

*15th Anniversary of the  
Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence  
19.—21. November 2012 at the ZiF, Bielefeld*

*International Conference*

**Societal Conflicts and Violence Research:  
Outcomes and Ideas in International and  
Interdisciplinary Perspectives**

*Documentation*

**The Frame-Setting Speeches**





## Editorial

Dear Colleagues, dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

This slim volume documents the international conference “Societal Conflicts and Violence Research: Outcomes and Ideas in International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives,” held on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence.

The purpose of the conference was to present research findings, work in progress, and ideas for the future in twelve panels composed of the institute’s thirty or so older and younger researchers (see page 10ff) and to initiate a self-evaluation of our past and current scientific research. We therefore invited international commentators and participants to the event, held at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF) at Bielefeld University with 130 participants. We are proud that colleagues from seventeen countries followed our invitation. This demonstrates the breadth of our international network and the broad opportunities that creates for our early-career scientists.

This publication contains the frame-setting speeches (see content).

We owe a great debt of gratitude to all the speakers, commentators and discussants, as well as to the IKG organizing team and the supportive staff at ZiF.

Finally, we are very grateful for the intense support we have received concerning the Institute’s future scientific and institutional development perspectives.



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Wilhelm Heitmeyer



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*Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer*

## Fifteen Years of Research at IKG

### 1. Some reflections concerning structure and research program

Before the Institute was established in 1997 we had research groups on several issues like right-wing extremism, violence in soccer stadiums and so on, which had been going since the early 1980s.

We started with conflict and violence research in the early 1980s. So there are two phases, the first from 1982 to 1992, with research groups, and after that with the institute.

The idea for this Institute arose in the early 1990s – 1992 to be precise – and in 1997 it was established. The photo below shows some prominent participants. Here today we have the same positions represented, but

mostly by new names. The minister, the vice-rector, the president of the German Research Foundation, and other colleagues.

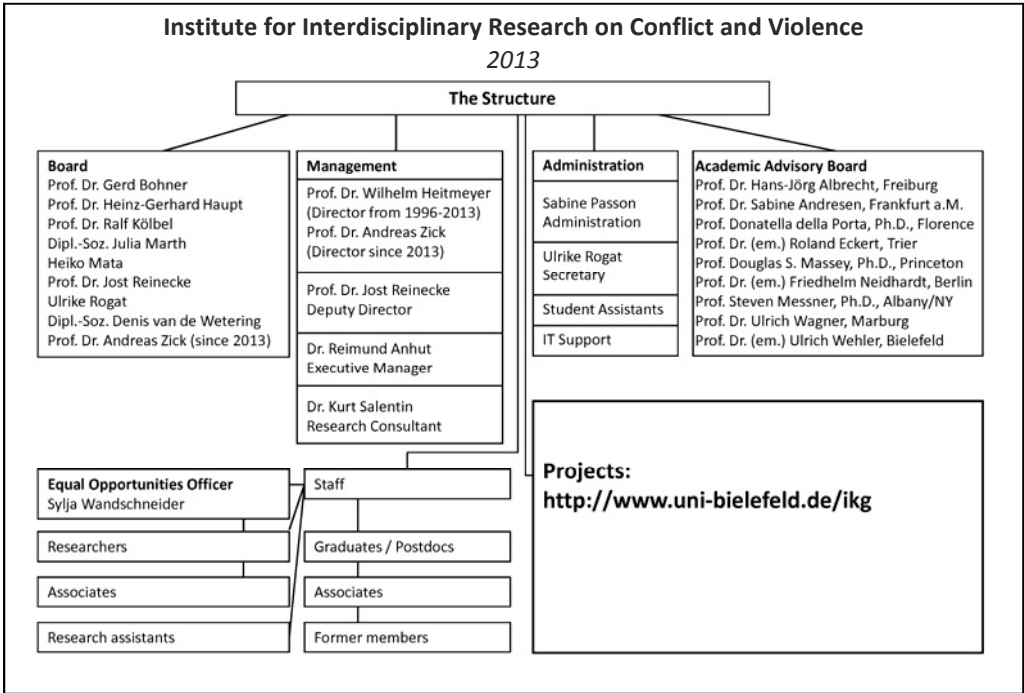
The institute has developed a clear structure with the board, executive, and international advisory board. Our staff currently includes twenty-five researchers, plus graduates, postdocs, and a huge member of student assistants (November 2012).

### 2. What is the underlying concept?

The work of the Institute concentrates on theoretical and empirical analyses of constructive and destructive conflicts and their consequences. The extent and causes of violence, especially, have always stood at the center of our work.



*1997 at the ZfF (left to right):  
Members of the Directory Board Prof. Albrecht, Prof. Backes, Member of the Advisory Board Prof. Tillmann, the Director of the ZfF Prof. Lübke-Wolf, the Chairman of the Advisory Board Prof. Eckert (Trier), Rector Prof. Rickheit, Chancellor Huvendick, Minister for Scientific Affairs of North-Rhine Westphalia Anke Brunn, Prof. Heitmeyer, Prof. Neidhardt (Berlin), the President of the DFG Prof. Frühwald, Prof. Dollase*



In numerous studies we have investigated the forms and extent of destruction involved and their consequences for the physical and psychological integrity of individuals, for the coexistence of social groups, and for the moral constitution of societies.

Particular demand for explanations was created by the return of ethnic/cultural conflict and the associated politically motivated violence, even to modern Western industrialized societies. For a long time this development was not recognized as a problem in its own right because ethnic/cultural differentiation had been expected to dissolve in the course of social modernization. The work of the Institute has therefore always also focused on the question of what forms of integration/disintegration dynamic create major problems.

The Institute's central research interests address complex interactions of structural con-

ditions (such as economic compulsions, social positions, legal principles), social-psychological mechanisms (such as social differentiation and comparison between groups, or collective identification), and interacting actor groups (such as political parties, ethnic groups, violent extreme-right groups) in the community context. We study constructive conflicts as well as – in particular – destructive conflicts, together with any occurring violence, conducting analyses of the interactions between micro-, meso-, and macro-social levels and drawing on interdisciplinary concepts that have repeatedly demonstrated their potential for theoretical development and preventive action.

We intend to maintain this basic approach to investigating the dynamics of societal states and developments, situations and modes of activity of groups and state institutions, experiences and perceptions of individuals,

emerging conflicts, effective and ineffective forms of regulation, and possible escalation of various forms of violence.

