University of Niš
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SOCIOLOGY IN XXI CENTURY: CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

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UNIVERSITY OF NIŠ
FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY

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SOCIOLOGY IN XXI CENTURY: CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

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University of Belgrade
Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Sociology
Aleksandra A. Marković[2]
University of Belgrade
Faculty of Philosophy, Institute of Sociology and Social Research
Belgrade, Serbia

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THE USES OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL CLASSICS – THE CITATION ANALYSIS OF MARX'S, WEBERS'S AND DURKHEIM'S WORKS IN THE JOURNAL *SOCIOLOGIJA* FROM 1997 TO 2017

Abstract

This paper shows the results of sociological classics citation analysis in the journal *Sociologija* for the period 1997–2017. As a starting point of the research, we used the paper by Vladimir Vuletić and Aljoša Mimica *Where Has the Third Classic Disappeared? The Citation Analysis of Marx's, Webers's and Durkheim's Works in the Journal Sociologija from 1959 to 1996*. This paper will represent the basis concerning the use of analysis citation methods in order to achieve data comparability within two time periods. The main goal of the paper is to identify classics citation trends in the past twenty years. To be more precise, we will try to address the issues of whether the aforementioned period represents merely an extrapolation of trends that have already been identified in the above-mentioned paper or whether there are new practices and patterns when citing Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Political and social changes have been rather dramatic and all-inclusive over the past twenty years. Thus, we find this task utterly compelling and substantial since it represents the reflection of Serbian (Yugoslavian) sociology within a set time frame.

Key words: citation analysis, Marx, Weber, Durkheim, journal „Sociology"

Introduction

It has long been known that sociology is one of those sciences that cannot or does not want to forget its founding fathers. There are certainly many reasons for such a relationship with classics. Sociologists often admire the natural sciences in which the history of the discipline (for example, physics, chemistry, astronomy, etc.) is viewed as its marginal part. The history of the branches of these sciences sometimes captures more attention of the 'outsiders' – philosophers, historians, publicists – than of its exponents. Such sort of admiration stems from the assumption that the departure

[1] filipovic.bozidar1@gmail.com
[2] aleksandra.markovic1@hotmail.com

from the beginnings of the discipline proves its progress, more precisely, that a constant return to the 'beginning' signifies its immaturity. As with many other issues, there is no consensus among sociologists in this respect as well. Different perceptions of the role of classics are determined by a set of starting theoretical assumptions.

The role of classics in the creation and reproduction of the sociological scientific community is obvious. Thus, Robert Merton points out the four key functions of the classics, expressed through a specific form of dialogue between living and dead sociologists, ranging from an ambivalent sense of disappointment over the repetition and pleasure that our ideas have been endorsed by the great minds, through the educational function that influences the creation of standards and taste development, to the effect of creating new ideas arising from the interaction of contemporary and past knowledge. Further, Merton warns that

> Each function derives from the imperfect retrieval of past sociological theory that has not yet been fully absorbed in subsequent thought. For that reason, sociologists in our time must continue to behave in contrast to their contemporaries in physical and life sciences and devote more of themselves to close familiarity with their not-so-distant classical predecessors (Merton, 1968, p. 37).

A somewhat more advanced classification of the basic functions of the use of sociological classics is found in Stinchcombe, who indicates the function with the following catchwords: "(1) touchstones, (2) developmental tasks, (3) intellectual small coinage, (4) fundamental ideas, (5) routine science, (6) ritual" (Stinchcombe, 1982, p. 2). He explains these functions in the following way:

> By a 'touchstone' function I mean the sort of thing Claude Levi-Strauss spoke about in his autobiography when he said he read a few pages of *The 18th Brumaire* before sitting down to write something himself. *The 18th Brumaire* was an example of excellence, showing the way a sociological study should sound [...] By a 'developmental task' I mean that advanced students need something more complicated than the clichés of elementary textbooks, in order to persuade them to make their minds more complex [...] The 'small coinage' function is to use a few citations to the appropriate literature to indicate generally the tradition in which one works [...] The fourth function, 'fundamental ideas', is the one we usually emphasize in the theory courses. It is this that explains Coles's finding that heavily quoted papers in real sciences are more likely to cite heavily quoted papers, and the classics to cite other classics, than are the smaller papers by the same distinguished authors. If in a paper one modifies an idea closer to the main trunk of a science, it is more likely to address the questions that the great minds of the past have also addressed, and to find their orientation useful [...] The 'routine science' The function of classics is the same as the routine science function of ordinary papers and books [...] is the advice to be true. The 'ritual function' of classical writers is typified by the advice Jim Davis used to give graduate students that they had to find a dead German who said it first before they could publish a finding (positive or negative) on the subject. We define what holds us together as sociologists in part by having a common history (1982, pp. 2–3).

