnish language should be better recognized, proposing that they should be raised from the first level to the second in the JUFO classification. Heavy lobbying on behalf of certain Finnish-language journals was undoubtedly carried out by representatives of the social science and humanities fields to categorize

their journals at higher levels in order to create a more equal position for Finnish and non-Finnish journals, but surely also because of the explicit link between this classification and financial rewards.

This resistance thus suggested that the quality of publications should not be related to the publishing language, that is, English. The protest was accepted and a number of Finnish-language journals were upgraded to level 2. Eventually this episode led to a rather odd situation where many new, high calibre international journals were actually placed on a lower level than some national journals published only in Finnish. On the other hand, at least some Finnish universities seem to be eschewing this tendency towards linguistic equity when applying for JUFO classification in such ways that international journals, regardless of JUFO level, are still regarded as more prestigious forums than Finnish ones, for instance in the evaluation of successful tenure tracks. Both Finnish geographical journals, that is, *Fennia* and *Terra*, are classified as JUFO level 1 even though they have a considerably longer history than many Finnish journals accepted as level 2.

Another central feature in the contemporary neoliberal academia is the tendency to manage and modify the intentions and activities of individual scholars. One of JUFO's aims is to 'educate' scholars so that they know which publication forums in each field are of 'high level'. The activities of scholars are controlled by various institutions today so much that it is even possible to imagine a brave new 'Neoliberal Academic' who is expected to arise from competition, internationalization and from the increasing management and control. Such an actor is expected to follow a sort of utility calculation in her activities, to internalize the ethos of continual competition, to adapt to contemporary ranking systems and evaluations, be effective and rational in her personal choices yet flexible enough to co-operate with larger teams across the borders of academic fields, and, finally, to recognize that all this is for her 'personal best'. In a word, these tendencies are part of a new neoliberal *governmentality* (ACME 2007; Moiso 2012).

According to the principles of the new public management ethos, scholars should be competing as individuals with others, their departments are competing with other departments, universities are competing with each other, and nation-states are similarly competing in their national-scale perfor-

mance in science. Since the turn of the millennium we have even witnessed how the European Union is, following the Lisbon strategy, competing with other macro-geographic regional institutions, and indeed, how the EU should become the most 'competitive entity' in this international survival game between rescaled social spaces (cf. Kauppi & Erkkilä 2011). Also the command order should be clear in this game. At the departmental level, the heads of departments are responsible for running this competition, at the faculty level deans should do the same, and at the level of the university the principals have the responsibility to overlook how their knowledge factories are being run. Perhaps the respective ministers and civil servants in ministries are not responsible to anybody – they can just enjoy the international achievements and comparisons so long as the national 'science mill' is more productive than in other countries. If it fails to be, new activities and sticks and carrots are doubtless needed and developed to make the system more competitive.

Empirical illustration: Fennia in the current international publishing space

Contemporary academic capitalism is thus characterized by incessant evaluations, classifications and rankings. We saw above the crucial significance of Web of Science/ISI classifications for evaluation cultures. *Fennia* is not listed among the ISI journals. We may therefore raise a question, is it useful for a journal to be accepted to the seemingly prestigious family of the ISI classified forums? And if so, under what circumstances?

Some new journals initiated by major Anglophone publishing houses, and the *Journal of Economic Geography* in particular, display one extreme: rapid success. This journal was almost immediately accepted to the ISI system and it now has a very strong position among the listed journals, having one of the highest impact factors, which is based on its high citation numbers among scholars representing the field and inter-citations by the representatives of other fields such as economics and marketing. In general, specialist topical journals in economic geography seem to dominate the ranking list, perhaps displaying the strength of this field but also a certain tribalism around certain key categories and themes that are conceived and circulated at an increasing pace.

The community of economic geographers has been expanding, which can be seen from the establishment of new journals in this field. Certain subfields of human geography, such as historical geography, display a different trajectory and citation patterns. The articles normally require time-consuming archive work and rarely become widely cited.

On the other hand, while the ISI status seems to be increasingly important for the ranking of departments, universities and even nations, this status may also be a risky business for journals that are not part of the core of the wider Anglophone publishing market, especially if journals are published in other languages than English. Namely, it appears that in many cases new journals exist simply to swell the 'bottom' of the IF hierarchy of ISI journals, and that their existence on the bottom is actually meant to underscore even more clearly the excellence of the very established, high impact factor journals coming from the solid core of Anglophone publishing businesses. Year after year a select few journals, such as *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *Progress in Human Geography* and *Journal of Economic Geography*, published in the UK and US dominate the IF ranking list. At the bottom of the list of the 73 currently classified ISI human geography journals are Spanish, French, Austrian and Chilean journals, for example, which all have low impact factor values. The current IF of the German *Geographische Zeitschrift* and the French *Sud-Ouest Européen* is a flat 0.000. Articles published in these journals have thus not been cited at all in ISI journals during the period 2009–2010, when the 2011 impact factors were calculated. Indeed, the articles in the latter, SOE, have been cited only three times during the period 2006–2010. Contrary to this, the Czech geographic community's *Geografie-Prague* has been able to achieve an IF that is more than 1. An analysis of citation patterns and connections shows that the IF derives largely from the citations of the Czech community itself. The articles published in this journal have become important references for Czech scholars and they are widely cited by this community in their articles both in this journal and other ISI journals.