Using this concept we investigate interdependent dynamic processes, including feedback effects on societal developments or individuals, modes of regulation, conflicts, social conditions, and development opportunities.

### 3. What has been achieved?

- The Institute soon initiated theoretical and empirical studies on the different forms, magnitudes, and causes of conflict. In the founding phase we concentrated above all on manifest open conflicts within and between groups in society. These studies concentrated especially on ethnic/cultural prejudices and extreme right-wing orientations, with the focus on youth research increasingly shifting to a particular interest in the so-called “middle ground of society.”

- Alongside the Institute’s public significance – I will not address in any further depth here – *empirical* testing of social science theories (such as socialization theory and disintegration theory) has always been a prominent feature. Many of our empirical studies are characterized by a multi-method approach.

- The IKG directly and reflexively emphasizes *interdisciplinarity* of research in all its work, but nevertheless there are problems. Our research projects and the Institute itself have become ever more open for ever more disciplines, and disciplinary boundaries have been transcended (for example in the ZiF research group on Control of Violence).

The *group-focused enmity* project, a collaborative venture running for more than ten years, was characterized by its integration of sociology, psychology, education science, and political science.

- *Internationalization* is a central concern, both in the sense of conducting and presenting research with international partners and in the sense of conducting internationally cross-cultural qualitative and quantitative research. But there are also problems, for example in multilateral comparative research, that we will turn to tomorrow. Publications by members of the Institute, also in the context of cooperation with foreign researchers, have played a prominent role.

### 4. Focal points of the work

- One of the first priorities was *youth*, focusing on empirical investigation (including *long-term studies*) of politically motivated and above all extreme right-wing violence in public space (including convicted offenders, group violence in hooligan milieus, violence in the context of recognition problems, norm conflicts, and violence involving international migration processes). Special emphasis was placed on the spatial components of violence and the question of what urban or rural contexts promote or reduce violence. In view of demographic trends, the impact on violence of urban segregation processes and rural depopulation will be issues to watch.

- The Institute also conducted numerous studies on conflicts between groups to gain an understanding of phenomena of group differentiation and separation vis-a-vis so-called outgroups. Identity and integration



conflicts are central here, and contributions on the ethnicization of conflicts have been published.

- Alongside the phenomena of prejudice, right-wing extremism, and conflict-based violence, the IKG has investigated several more specific related issues. These include studies on *religion and conflict* examining Islamic and Christian fundamentalism, the background to mosque-building conflicts, and the stereotyping of Muslims and Islam in the media, as well as several ongoing projects on *community conflicts* addressing the issue of violence in public space.

- The development and ongoing application of an autonomous *reflexive research strategy* represents another notable attribute, with research into the *evaluation* of projects seeking to reduce conflicts and violence involving prejudice, extremism, etc. We have also developed projects for *transfer* to practice and for *process observation* of practice in public space.

## 5. On the purpose of the conference: A critical reflection on the past and current work of our institute

Political, social, and cultural conflicts are everpresent and unavoidable problems in all societies. In the positive case they lead to altered problem awareness and social change; in the negative case to hardening and polarization through violence.

In light of these issues we conceptualized the conference in two sections. The IKG's core research issues feature in the frame and the twelve panels.

Let us first take a look at four framing aspects

of our past and future work. I will name these elements of the frame without implying any hidden ranking.

- We will start with a presentation on the question of funding of risk research. That's an interesting and absolutely necessary approach. The open question is: Will it be supported by the reviewers? (Dr. Wilhelm Krull)

- Welcome Address and Presentation of the Place of Progress Award to the Institute (Minister Svenja Schulze)

- What is the position and presence of our institute in the international scientific arena and what are the chances of enhancing our reputation and expanding our networking? (Prof. Steven Messner)

- What are standards of critical appraisal of science? What was the position of our Institute in the past and what do we need to improve in the future? (Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Friedhelm Neidhardt)

- We address an essential question of the philosophy of our institute, the interdisciplinary approach. Here there are still a lot of unsolved questions, especially for young researchers and their careers. (Prof. Dr. Andreas Zick)

- Another essential question is the social responsibility of science. This issue is becoming increasingly prominent and we are observing a positive trend. But will such attempts be supported in the scientific system? (Prof. Dr. Matthias Kleiner)

## Societal Conflicts and Violence Research: Outcomes and Ideas in International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives *The Program*

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### Monday, November 19, 2012

2:00 pm – 2:20 pm

Prof. Dr. Martin Egelhaaf, Vice Rector for Research, Young Researchers and Transfer at Bielefeld University :  
Welcome Address

2:20 pm – 2:30 pm

Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer:  
The Frame of the Conference

2:30 pm – 3:15 pm

Dr. Wilhelm Krull, Secretary-General of the VolkswagenFoundation:  
Risk-Taking in Research Funding  
Introduction: Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer

3:15 pm – 4:00 pm

Coffee break

4:00 pm – 4:30 pm

Svenja Schulze, Minister of Innovation, Science and Research of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia:  
A Science Policy Assessment of Conflict and Violence Research  
Introduction: Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer

4:30 pm – 5:00 pm

Prof. Steven F. Messner, Ph.D., former president of the American Society of Criminology, Albany/NY:  
Views from the International Advisory Board and Beyond  
Introduction: Prof. Dr. Jost Reinecke

5:00 pm – 5:45 pm

Prof. Dr. Dr. h. c. Friedhelm Neidhardt, former president of WZB Berlin:  
Standards for Critical Appraisal of Science (Talk in German with English abstract: Maßstäbe kritischer Würdigung von Wissenschaft)  
Introduction: Prof. Dr. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt

5:45 pm – 6:30 pm

Coffee break

6:30 pm – 7:00 pm

Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer:  
Fifteen Years of Research at IKG

7:00 pm

Dinner at ZiF

### Tuesday, November 20, 2012

9:00 am – 5:30 pm

Working groups on three research lines

#### Research line 1:

#### Societal Development and Radicalization

9:00 am – 10:30 am

Radical Milieus

Dr. Stefan Malthaner (Florence)

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Alex Schmid, Fellow ICCT, The Hague

Chair: Dr. Alex Veit (Bremen)

10:30 am – 11:00 am

Coffee break

11:00 am – 12:30 pm

School Violence Research in Germany – Limitations and Perspectives

Dr. Peter Sitzler/Julia Marth

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Jens Luedtke (Dresden)