The primary reason for reading works of the most important authors of a discipline such as sociology is the acquisition of basic knowledge and the adoption

of the conceptual apparatus. However, in this paper, the secondary and the latent function of reproducing the scientific community is more interesting to us. But one should not forget that the attitude towards the classics has its own historical dimension, too. Anyone who wants to write the history of a discipline is facing the dilemma which classics to include and how to show their contributions. However, at the same time, it would be possible to write a history of the establishment (canonization) of sociological classics in time and space. Particular attention should be paid to the spatial dimension of this issue. Thus, R. W. Connell, considering the process of canonization of sociological science, argues that the classical canon was created in the United States after decades of different interpretations of the origin of the discipline and its fathers, and in the context of the history of imperialism (see: Connell, 1997).

We will say nothing new if we emphasize that (social) science and its classics have an international character. Regardless of the national boundaries of the Pantheon classics, even those of greatest importance for sociology, it is the same everywhere. However, the use of classics has not changed only in time, but also in space. What the role of a particular classic will look like does not depend only on the global scientific community, but also on the national characteristics and traditions. No matter of the evidence that all (social) sciences, including sociology, are increasingly becoming a 'global' discipline, 'local' peculiarities are still present.

Basically, this work is a continuation of the research carried out by Aljoša Mimica and Vladimir Vuletić with associates. In the paper titled „Where Has the Third Classic Disappeared?" (Mimica & Vuletić, 1998), the authors have shown the extent to which three or four sociological classics[3] were present in the probably most important journal of the former SFR Yugoslavia (SR Yugoslavia).[4] The approach they decided for was the method of citation analysis. The citation analysis implies „statistical processing of bibliographic data" (Milić, 1989, p. 604 et seq). Mimica and Vuletić point out the problems and limitations of this method:

> In an ideal situation, in order for the data collected by this technique considered to be of a high degree reliable and mutually comparable, in each unit of observation, that is, in all articles that are subject of the analysis, the scientific apparatus should be processed in the same or at least the same way. Then, in addition to this formal request, one more complicated requirement should be fulfilled, which would require all authors to equally scrupulously state the sources used in developing their own theoretical point of view, the presentation of others' views or the presentation of their own research results. Obviously, it is very difficult to achieve this desideratum even in more developed scientific communities and technically far more standardized and more specialized journals than Yugoslav sociology and appropriate periodicals. [...] Finally, it should be noted that the citation index does not indicate the reasons for which the individual work is stated in any way, and the epistemological justification and the value of each quotation individually. By measuring only the frequency of the guidance and the relative representation of the author

[3] In the rest of the work, the term *Marx's sociology* will mean the work of Marx and Engels.

[4] Because of the limited space in this paper, we cannot expose any methodological and technical aspect of our research in detail. Therefore, we ask the reader to look for more information in the stated paper.

> on whose work it is referring, our index does not make a difference between affirmative, critical, neutral, and (in sociology fairly frequent!) ritual citation, and is also leaving the problems of selectivity, extensiveness, illustration and the relevance of guidance (Mimica & Vuletić, 1998, p. 77).

Because of the comparability in this paper, we will largely follow the data processing method used in this work.

> Since the basic unit of observation was the original scientific article, we have chosen these basic indicators: (a) the number of references to each of the classics individually; (b) the number of literature units in which Marx and/or Engels, as well as Weber and Durkheim, appear as authors; and (c) the number of review articles devoted to each of the three classics. Bearing in mind that the raw data available to us were rather imprecise, in the analysis we took into account the relative participation of these indicators in the total number of references, i.e. the number of bibliographic units (Mimica & Vuletić, 1998, p. 78).

It should be pointed out that our research is not a mere 'continuation' of research conducted by Mimica and Vuletić. In certain elements, our approach deviates from their research (for example, we divided all the articles into "original", "review" and the category "other"). In addition, in our research, we did not take into account all the variables that occur in the paper of the two authors mentioned above. Therefore, it is necessary to clearly and explicitly outline the main categories in our research we will pay more attention to in this paper.