What about *Fennia*, then? How it is positioned in this wider hierarchical and transforming publication space and what is its role as an international journal as it is advertised by the Society? I will lean in this section on the data provided by Thom-

son Reuter's Web of Science, which seems to have become the standard data in most contemporary scientific evaluations. This data can also be used to analyse the internationalization of journals, but this seems to be much rarer than its typical use as an instrument of straightforward metrics. I will therefore scrutinize a few elements from this data that illustrate *Fennia's* international profile and its 'interaction' with the wider academic community.

As a background it is pertinent to recognize that *Fennia* has an exceptionally long, more than 120-years-long history among academic geographical periodicals: it has been published by the Geographical Society of Finland since 1889. A few years ago this journal was changed into an online journal that is published twice a year. This decreased the 'physical visibility' of the journal, but this is not a unique development and perhaps not a major problem for the journal's visibility, since scholars more and more often access individual articles from the internet rather than deal with paper copies of journal issues. Online journals are becoming at the same time more and more common also in geography. The Spanish *Scripta Nova*, recently accepted to the ISI list, is an online journal and there are also some other, well-established online forums in geography, such as *Social Geography*, *ACME* and *Geography Compass*. The editors of *ACME*, for example, have made a deliberate political decision to refuse ranking and respectively have refused invitations to join the ISI system (*ACME* 2007).

Fennia has been for a long time a particularly significant publication forum for Finnish physical geographers and other geoscientists. As human geography gradually became stronger in the Finnish universities after World War II, the studies carried out by human geographers, intended for international audiences, were also increasingly published in this journal. While the number of articles published by foreign scholars has been small, the international profile of the journal is evident in the fact that the articles (and until the late 1980s also sometimes larger monographs) published in *Fennia* have been widely cited by foreign scholars. WoS Cited reference index (5/2/2013) includes altogether 776 papers published in *Fennia*. They have been cited in total 2,180 times in ISI journals over the years. Most *Fennia* papers have been cited only a few times, but there are three articles, related to dendrochronology (published in 1971; 145 citations), geology (1975; 110 citations) and regional theory (1986; 102 citations), that have

been referred to more than one hundred times as well as three others (representing geology and botany) that have been cited more than 50 times. One hundred citations is a high figure for any academic geography journal but especially for social science journals. In general, the ISI data shows that the papers have been most often quoted by geologists, physical geographers and environmental scientists and ecologists.

Fennia has also been a major publication forum for Finnish – and to smaller extent foreign – human geographers, but according to the data, with few exceptions, human geographic papers have not been widely recognized or cited by foreign scholars. This probably implies the contextual and empirical character of human geographic themes that have traditionally dominated Finnish geography. Contrary to this, more theoretical human geographic articles in *Fennia* have been better recognized.

While the citations of *Fennia* papers tend to be 'concentrated' in some core countries, its wide international profile is itself manifested in the fact that articles have been quoted by scholars from almost 60 countries. The following list of 12 leading countries displays that *Fennia* has been predominantly a Finnish journal but also that it has been important for Anglophone and Scandinavian scholars as well.

Country	Citations of <i>Fennia</i> articles in ISI journals by the country of authors
Finland	855
Sweden	274
USA	227
England	208
Canada	190
Norway	158
Germany	89
Russia	86
Estonia	69
Switzerland	59
Poland	45
Netherlands	43

Having such a home-base is certainly no exceptional feature and is common also for major Anglophonic journals, such as *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* and *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (cf. Banski & Ferenc 2013). Wide international circulation of *Fennia* has of course been possible due to English being the language of publication. Many current geographical journals with ISI status, published in non-Anglophone languages, actually cannot dis-

play such wide circulation. Bajerski (2011), for example, has recently shown that articles written in German, French and Spanish rarely find readers outside of the country or wider language area where the journals have been published. He also cites Whitehand and Edmondson (1977) who have shown that between 1954–74 there was, on the one hand, a significant drop in the percentage of works of French and German geographers among the works cited by researchers from the US, UK and Canada, and on the other hand, a marked growth in citations of works of UK, US and Canadian geographers by French and German researchers. Thus internationalization that was occurring was not reciprocal. This shift occurring in the background helps explain why continental European geographers at the turn of the millennium raised their voices and commented on the hegemony of English in a number of papers.