Chair: Denis van de Wetering

12:30 am – 2:00 pm

Lunch

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm

Protest Potentials in the Deflating Democracy  
Anna Klein/Prof. Dr. Peter Imbusch (Wuppertal)

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Donatella della Porta (Florence) via Skype

Chair: Dr. Steffen Zdun

3:30 pm – 4:00 pm

Coffee break

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm

Social Conflicts and Control of Violence –  
Past and Present

Prof. Dr. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Jitka Malečková  
(Prague)

Chair: Dr. Stefan Malthaner (Florence)

## Research line 2:

### Violent Crime and Political Violence

9:00 am – 10:30 am

Youth Violence: Serial Offenders

Eva Groß/Manuela Freiheit/Sylja Wand-  
schneider

Commentator: Prof. Steven F. Messner, Ph.D.  
(Albany; NY)

Chair: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Kühnel (Berlin)

10:30 am – 11:00 am

Coffee break

11:00 am – 12:30 pm

Right-wing Extremism: Transformation, Radi-  
calization, Terrorism

Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Jean-Yves Camus  
(Paris)

Chair: PD Dr. Rainer Strobl (Hannover)

12:30 pm – 2:00 pm

Lunch

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm

Crime in the Modern City

Prof. Dr. Klaus Boers (Münster)/Prof. Dr. Jost  
Reinecke

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Gideon Fishman  
(Haifa)

Chair: Dr. Daniela Pollich (Halle-Wittenberg)

3:30 pm – 4:00 pm

Coffee break

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm

Violence in the Global South

Dr. Sebastian Huhn/Boris Wilke

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Roberto Briceño-  
Léon (Caracas)

Chair: Maria del Rosario Figari-Layus

## Research line 3:

### Prejudice, Discrimination, and Threat

9:00 am – 10:30 am

Group-Focused Enmity

Prof. Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew (Santa Cruz,  
CA)/Prof. Dr. Andreas Zick/Andreas Grau/  
Daniela Krause

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Eldad Davidov  
(Zürich)

Chair: Héctor Carvacho

10:30 am – 11:00 am

Coffee break

11:00 am – 12:30 pm

Linked by Threats? A Roundtable Research  
Discussion on the Future of Threat Research

Prof. Dr. Andreas Zick/Prof. Dr. Frank Neu-  
ner/Dr. Kurt Salentin/Prof. Dr. Heinz-Gerhard  
Haupt

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Muhammad Zakria  
Zakar (Lahore)

Chair: Dr. Kai Unzicker (Gütersloh)

12:30 pm – 2:00 pm

Lunch

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm *Coffee break*

Myths About Sexual Aggression

Prof. Dr. Gerd Bohner

Commentator: Prof. Dr. Barbara Krahé  
(Potsdam)

Chair: Prof. Dr. Beate Küpper  
(Mönchengladbach)

3:30 pm – 4:00 pm

Coffee break

4:00 – 5:30 pm

Why Men (Don't) Rebel? A Comparative Case  
Study of Inter-group Conflicts in Duisburg  
and Bradford

Dr. Jörg Hüttermann

Commentator: Dr. Paul Bagguley (Leeds)  
Chair: Dr. Levent Tezcan (Tilburg)

5:45 pm – 6:15 pm

Blues concert in the "Plenarsaal" (main con-  
ference room)  
with Thomas Gerdiken and Prof. Dr. Ipke  
Wachsmuth

6:15 pm

Buffet and blues in the entrance hall

**Wednesday, November 21, 2012**

*10:00 am – 10:30 am*

Prof. Dr. Andreas Zick:

Caught between Stools – Interdisciplinary  
Research and Its Requirements

Introduction: Prof. Dr. Gerd Bohner

*10:30 am – 11:00 am*

Coffee break

*11:00 am – 11:30 am*

Prof. Dr. Matthias Kleiner, DFG President:

The Social Responsibility of Science

Introduction: Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer

*11:30 am – 12:00 pm*

Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Heitmeyer:

Thoughts on the Future of the Institutes Con-  
flict and Violence Research

*Prof. Dr. Martin Egelhaaf*

## Welcome Address



Mr. Heitmeyer, ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the Rectorate of Bielefeld University, I would also like to extend a warm welcome to this high calibre conference. This too on behalf of our rector Gerhard Sagerer who regrets that he cannot be here today due to external commitments. Naturally, I am extremely delighted to welcome not only many international experts but also prominent personalities from the fields of science management and science policy. Both of these areas play an important role in the establishment of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence. It underlines the significance of this meeting that Minister Ms Schulze will talk to us in two hours from now and that she will devote extensive time afterwards in following this conference. In addition, we are of course extremely delighted that the Minister will honour the IKG with an award as a “place of progress”!

In a moment, we will hear from Mr. Krull from the Volkswagen Foundation, one of the major supporters of the Institute from its initial inception. Finally, the President of the largest German research-funding organisation will take this opportunity to say something fundamental about Social Responsibility of Science on Wednesday.

If the world looked nicer, more peaceful and displayed more solidarity then there would

be no need for an IKG. Due it becoming dramatically clear that the world was not peaceful, even in the recently reunified Germany in the years before the Institute was established, the world of politics had great interest in establishing the IKG. At that time, there was the violent extreme-right movement against which you, Mr. Heitmeyer, had already warned years before. That was not taken very seriously at that time. Following deadly arson attacks on homes for asylum seekers and Turkish families, everybody now realises how urgent the need for action was. After witnessing crimes which leave all of us stunned due to their brutality and disrespect for human dignity, there is immediately an instinctive call for stronger sentencing and for enhanced security. In the short term you can maybe win some additional votes through that. Considering the long-term, this is not much more than admitting helplessness and a lack of ideas. Therefore, credit should be given to the politics of North-Rhine Westphalia because at that time it knowingly and pronouncedly did not rely on simple solutions but instead promoted basic and systematic research. Today, we can draw up an impressive balance: 15 years of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence – this being a success story for 15 years!