In order to make it easier for a reader to move through the text that follows, we give an additional, terminological explanation. Namely, we primarily observed two types of references to sociological classics:

1) in terms of reference to classics *in the text* itself, or through references in the text (e.g. Merton, 1968, p. 100);

2) in terms of reference to classics in *the list of literature*, or at the end of the text, where the sources referenced by the authors of the text are listed (e.g. Merton, R. K. (1968). On Theoretical Sociology. Five Essays, Old and New, New York: The Free Press, London: Collier Macmillan Ltd.).

Research results

The works included in our analysis were published in the journal *Sociology* over the period of twenty years 1997–2017. They are divided into three categories: *original scientific papers* (421); *review papers* (79); *other* (54) (obituaries, polemics, readers' letters, letters and editorial responses, the word of the editor, statements by professional sociological associations, etc.). Therefore, its a total of 555[5] works (without reviews and bibliography). All the papers in which three (or 4) classics of sociology

[5] Due to a mistake, there is no any category added to one work (Ivana Milovanovic, „Towards reafirmation of the case study research method (From 'building blocks' and 'process tracing' to Typological theories)", vol. 57 (1), 2015).

are mentioned are recorded: K. Marx (and F. Engels), E. Durkheim and M. Weber. The basic categories (variables) were: the number of works of the aforementioned classics in literature lists; the number of references in the text referring to the classics. Only complete and correct references were recorded (e.g. Weber, 1998, p. 158, e.g. Weber (1998)), but no 'incidental'[6] references to classics.

It is interesting that in the mentioned period (1997–2017) there are only a few works which contain the name of one of the three classics in the title. When the article by Mimica and Vuletić is excluded, we have only two papers which contain the names of Marx or Engels in the title: "Nationalism of Friedrich Engels" (vol. 43 (1), 2001), "Should Marx's Theory of Social Development Be Forgotten?" (vol 51 (2), 2009). The works with Durkheim's name in the title are the following: "Dirkem or Durkheim" (vol 39 (3), 1997), "War and Crime as a Source of Moral Renewal and Unity – Republican Heritage and Its Transformation Into a Work of Emile Durkheim" (vol 59 (3), 2017). Interestingly, in the case of Weber, there is no single paper that contains the title of this classic, except for the mentioned article by Mimica and Vuletić.

Table 1. Works in which classics are listed at least once in the list of literature[7]

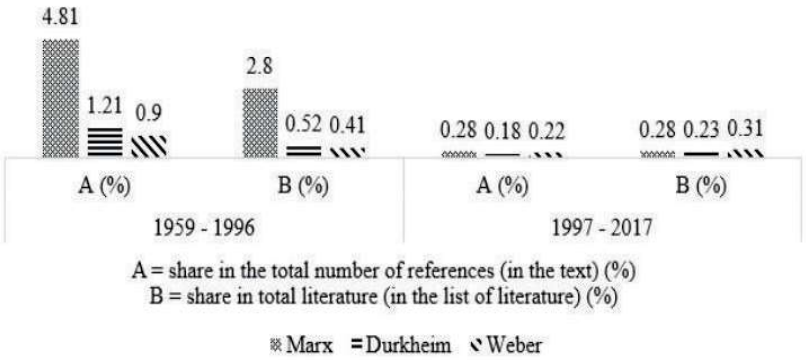
	Marx	Durkheim	Weber
Original scientific paper	17	17	31
Review article	6	3	5
Other	0	0	2
Total	23	20	38

Out of a total of 555 registered papers, in 66 cases (11.9%) there is at least one unit of literature whose authors are the mentioned classics. Although in this period (1997–2017) there are no works that contain Weber's name in the title, we see that, of the three classics, he is still the most represented one. The difference is especially noticeable when only original scientific papers are taken into account. We cannot say that such results are surprising. In this respect, it can be said that domestic sociology follows European and global trends.

[6] For example, Todor Kuljić in the article "Historical Concepts: a Connection of an Analytical and Creative Aspect" (vol. 59 (3), 2017) states: "[...] Although the scientific work, Marx's 'Capital' with a network of analytic concepts was the basis of various anti-capitalist ideologies [...]", without mentioning Marx's 'Capital' among the references in the text or in the list of literature. Such classical references were not included in the analysis.