The list of 12 authors who have most often quoted papers published in *Fennia* in their ISI articles is dominated by geoscientists and physical geographers, and about half of these scholars are Finnish geographers and geologists. *Fennia* articles have thus doubtless provided an important window into the physical geographic research in Scandinavia in particular.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Times the author has referred to Fennia articles</i>
Seppä H	42
Stoffel M	33
Birks HJB	32
Kullman L	30
Korhola A	30
Luoto M	28
Seppälä M	28
MacDonald GM	19
Eronen M	18
Hicks S	18
Payette S	17
Bollschweiler M	14

Finnish human geographers did not publish very much in English between the 1970s and early 1990s, and it was exceptional to see an article that was published outside of Finland. One explanation for this observation is that this period witnessed the establishment of applied and planning geography in Finland and more often than not the publications related to these fields were published in Finnish in policy reports, in departmental ('grey') series, in *Aluesuunnittelu*, the journal of the Association of Planning Geographers, or in *Terra*, the

Geographical Society's secondary journal which publishes articles written in Finnish or Swedish.

During the 1990s and especially since the millennium, new generations of researchers have been much more active in international publishing. This has doubtless both institutional and ideological backgrounds (Paasi 2005b). Since the 1990s internationalization has been a major priority in the policies of institutions such as the Academy of Finland and the Ministry of Education. In ideological terms this fact is related to the neoliberalization of Finnish science policy in which international activities and publications have simply gained more importance and, indeed, have become a major prerequisite for attaining academic jobs and research money. The location of most Finnish geography departments in the faculties of science has accentuated this fact since these faculties represent nowadays particularly competitive epistemic cultures (Paasi 2005b).

Correspondingly, Finnish physical geographers and to an increasing degree also human geographers have sought to publish their papers in ISI classified journals since the 1990s. While the model of human geographers still favours publishing single-authored papers, physical geographers increasingly publish in teams. International publishing was perhaps at first related to the prestige that was in general associated with such journals but this quickly turned into an asset in the rivalry over academic jobs, research money and departmental success – features that were critically evaluated above. Journal publishing among young scholars has been boosted by the fact that a Finnish doctoral thesis nowadays typically consists of four international articles and a synopsis. This change in PhD work culture has rapidly increased the pressure on young researchers to 'publish international'. These tendencies have at the same time led to an increasing international visibility of Finnish geography. Indeed, it is now difficult to name any major international journal in geography where at least one Finnish geographer has not published an article since the 1990s. Internationalization has proceeded also in other forms. Finnish geographers have edited major international journals and sat on the editorial boards of several key journals since the 1990s.

The future?

As a result of the tendencies and competitive pressures depicted above, *Fennia* has likely lost some of its earlier prestige as an international window into Finnish geography and has perhaps also lost potential submissions of articles from scholars outside of Finland, which in the end define a genuine and dynamic international publication forum. A clear future problem for this journal is that the prestige of academic journals, geography journals included, is today increasingly linked with the ISI apparatus. Whether we like its hegemony or not, this effect will only increase because ISI classifications are used as a background measure in many other classifications systems that are today used in Finland (like JUFO) and elsewhere. A few other Nordic journals, *Geografiska Annaler A and B*, *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, and the *Danish Journal of Geography*, currently published by international (=Anglophone) publishing houses have been admitted ISI status by Thomson Reuters. The long history of each of these journals has definitely helped in achieving this status.

The same lists of course have ‘winners’ and ‘losers’, as the neoliberal market logic seems to require: my discussions with scholars in many countries (especially in the UK) make clear that even among the ISI-listed journals there are forums that departments, universities, and science financiers claim to avoid because of their low impact factors. This is a status that the publishers of ISI-classified journals also boldly use in their promotion policies and seems to be an especially important factor for journals that dominate the lists that have been constructed on the basis of impact factors.

Fennia has a long history and in spite of the lack of ISI status the journal has a solid reputation among geographers and other scholars. Its articles are also widely cited in ISI journals. As Figure 1 shows, the number of such citations has been gradually increasing since the mid-1990s.