The IKG continues the great tradition of Bielefeld University – competence in social

sciences and interdisciplinarity – in a modern way. At the IKG, various representatives from very different disciplines work together in a very productive way. It is impossible to imagine this central institute not being part of the profile of the University. Quite the contrary in fact, the university has defined five large interdisciplinary profile areas in the field of research which shall be outstanding for the strategic development of the University. One of these areas is called “Human Development, Conflict and Violence” and of course the IKG plays a central role here – by the way the same holds true for the external impression of Bielefeld University. In the 15 years since its foundation, the IKG has developed into an internationally networked institution with an excellent reputation. The data from the IKG has, in the meantime, been used worldwide in various topics of conflict and violence research. It owes its special position not least both to the management which has always had a feeling for important subjects and has promoted large research strategies and, of course, to the dedication and creativity of its numerous employees. With those pre-conditions, it is only natural that there are continuously reports about important research news from the IKG – “important” here means explicitly no superficial claptrap but rather results coming from serious and profound research. By way of example, I would just like to mention the ten-year study on group-focused enmity. Certainly, in Germany and Europe, it exceeds all which was available in this field by a mile. However, the endurance and determination which a study such as this requires prevents serving a media interest which is characterised by short-

term superficiality.

Results from this research penetrate deeply into social structures and are therefore not suitable for simple solutions. They do not simply exist for phenomena such as the polarisation of society into poor and rich and for the disconnection of an increasingly growing social class of precarious existences. Simple solutions also do not exist for the lack of perspectives of entire geographical areas mainly in the East of Germany and something similar from other countries could certainly be reported on at this conference as well. Due to the fact that we live in a society where everybody has to be the architect of his own fortune, this lack of perspectives is often experienced as particularly humiliating. The social divide produces intense disappointment, diffuse feelings of hatred and aggressiveness. This is the breeding ground which makes it easy for inhuman attitudes to gain influence. In Germany, we have learned a lot about the way this happens and with which consequences – thanks to the IKG and its various, also international, cooperation partners.

For scientists, it is always disappointing to see how sluggish and often even ignorant other sectors of society react to their results. In the IKG they certainly can report on this. That which is taken up seriously by others and which requires serious work is contingent and is removed from the originator’s own influence. Probably, the only solution here is insistence and the intent not to get discouraged at this point. In this context, it is very important for the IKG to search for cooperation with practitioners. Ranging from

social workers to police, they are the people who could act as social multipliers for the newest scientific insights. In a basic-oriented university such as Bielefeld University, this regular transfer into practice also plays an increasingly important role in numerous areas.

Everything we know about the world we know from, according to a dictum by a famous Bielefeld sociologist, the media. Naturally, the IKG would fail in its task if it did not actively give its opinions on the topics dealt with in the public eye. This certainly is a great art, being able to meet the justified demands from outside but, at the same time, not being overtaken by the characteristics of the media world – including its sensationalist character, its superficiality and forgetfulness. However, the members of the IKG master this art with poise.

The only solution in preventing a complete descend into propaganda and diffuse feelings is precise scientific research and as a result serious support for orientation. Probably the most important message from such help for orientation is the fact that humanity and fundamental values do not fall once and for all into the laps of a society but rather they come from repeatedly fighting hard in a very active process against intolerance and the phenomena of disintegration by every single one of us – all this in an enlightened civil society which we will hopefully remain. If we want a more civilised society, a society where conflicts are dealt with using arguments and where racism, political and religious fanaticism and the depreciation of minorities are not tolerated then we also need institutions

such as the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence!

I would like to congratulate the IKG and its members and, on behalf of the Rectorate, to say thank you for 15 years of successful work and I wish you much success in the future with all your important tasks. I wish all the participants of this conference a pleasant stay in Bielefeld, fruitful discussions and a lot of new insights which will help you advance with your own research. Finally, we are dealing here with issues that concern all of us!



Dr. Wilhelm Krull

## Risk-Taking in Research and Research Funding\*

It is an honour and a pleasure for me to open this conference with remarks on risk-taking in research and research funding. Today, I do find it particularly pleasant as it provides me with the opportunity to congratulate Professor Heitmeyer and his colleagues on their impressive achievements made during fifteen years of existence of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence at the University of Bielefeld. The innovative methodological approaches taken as well as the results published clearly deserve to be called outstanding.

Furthermore, Wilhelm Heitmeyer and his colleagues have frequently demonstrated that they are crossing the boundaries of academic audiences all the way through to the general public, and that they are able to achieve a considerable impact on public debates in Germany and abroad. Having achieved a leading position and a high reputation in violence and conflict research does, however, not imply that leading researchers will become complacent. Knowing Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Andreas Zick and their colleagues, I am sure that they will be prepared to live up to the challenges ahead of them. For their future endeavours I wish them a time as successful as the past, perhaps even a brighter and institutionally as well as financially more stable one!

### Changes and Challenges

Change as well as talking about change and the challenges that go with it are as old as European thinking. The Greek philosopher Heraklitos once said: "Change is the only thing in the world which is unchanging." And yet, when we look back at the fundamentally new developments of the past two decades, we cannot help but recognize that the speed as well as the impact of change have increased quite dramatically. Since the late 1980s, we have been witnessing dramatic changes in the political landscape and the economic map not only of Europe, but of the world at large. We have become part of a dynamic ongoing process only loosely characterized by the term 'globalisation', a process that involves "the inexorable integration of markets, nation-states, and technologies to a degree never before witnessed, in a way that is enabling individuals, co-operations, and countries to reach around the world further, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before."<sup>1</sup>

In our rapidly changing, increasingly globalised world, we are confronted with huge problems ranging from local wars and regional conflicts, mass migration, and terrorist attacks all the way through to earthquakes, pandemics, climate change and financial instabilities. Many of these issues can only be

\* Keynote Address on the occasion of the conference on Societal Conflict and Violence Research: Outcomes and Ideas in International and Interdisciplinary Perspective, on 19 November 2012 at Bielefeld.

1 Moïsi, Dominique (2009): *The Geopolitics of Emotion. How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World*, London, p. 144.



dealt with in an adequate way through increasing our knowledge base.

Universities as strongholds of research and training need to recontextualize themselves and pay attention to the expectations of other stakeholders, their fears and anxieties as well as their hopes for results and solutions. At the same time the public at large, and politicians in particular, must acknowledge the fact that the search for fundamentally new knowledge operates under highly fragile, risky, and uncertain conditions. In many instances the researchers cannot immediately deliver the straightforward answers, forecasts, or solutions which we all would like to see so urgently.