[7] The table does not show the total number of references in the list of literature of all works, but *the number of articles in which references to specific classics occur at all.*

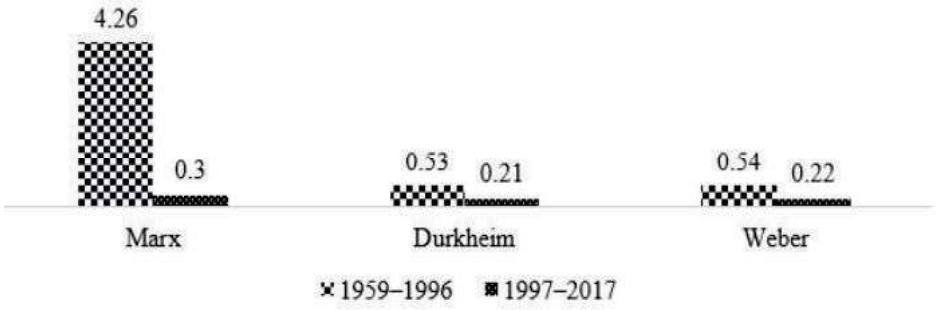
Chart 1. Comparison of the quotation of classics in the stated period



However, the trends we can observe if the data of our research are compared with the previous period (1959–1996) are more interesting than the absolute numbers shown in Table 1. Based on Chart 1, we notice at least two important trends. First, the decline in relevance – that is, the citation of Marx – is evident. We could argue that no classic is politically 'neutral', and that each one is more or less attached to a particular political orientation or ideology. However, in the case of Marx, such a claim is likely to be true to the greatest possible extent. It is hard to believe that the use of this classic has nothing to do with the change in the socio-economic formation, that is, the social transformation that took place in Serbia (Yugoslavia) and Europe, following the fall of the Berlin Wall, that is, after 2000. This tendency is clearly perceived in the work of Mimica and Vuletić, and here we find only a further decline in the frequency of quoting Marx as a sociological classic (Mimica & Vuletić, 1998, p. 73).

However, the decline in the frequency of quoting Marx is not the only one, and perhaps not even the most significant insight that our data show. In a certain sense, for us, an even more interesting finding is the overall decline in the 'interest' for classics. The percentages clearly show us the trends when comparing the two periods (1959–1996 and 1997–2017). Thus, the participation in the total number of references (references in the text) is reduced with all three classics. For Marx from 4.81% to 0.28%, for Durkheim from 1.21% to 0.18%, and for Weber from 0.9% to 0.22%. When looking at participation in the overall reference literature (the list of literature), the trends are also negative. In case of Marx, the decline seems to be somewhat lower than with the previous category – from 2.8% to 0.28%. When it comes to Durkheim, there is a noticeable decrease from 0.52% to 0.23%, while concerning Weber, it is the smallest – from 0.41% to 0.31%.

Chart 2. Relative amount of participation of classics in total amount of references in the original scientific papers - the references in the texts (%)



When looking at only original scientific papers (Chart 2), similar tendencies are observed in the comparison of the two periods. A dramatic decline is observed in the case of Marx. On the other hand, Durkheim and Weber have 'only' twice less relative frequency of quotation compared to the previous period (1959–1996).

It is difficult and unrewarding to make general conclusions based on the (history of a) single sociological journal, no matter how significant and relevant to Serbia and the area of the former Yugoslavia it might be. However, there must be at least a question as to how these results can be interpreted and whether they show something more than a mere change in the attitude towards classics? In a certain sense, can such a tendency be viewed as a certain development or progress? Whether, as Merton put it, it might be argued that sociology finally releases its 'ballast' and establishes itself as a 'true' science that manages to distinguish between "history and systematics of history" (Merton, 1968, p. 2). More specifically, whether one can look for the crisis of sociology, its theory, or the aspiration to the 'model' of natural sciences in the neglect of classics. The last option seems to us to be the least certain. Classics in natural sciences have a completely different status in relation to social and historical sciences. Each discipline remembers its founders and prominent authors, but those in natural sciences do not represent a permanent point of reference and do not have the functions stated by Stinchcombe (see above). In the moments of epistemological crises, physicists, biologists or chemists do not return to Newton, Darwin, or Mendeleev in order to find answers to hard questions in their research. The giants of natural sciences have long been dead in every sense of the word. It would be hard to find sociologists today who would argue that our discipline in this regard can be compared with natural sciences. It could even be said that we are moving away from such a paradigm. Among other things, after postmodernism, each (neo)positivist view of natural and social sciences, as well as their mutual differences, seems less convincing.