The editors of the journal have also recently taken long steps towards driving its editorial policy more actively and the international editorial board of the journal is now much more internationally represented than before. Further, its current editorial board members are all active dynamic researchers from various countries. This is highly important

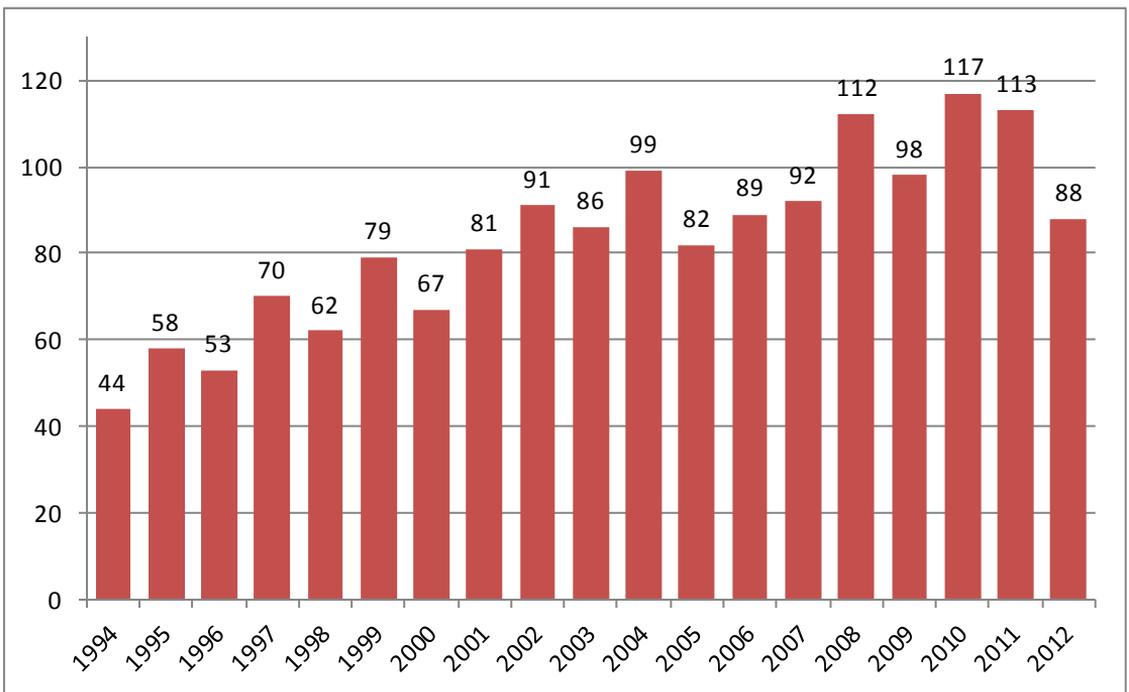


Fig. 1. Number of citations to articles published in *Fennia* (in journals classified in ISI database).

since the board members are ambassadors that effectively distribute information about the journal and strengthen its reputation in the field of geography.

Would ISI status then help to promote the attractiveness of the journal? This is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, such increasing appeal seems an obvious benefit. This has occurred with other Nordic journals, where foreign scholars nowadays publish frequently. Since *Fennia* is a general geographical journal, ISI status would doubtless attract more Finnish and international human and physical geographers to submit their articles to the journal. The current lack of ISI status clearly prohibits submissions from physical geographers and presents a serious conundrum. Should the journal be even more explicitly developed as a human geographic forum?

On the other hand, it is also possible that a new journal coming from outside of the Anglophone core would remain on the 'outer orbit' of the international publishing space of the WoS/ISI database and be forever characterized by a low impact factor, as seems to have become the case with almost all non-Anglophonic human geographic journals. Such a position could lead to a stigma and the journal being regarded as one of the 'also-rans' among the ISI-classified journals. Such a stigma is not pleasant for any journal but is inevitable requisite given the underlying logic of a journal-ranking culture that simply aims to create a rank-order between journals in order to distinguish between various layers of 'quality'.

Coda

Academic publishing is facing major challenges. On the one end, the university departments and libraries have to cope with the rising costs of journal subscriptions and book prices and develop a policy for the proliferation of online publishing. On the other end is the increasingly competitive university that tries to cope with restructuring and the cutting of resources and at the same time manage their personnel. The increase in the number of precarious, temporary academic jobs is related to both publication activities and to the composition and motivation of the research personnel. Most of these tendencies are problematic from the viewpoint of academic freedom, creativity and motivation. It might be the case that someday, hopefully in not so distant future, the neoliberal era will

come to its end and excessive ranking of pretty much everything – journals, departments and universities – will be *passé*. At the moment this looks unlikely since universities around the world seem to be under the spell of evaluations that are done in the name of accountability and competitiveness. Meanwhile we can only hope that a pluralistic attitude can be preserved in academia. To take but one example from human geography, some debate has already emerged on the future of monographs vs. articles in journals, and this issue seems to be topical both in Europe, Asia and in the English-speaking world (Ward et al. 2009). Opinions as to what are or are not relevant publications are of course crucially related to power-knowledge relations, and one-sided, externally dictated views on this issue have to be resisted in the name of both pluralism and academic freedom. Papers in journals, monographs and edited thematic collections must all have their place also in the future.

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