A communications revolution made possible by rapid scientific and technological advancements is currently pervading every region of the world. More and more, economic growth and social well-fare rely on knowledge-intensive products and services. This in turn has considerable repercussions with respect to major changes and challenges in research and higher education. Among the most important ones are the following:

- The impact of electronic communication on the creation, distribution, and absorption of new knowledge. How are we to bridge the gap between the rapidity of change and the time-lag of institutional responses?
- The increased emphasis on transdisciplinary approaches: How can we stimulate the implementation of transdisciplinary institutional structures, in particular in universities?
- The move from bi-, or trilateral inter-

nationalisation towards network approaches and strategic alliances across the globe: How can we meet the growing demand for intercultural competent people? What can we do to overcome the disparities between advanced and developing countries?

- The changing public-private interface and its consequences for the division of labour in our research systems: How can we succeed in initiating a process of deregulation, mutual learning, and of gradually building trust in each other's intentions and capabilities?
- The need to integrate evaluation, foresight, and priority setting, and also to increase public involvement in the setting of research agendas: How are we to provide valid and coherent information for the respective decision-making processes?

In view of the demographic development, the increasing social inequalities, and the migration patterns for Germany as well as for most other European countries we can expect to be faced with the completely new challenge of how an ageing continent can actually maintain its capacity to innovate intensely. In this respect quality assurance, foresight activities, priority-setting, and strategic decision-making will become even more important in the future. Though the EU is the world's largest "producer" of graduates, PhDs, and scientific publications, it has been losing ground in the field of basic breakthroughs. Fifty years ago, European scientists dominated the lists of the Nobel laureates and other prestigious prizes (e.g., Fields Medals) as well. Today, Nobel Prizes and similarly renowned awards are mainly won by scientists working in the US (several of whom,

however, are of foreign origin). And the gap in R&D investments per capita between the EU and the US is steadily increasing. Apart from a few research areas such as astrophysics, space research, nuclear physics, and molecular biology, Europe suffers from an almost total lack of competitive areas of transnational support for basic and strategic research.

With respect to top ranking elite institutions, most European countries find that few or none of their universities appear at the top of such lists. For example, in the ranking of the world's best universities published by Shanghai Xiaotong University in 2012, only two of the top twenty universities were European (of course, British: Oxford and Cambridge), while 17 were American<sup>2</sup>. One could – and should – discuss the basis for such rankings and the explanations for their results at length<sup>3</sup>, but it seems that their results basically reflect the fact that we in Germany as well as in many other continental European countries have tried to spread universities more or less evenly across the respective country, and thus developed many good universities in various parts of Europe. Over the last three decades we have largely considered higher education as a tool for regional development, and not really focused on creating high-class, internationally competitive universities. The result is not only reflected in these rankings, but also in many other benchmarking studies, in particular the “Key Figures” published annually by the European Commission<sup>4</sup>. But when we take a closer look

at the full range of the most prominent international rankings we all of a sudden find that Europe has more universities among the top five hundred than the Americas (in the Shanghai Ranking 2012 for instance 202 vs. 192). This is also a strong feature of Europe (given that there are some 30,000 higher education institutions worldwide) which we should not neglect when we discuss future policies. In my view it will be essential for the well-being of the European research system to maintain the capacity of these more than 200 institutions to facilitate even more breakthroughs in basic and strategic research.

When we take a closer look at current policies, we cannot help but recognize that among the major problems of current research funding across Europe are the obsession with bureaucracy, agenda setting, and short term results, the ever present distrust of colleagues, and in some cases also the deficiencies of the peer review process. In Europe we all too often pursue a “We don't trust you, we know better, and we want results now” approach which extinguishes small flames of creativity and certainly prevents them from turning into strong fires of transformative research and scientific innovation.

Although I am still convinced that peer review is one of the best and fairest ways of distributing research grants. I nevertheless think that we have some reason to doubt whether truly innovative, risky projects stand a fair chance in these processes. As Michael

2 Cp. <http://www.shanghairanking.com/ARWU2012.html>.

3 See e.g. Neuhaus, Christoph (2010): *Vergleichende Analysen von Forschungsleistungen*, Baden-Baden.

4 European Union (2012): *Key Figures on Europe 2012*.

Polanyi remarked in his 1969 essay collection on “Knowing and Being”, there is an intrinsic tension between on the one hand a shared concept of plausibility, and on the other hand the originality of scientific research. Assessing research proposals on criteria of plausibility and common perspectives encourages conformity with current scientific practice and knowledge, whilst assessing them on criteria of creativity and originality encourages dissent. Scientific originality springs from and supersedes scientific tradition<sup>5</sup>. As Thomas Heinze et al. point out: “The history of science is replete with examples of pathbreaking research achievements that were initially rejected by the scientific establishment because they challenged existing paradigms.”<sup>6</sup>

As numerous examples in the history of research tell us, e.g. more recently the example of Stefan Hell and his attempts to transcend the widely accepted limits of optical microscopy, truly transformative research seems to be by definition beyond peer review. The question is whether reviewers are ultimately prepared to give innovative, high-risk project the benefit of the doubt – and whether research funders are prepared to back the one reviewer who, in opposition to the majority of his colleagues, considers an idea to be brilliant and wholeheartedly supports the proposal.

Some private foundations such as the Wellcome Trust and the Volkswagen Foundation have already responded to these challenges by experimenting with new forms of peer

review. The Wellcome Trust will train its reviewers and try to communicate its willingness to take risks more openly. So does the Volkswagen Foundation which will also experiment with new participatory forms of peer review in a new line of funding which is called “Experiment! In Search of Bold Research Ideas”. Hopefully, we will not end up with referees like the one who recently said to me: “I am always in favour of new ideas but this one I have never heard of before”.

### **Towards a Culture of Creativity**

As I just pointed out, we see in Europe too much agenda-setting, not by researchers but by politicians and research funders, too much trust in the viability of ever larger clusters, programmes, and research units, and distrust in the ability and creativity of the individual researcher. However, it is this creativity of the most talented individual researchers and their colleagues and collaborators which is key to innovation and progress in science and scholarship. The crucial questions that every good research policy and research funding organisation should ask and respond to are: How and where does talent blossom? How can we encourage creativity and innovation – and discourage routinisation and fossilisation of research? How can we foster more breakthroughs in basic research? What are the creative environments – and the appropriate funding instruments – that permit researchers to discover and explore new fields of knowledge?

When it comes to identifying the most appropriate framework conditions for research

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Polanyi, Michael (1969), *Knowing and Being: Essays by Michael Polanyi*, Chicago.