Sociology is simply not set up on the same epistemological basis and cannot share the fate of natural sciences with respect to historical development and relations

to classics. So, we are not inclined to support the opinion that would find an argument for the progress and approximation of sociology to natural sciences in our data.

What else is left as a possible alternative to the interpretation of a trend that cannot be regarded as marginal or insignificant? Let's remind the reader that this is data relating to the period of 58 years (1959–2017). Within this time span, there is a clear decline in the interest (citation) for the three most important classics (Mimica & Vuletić, 1998, p. 86). This is a significant time period for a discipline with a relatively short institutionalized history (especially in Serbia). In this paper, we cannot offer more fundamental answers to this question. Such kind of answers would require a far more extensive analysis with a complementary qualitative approach. It would be necessary to analyze all the works in detail. Those in which works of classics appear and those in which they don't. It would be necessary to carry out an analysis of the (institutional) history of our discipline – both in terms of the most important actors and in terms of the structures that shaped it. Bearing in mind all the limitations here, we can only outline certain hypotheses that certainly require more extensive elaboration. The evident decline in the quotation of classics was influenced by several factors. First, it should be said that empirical research in sociology has undergone growth and development over the last few decades. We do not want to say that Yugoslav sociology in its beginnings completely ignored the importance of empirical data, but it is quite clear that methodological knowledge and research techniques have significantly advanced. Second, more funds and human resources are focused on research (empirical) activities. The latter does not imply exclusively the conduction of new research, but also the use of (international) databases created in other countries. Relatively speaking, on the one hand, empirical research is growing, but on the other hand, a lesser number of sociologists deals with 'pure' theory. The latter tendency is not present only within the boundaries of our national sociology. It is therefore legitimate to ask whether classics can serve as indicators of a state (crisis or development) of sociological theory in general? If the assumption is true, one might say that the sociological theory is really in crisis.

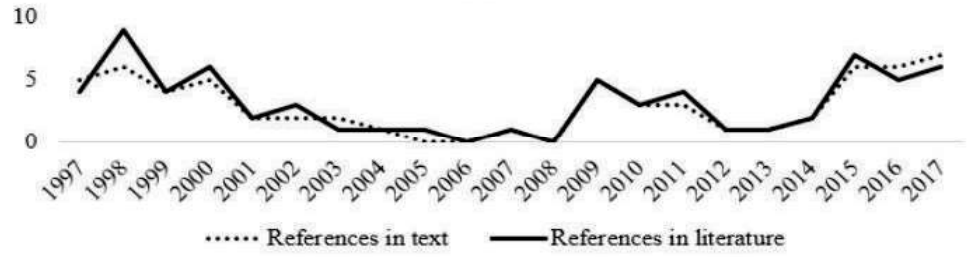
It seems to us that the fall of the Berlin Wall is not only important for changing the role of Marx's legacy in sociology. Namely, one obvious question arises – why the gap that was created by the loss of the political momentum of Marxism was not 'used' by Durkheim and Weber? The decline in their presence in the analyzed articles is lower, but also significant. Wouldn't it be expected that the same position (the scope of quotation) would be 'taken over' by Weber as "Marx's antipode" (Jovanović, 1935, p. 227)? Is tis a sort of alienation from the fundamental issues of sociology? Is sociology more and more becoming an 'applied science' of experts that use their knowledge to contribute to solving specific and narrowly defined problems? As we said, all of these are just hypotheses that have yet to be examined.

The development of new sociological (sub)disciplines that arise in response to new challenges should also be considered. Such challenges did not exist at the time when Marx, Durkheim and Weber lived. For example, new technologies such as robots, the Internet, nuclear energy, genetic bioengineering, etc. Or social phenomena to which they did not attach particular importance (e.g. ecological problems, sports,

fashion, etc.). However, regardless of the clear trend of the decreasing frequency of citation, it shows certain oscillations over time (at least when it comes to the period that we covered with our research, 1997–2017). From the graph below (Chart 3), we can see that in the period from 2004 to 2008, there is the lowest frequency of quoting the classics. Thus, in a specific period of unblocked post-socialist transformation (Lazić, 2011, p. 62–68), there was a decline in the reference to classics. Only the crisis in 2008 revived Marx, Durkheim and Weber. So, it is obvious that in times of crisis and instability of the social order, sociologists turn to their founding fathers.