<sup>6</sup> Heinze, Thomas / Shapria, Philip / Rogers, Juann D. / Senker, Jacqueline M. (2009): *Organizational and institutional influences on creativity in scientific research*, in *Research Policy*, 38 Bamberg, Atlanta, Manchester and Brighton, pp. 610 – 623.

funding and the most favourable institutional settings for breakthroughs in research, most scientists are very skeptical, and they probably agree with the Nobel Prize laureate Max Perutz who once wrote: “My questions are not as absurd as they seem, because creativity in science, as in the arts, cannot be organised. It arises spontaneously from individual talent.”<sup>7</sup> Although there can be no doubt that individual talent and the decisive moment in which a pathbreaking idea occurs cannot be planned for, it is nevertheless clear from more recent research<sup>8</sup> and from observations made by some of the most successful research funding organisations that there are some ways to foster innovative and creative research which are more successful than others. This is my personal list of seven preconditions which at least have to be met if one wants to foster creativity as a research funder or as a research institution:

**Competence:** The first precondition of a culture of creativity is to provide the best training for the future generation of academics and to enable researchers in general to develop their skills as freely as possible. It takes time, trust, and considerable investments, last but not least with respect to the information and research infrastructures.

**Courage:** Not only researchers, but also the institutional leadership and funders must be both courageous and adventurous. You can only encourage people to enter new fields and leave the beaten track if you are prepared to share the risks. The readiness to take risks must be complemented by a high

degree of error tolerance.

**Communication:** Thought-provoking discussions are essential for achieving progress in research, in particular cross-disciplinary and transcultural exchanges, but also interactions with the outside world.

**Diversity:** Also in academia, monocultures do not provide an adequate breeding ground for exceptionally creative thoughts. New knowledge is usually formed at the boundaries of established fields, so the interfaces between these areas of expertise must be activated. If one wants to be successful, it is essential to provide ample opportunities for all the researchers to interact intensively so that new paths can be developed and breakthroughs achieved.

**Innovativeness:** The fifth precondition is that the institution actively fosters innovation. Those researchers who are prepared to take a risk with unconventional approaches need to be identified and encouraged. Academic leaders as well as heads of foundations and other funding organisations must appreciate unconventional approaches and encourage risk-taking by providing incentives such as additional funding and long-term commitments. One of the major challenges remains how to separate the wheat from the chaff without discouraging the most original thinkers and creative researchers.

**Persistence and Perseverance:** To forge new paths in a barely known territory often takes longer than two or three years, the usual length of project funding. Mistakes must be

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7 Perutz, Max (2002): *I wish I'd made you angry earlier. Essays on Science, Scientists, and Humanity*, Oxford.  
 8 Cf. e.g. Hollingsworth, J. Rogers et. al. (2003): *Fostering Scientific Excellence: Organizations, Institutions, and Major Discoveries in Biomedical Science*, New York.

allowed as well as changes of direction. To put it in the words of Albert Einstein: “Two things are indispensable for our research work: untiring persistence and the readiness to dispose of something in which we have invested a lot of time and hard work.”

**Serendipity:** It is impossible to plan the precise moment at which a radically new idea emerges or a major scientific discovery occurs. But there are numerous examples in the history of research, especially among Nobel laureates, which prove that it is possible to establish a particularly stimulating environment more conducive to scientific breakthroughs. Although there is no one-size-fits-all kind of recipe we can apply, it is certainly worthwhile to try and try again. In a high trust mode of operation, researchers will be provided with ample time and space to interact with their colleagues and to focus on their respective research questions in such a way that ultimately breakthroughs can occur.

### The Role of Foundations

Given the billions of Euros spent by public authorities and enterprises, one might ask what impact comparatively small-scale foundations can achieve in this area. It is indeed not the overall amount of money spent, but rather the approach taken by foundations that makes the difference. Their autonomy, alertness, and flexibility enable them to operate effectively as facilitators of change, to establish islands of success, and thereby also to achieve considerable impact on policy- and decision-makers. By fostering risky projects, encouraging networking across disciplinary, institutional, and national borders, and

by helping some of the most creative researchers to break new grounds, foundations are able to prove that even on a European scale small things matter. Unlike publicly financed agencies which have to provide equal opportunities for all institutions, private foundations

- can act much more freely, flexibly, and quickly,
- can put objectives in front of rules and regulations,
- do not have to wait for political consensus.

By fostering risky projects, encouraging change, and helping the most creative researchers to break new grounds, foundations can create at least a few islands of success. They have the flexibility to quickly respond to the needs of the research community, to enable pilot projects, and to trigger spending on research by bigger funders in due course. Research foundations should use their comparatively small resources to foster transformative research as it has been defined by the United States National Science Board: “Transformative research is defined as research driven by ideas that have the potential to radically change our understanding of an important existing scientific or engineering concept or leading to the creation of a new paradigm or field of science or engineering. Such research is also characterized by its challenge to current understanding or its pathway to new frontiers.”<sup>9</sup> Such research scarcely originates on its own. Therefore, the readiness to engage in groundbreaking research has to be encouraged and facilitated. Thus, the aim of private research funders should be to support researchers in over-

coming disciplinary boundaries by putting new research topics, fields, structures, and approaches on the agenda.

Private foundations such as the Volkswagen Foundation clearly want to actively pave the way for a culture of creativity. But in doing so they cannot help but realize that there are numerous obstacles for achieving their objectives. Due to the fragmentation into thousands of disciplines, numerous institutional barriers to interdisciplinary research, and a wide variety of other weaknesses in the governance and management processes of universities and research institutions, it is essential for them to move towards more research-friendly and efficient governance and decision-making structures. They have to establish organisational frameworks which facilitate cross-disciplinary interaction and develop new curricula which include non-disciplinary topics. Universities should try to identify the most promising undergraduates early on and should establish a more structured graduate and doctoral education. The university leadership needs to intensify communication within the institution and beyond, it has to appreciate and support originality, creativity, and collegiality as well as to provide attractive career prospects for young researchers, including tenure track options. The institutional culture should be thus that it encourages researchers to undertake high risk-projects.