However, these conclusions should be taken with caution because absolute and relative numbers are relatively small. So, even some minor changes (several articles) can affect the results.

Chart 3. Chronological presentation of the number of texts in which authors refer to classics through references in text and in the literature list, 1997-2017



Gender, age and place of work of the author

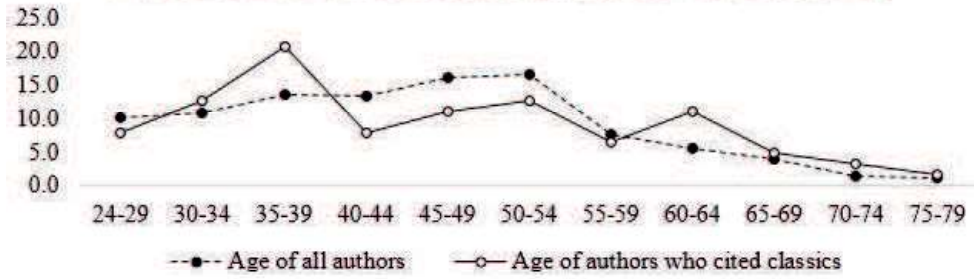
Chart 4 shows the author's greater presence in relation to female authors (although the graph refers to the first author in the article in the above-mentioned period, the majority of works have only one male/female author). This information is interesting in itself, since sociology studies in Serbia have been more frequently enrolled by female students in the last few decades (see Mitrović, 2009, p. 62).

Chart 4. Works where authors refer to classics, regarding the gender of the first author of the article (%), 1997-2017

An even more interesting finding relates to the difference between all authors and those who have quoted classics. We would say that this finding is not surprising given the gender gaps and the roles that are reproduced in science as well. Thus, gender differences in the choice of topics, theories and methods can be observed. Ward and Grand note that men 'dominate' in areas such as "theory, political sociology, sociology of knowledge" (Ward & Grand, 1985, p. 143). It is therefore not surprising that male authors more often refer to Marx, Durkheim and Weber than the members of the opposite gender.

Chart 5 clearly indicates that the authors of the journal *Sociology* are most productive in the period from 45 to 54 years of age. It is interesting that the data indicate a higher degree of quotation of classics when it comes to relatively younger (30–39) and older authors (55–79).[8] It is difficult to give a comprehensive explanation as to why this distribution of citation of classics occurs according to the age of the author. Among other things, in this case, different generations of authors who quoted classics appear as 'peers'. We may ask the question whether it is the same to quote the classics in 1997 and 2007? No matter of the fact that the authors can do it in the same or similar age (for example, with 30 years of age). Again, a relatively small (absolute) number of quotes should be emphasized, so every generalization must be taken with a reserve.

Chart 5. References to classics, regarding the age of the author, 1997-2017 (%)



Finally, relying on the previous research Mimica and Vuletić conducted with their associates two decades ago, we wanted to determine the relationship between the authors of sociological articles and the classics regarding the author's affiliation. First of all, we should say that the data we have come across are not completely comparable to the previous survey. Namely, according to the authors of the previous research, the reliability of the data they came to is questionable, since data on the exact employment of authors could only be found for the last five research years (1991–1996). The conclusion that, with some caution and distance from it, our predecessors reveal is that authors employed at faculties rarely quote Marx in relation to those employed at scientific research institutions and other non-university institutions (Mimica & Vuletić, 1998, p. 84).