### New Perspectives

Research funders can play an important role in enabling transformative research for high-

risk projects that often need long-term financial support. The ten year-study on “Group-Focus Emnity” by Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Andreas Zick, and their colleagues is a perfect example of such a transformative study in the social sciences which not only made its mark on social science research but also had a deep impact on the public at large. We at the Volkswagen Foundation are very pleased with the outcome of this dear and costly project. It fits well to our tradition of providing long-term support for excellent researchers. However, even on a day like this where we want to celebrate 15 years of the IKG this should not prevent us from taking a look at the weaknesses of university structures when it comes to supporting medium-, to long-term research endeavours in an adequate manner.

Although we have made some progress in recent years when it comes to providing longer-term prospects for junior researchers at German universities, there are nevertheless still some weaknesses in the system. With the so-called “Lichtenberg Professorships” the Volkswagen Foundation provides universities as well as the respective researchers with an opportunity to secure tenure track pathways for a professorial career. Outstanding researchers are offered tenure track at a university of their choice in Germany which enables them to carry out independent research in innovative and interdisciplinary areas for longer periods of time.

In 2012, the Volkswagen Foundation started two new initiatives, one already mentioned called “Experiment! In Search of Bold Re-

search Ideas”, the other one focusing on “Freigeist Fellowships” which invite young researchers to pursue high-risk research. With the Freigeist Fellowships the Foundation wants to attract young researchers with a strong personality, a creative mind, an ability to identify and induce freedom and a dedication to overcome resistance. Ideally, a ‘Freigeist’ fellow opens up new horizons and combines critical analysis with imagination and innovative solutions. Thinking ahead, he or she is supposed to act as a catalyst in overcoming existing disciplinary, institutional, and even national boundaries.

In order to foster creativity in our European research systems we need more opportunities to enable breakthroughs by offering

- more ‘creative spaces’ within large grants, e.g. collaborative research units, centres, and clusters,
- new modes of funding, e.g. medium-, to long-term fellowships for up to ten years,
- time and space for some thorough rethinking of common wisdom, e.g. research professorships and prestigious awards for senior researchers,
- new modes of peer review, e.g. a two stage process for early-stage researchers including presentations and interviews.

We should always keep in mind that there are three extremely important ingredients for successful research funding: long-term grants, small-size groups, and stimulating environments. As Rogers Hollingsworth points out: “Being small within a rich cogni-

tive environment is beautiful for radical breakthroughs”. In order to be creative, researchers need a high degree of freedom, a sufficient amount of funds, and full operational autonomy. Research funders and research policy-makers should be willing to grant these pre-requisites for achieving transformative results. Scientists and research funders alike have to work hard to establish a climate of mutual trust and confidence in each other’s willingness to work together for the fundamental advancement of knowledge.

A one-size-fits-all approach cannot be the answer to the very different demands and needs of various academic disciplines and individual researchers. We need diversity in research and research funding. Thus, as research funders and institutional leaders we should aim at being – in our respective fields of providing support – as creative and as innovative as the researchers we like to fund. In doing so, we will have to accept, perhaps even encourage the probability of producing failures. Therefore, I should like to finish off by quoting the philosopher Georg Christoph Lichtenberg who once said: “Of course, I do not know whether things will get better if they change. But this I know for sure: Things will have to change in order to get well.”

*Svenja Schulze*

## **Welcome Address and Presentation of the Place of Progress Award to the Institute**



Professor Heitmeyer, Professor Egelhaaf, Professor Messner, Professor Neidhardt, Dr. Krull, Ladies and gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to be here today! Congratulations on fifteen years of IKG! This is a good reason to celebrate.

IKG is today among the world-renowned institutes for research on conflict and violence. It is a great success for Bielefeld University, for the Institute and, of course, for you personally, Professor Heitmeyer. Your research findings have certainly shaken us into place.

With your 'Bielefeld disintegration approach', you have opened our eyes to the fact that society's collective psyche has been infiltrated by economic categories, such as efficiency or usefulness to such a degree that by now individuals or groups are judged on the basis of such categories. In politics, that would be called neoliberalism.

In the wake of the Lehman collapse and the resulting financial crisis, people began to insist that neoliberalism had comprehensively failed or, at least, that it was dead. If you ask me, it is alive and kicking, and well at work in the last election campaign in the US.

Paul Ryan, the Republican vice-presidential candidate, who claims to be inspired by conservative novelist Ayn Rand, reckons that austerity is what America needs.

That would benefit the super-rich, with old-

age pensioners and the poor getting the short end of the stick. Obama's claim that Ryan preaches a kind of social Darwinism seems not too far off. But the American citizens gave that neoliberal policy of Romney and Ryan a denial. Instead of that they confirmed Barack Obama with a majority in his presidency.

The neoliberal mantra that the strong must be strengthened and that everything – and everyone – must be judged on the basis of efficiency is going strong whenever the EU debt crisis and the role of Greece is the subject of discussions. Greece, they say, must leave the European Union in order not to pull the other countries into the abyss. Or, as Bavaria's Treasurer Markus Söder likes to put it, as in rock climbing, you need to cut the rope to allow the others to survive.

This is the sort of irresponsible and shameful talk that puts an institution – the EU – in jeopardy, which has symbolised, for six decades, peace and friendship among peoples in Europe. An achievement for which it has now been rewarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Such attitudes were identified and examined by IKG researchers earlier on. Deutsche Zustände in particular, the biggest long-term study worldwide on the extent, development and causes of prejudices, serves as a benchmark. The study does an impressive job of illustrating the tremendous impact on society



of events such as 9/11, the tightening of welfare laws (known as the Hartz IV programme) in 2005 and the economic and financial crisis that began in 2008.

This is also emphasised by the German Government's Poverty and Wealth Report. The gap between rich and poor just keeps widening. The top ten per cent of households in this country account for over half of privately held assets.

So, if you want neoliberalism, you don't really need to look as far as the U.S.

As a Social Democrat, I should now be indulging on a spot of self-criticism, given that elements of the party have been known to succumb to neoliberal influence. In North Rhine-Westphalia, we are trying to alleviate the effects by pursuing a policy of social prevention. Our aim is to include, not exclude, at the earliest possible stage and in a synchronised effort. We want to show how to nip what we call 'disintegration' at the bud. How to prevent the downward spiral, the social descent.

Deutsche Zustände – German state of affairs – really rubs our nose in it and dispenses with the notion that our society is as tolerant, cosmopolitan and enlightened as we would like it to be in the 21st Century. We are confronted with the fact that prejudice and hostility towards minorities has long reached the middle classes.

The Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence carries out fundamental research in revealing the causes of integration and disintegration.