If we look at Table 2, that is, the results that we have come across in our research,

[8] We collected data on the age of the authors thanks to COBISS. In case of certain authors, we collected data based on other publicly available information on the Internet (biographies and the like).

we notice that over the past twenty years the authors employed at faculties more often quoted Marx than their colleagues employed at scientific research institutes and other non-university institutions. On the other hand, Durkheim was more often quoted by authors employed at institutes compered to the authors employed at faculties. In other words, the finding we came to differs from the findings of our predecessors. However, one should be particularly careful when making any conclusions, for two reasons: firstly, the comparability of the data is not reliable (for the above reasons), and secondly, it remains unclear how the difference between the authors who classify the classics is statistically significant, according to their affiliation, because the number of authors who cited classics and who are employed at institutes is too small to carry out relevant conclusions.[9]

Table 2. Reference to classics regarding the authors' place of work, 1997–2017 (%)

	M	D	V	M_1	D_1	V_1
All authors	0.28	0.18	0.22	0.28	0.23	0.31
Faculties	1.91	0.97	1.27	1.87	1.19	1.64
Institutes	0.23	2.03	1.13	0.42	2.12	2.12
Others	0.6	0.6	0.97	0.74	1.29	1.84

M, D, V = the relative participation of references to Marx, Durkheim and Weber (through references in the text)
M1, D1, V1 = the relative participation of quoting Marx's, Durkheim's and Weber's works (in the literature list)

Conclusion

Every science must cultivate a certain degree of self-reflection. Such a tendency in the case of sociology is not only valuable, but also necessary. Bearing in mind the peculiarities of the subject of its research and the epistemological basis on which it rests, it should not in any way allow the luxury of the absence of such an analysis. One way of achieving this goal is definitely a citation analysis, or statistical processing of scientific articles in the journal *Sociology*. The results of our research clearly point to the continuation of tendencies observed by Mimica and Vuletić in their research from 1998. The steep decline in the citation of Karl Marx continues after 1997. It is hard to believe that the change in the socio-economic system that arose after the fall of the Berlin Wall or, in the case of Serbia (FR Yugoslavia) after 2000, is not closely and strongly associated with this tendency. But this is not the only finding that should be considered relevant. The finding of a general relative decline in the quotation of all three classics may even cause intrigue or be of particular concern.

[9] The number of first authors employed at the institutes is 7, while the number of the first authors employed at the faculty is 52, and 11 of them are in the category "others".

Weber and Durkheim did not 'grasp' the space left by Marx, retreating to the political and ideological tide of socialism. The limitation of our data and the frameworks of this paper do not allow us to give a more detailed and expanded consideration of such tendencies. However, regardless of the decline in the quotation of all three classics, we can conclude that sociology as a science is not deprived of the influence that the subject of its analysis has on the researchers themselves. Thus, there is a clear decline in the interest in the classics in the period when the capitalism slowly stabilized (after 2000), but also its reactivation at the moment of the global economic crisis. Again, the gender gap with scientific roles and differences in terms of the tendency towards sociological theory has also been seen once again. This finding is interesting because it cannot be easily attributed to the subordinate position of women in science. As we have seen, it is the field (classical sociological theories) which obviously slowly, but surely, loses its prestige and presence in scientific production.

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Божидар С. Филиповић
Универзитет у Београду
Филозофски факултет, Одељење за социологију
Александра А. Марковић
Универзитет у Београду
Филозофски факултет, Институт за социолошка истраживања
Београд, Србија

УПОТРЕБА СОЦИОЛОШКИХ КЛАСИКА – АНАЛИЗА ЦИТИРАНОСТИ МАРКСОВИХ, ВЕБЕРОВИХ И ДИРКЕМОВИХ РАДОВА У ЧАСОПИСУ *СОЦИОЛОГИЈА* 1997–2017

Сажетак

У раду ћемо приказати резултате анализе цитираности социолошких класика у часопису Социологија за период 1997–2017. Наше истраживање као полазну тачку, у извесном смислу, узима рад Аљоше Мимице и Владимира Вулетића *Где се деде трећи класик? – анализа цитираности Марксових, Веберових и Диркемових радова у часопису Социологија 1959–1996*. Овај рад ће представљати основу у погледу употребе метода анализе цитираности како би била остварена упоредивост података у два временска периода. Основни циљ нашег рада је идентификовање трендова цитирања класика у последњих двадесет година. Тачније, покушаћемо да одговоримо на питање да ли наведени период представља само екстраполацију трендова који су већ уочени у наведеном раду или се јављају нове праксе и обрасци позивања на Маркса, Вебера и Диркема. Политичке и друштвене промене у последњих двадесет година су биле посебно драматичне и свеобухватне. Стога нам се овакав подухват чини посебно занимљив и значајан јер истовремено представља и слику српске (југословенске) социологије у датом временском периоду.

Кључне речи: анализа цитираности, Маркс, Вебер, Диркем, часопис „Социологија”