The Institute's research provides much food

for thought. It shows what can happen if we fail to take people along with us, to enable them to participate in society. Those are important findings for our future, for the future of our society. And that is more important than ever, given that we are facing huge societal challenges.

To master challenges such as global warming or the ageing population we must be prepared and willing to change the way we live with one another, our production structures, our behaviour and our habits.

To achieve progress, we must create a climate in society where everyone supports change, and receives the opportunity to actively contribute. 'Disintegration' is the death of any readiness to change.

IKG researchers are pioneers in their field, research on conflict and violence. They contribute to our ability to recognise the pitfalls on the route towards a sustainable society.

There are many such pioneers in this state. I have been awarding the Place of Progress award since 2011. For those places of progress pave the way for us – for society – to have progress. I am keen to raise their profile. As an acknowledgement and as an encouragement for others to do likewise.

I am happy to do this today here in Bielefeld, to present IKG with the Place of Progress Award. My congratulations, Professor Heitmeyer, to you and your team.

The Danish philosopher, Søren Kierkegaard, once said something to the effect that man is defined as the sum total of their potential – whether realised or not.

Professor Heitmeyer and his colleagues at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence point out which part of our potential we had better leave alone, and which part we should realise, if we want to secure wellbeing and prosperity for everybody in society well into the future. This is the kind of research we need.

I thank you and your team for this outstanding work! Finally, let me wish you a very fruitful conference.

Thank you for your attention.



#### „Place of Progress“

**2012 the IKG has been awarded as „Place of Progress“. The Photograph shows the Directory Board, the Minister for Innovation, Science and Research of North-Rhine Westphalia and prominent Speakers.**

Left to right: *Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Martin Egelhaaf (Pro-Rektor), Denis van de Wetering, Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Jost Reinecke, Julia Marth, Minister Svenja Schulze, Gerd Bohner, Wilhelm Krull (Volkswagen Foundation), Friedhelm Neidhardt (formerly WZB), Andreas Zick.*

*Prof. Steven Messner*

## **Views from the International Advisory Board of the IKG**



I am delighted to have the opportunity to speak on the first day of this conference marking the 15th anniversary of IKG. I can do so from two vantage points. One is implied by the first part of the title of my presentation, as listed in the program – the View “from the International Advisory Board of the IKG.” For over a year now, I have been serving as Chair of this advisory Board. My colleagues are distinguished researchers from multiple nations who represent a variety of academic disciplines, which is of course consistent with basic identity of the Institute. It has been a distinct pleasure to work my colleagues on the Board. We conducted an assessment of IKG in April of last year. I will report briefly on the nature of this assessment and the Board’s main conclusions. Several Board members are in attendance, so they can correct the record if my representation is not entirely accurate.

I have also had the good fortune of being able to spend extended periods of time in Bielefeld, first as a member of a research group, and subsequently as a Visiting Fellow while on sabbatical leave. In addition, I have participated in a number of conferences sponsored by IKG over the years and collaborated on research projects. I am thus in a good position to evaluate some of the important work being done by the Institute from up close, from personal knowledge. Accordingly, my remarks will not be limited to the

deliberations and positions adopted by the Board but will be supplemented by observations from direct experience. I will focus these more personal observations primarily on the activities of the Institute that are particularly relevant to its visibility in the international scholarly community.

Let me begin with the International Advisory Board’s assessment. Prior to our meeting in Bielefeld, IKG submitted various materials to Board members outlining the principal initiatives that had been undertaken in the recent past, and describing ongoing projects. Some of the more noteworthy activities included four international conferences that had been sponsored in the calendar year of 2011 alone. These conferences addressed a wide range of issues pertaining to conflict and violence, such as: destructive processes related to disrespect, abuse and violence among children and adolescents; evaluation programs and projects supporting a pluralistic and democratic culture; terrorism and radical milieus; and processes of radicalization and de-radicalization. Members of Institute had also been quite active in editing Book series. The topics of these scholarly products included: culture and conflict; German Appalling Conditions; Child and Youth Research; Research on Conflict and Violence; and Analyses of Social Integration and Disintegration.

Another important initiative was the establishment of the International Journal of

Conflict and Violence. This is a particularly valuable vehicle for enhancing the international visibility of IKG. I will say more about the journal later when I draw upon my personal observations, given that I serve as an Associate Editor of the journal.

But back to the assessment – the documentary material provided to Board members included synopses of seven major research projects that were at various stages of development. During the Board's meeting, which was held here at ZiF, researchers involved in each of these projects gave presentations reporting on the progress of the studies and key results. This provided us with an excellent opportunity to probe and to ask questions, and to take a good measure of what had been accomplished and the extent to which the various projects cohered around overarching themes. After the presentations, we held a closed meeting to discuss, deliberate, and evaluate the scientific merit of the accomplishments of the Institute during the period under review, and to consider important challenges for the future.

We were able to arrive at a consensus rather quickly, and our assessment was quite favorable. I'll quote a brief selection from the report that captures the spirit of our evaluation. We were "impressed with the high quality of the Institute's recent and ongoing research activities. The project presentations revealed carefully designed and executed studies dealing with core issues pertaining to conflict and violence. The research characteristically incorporates interdisciplinary perspectives and exhibits a high degree of sophistication."

We also identified issues that in our view would have to be addressed for the Institute to continue to advance in the future. Some entail securing adequate funding in a very challenging fiscal environment. Others involve making sure that the interdisciplinary focus of the Institute's research profile can be reconciled with the professional development needs of young scholars. Academia still tends to be characterized by a disciplinary structure, which can create obstacles to the career prospects of researchers oriented toward interdisciplinary pursuits.

Finally, we encouraged the Institute to take further steps to enhance its international reputation. This will serve as the segue for me to take off my hat as Chair of the International Advisory Board, and put on my hat as a researcher from abroad who has direct knowledge of some of the Institute's past efforts to promote international visibility, and of promising initiatives for the future.

Let me return to the International Journal of Conflict and Violence. The journal is formally separate from IKG, but it is headquartered here and is closely affiliated with the Institute in the public consciousness. In my view, this journal provides a valuable service to the community of scholars studying conflict and violence. The journal is peer reviewed to ensure high quality and is SSCI ranked. It is an online, open access publication, which is particularly important for reaching an audience beyond those in the more economically developed nations. The journal is guided by an Editorial Board that is without question international in character. By my count while preparing for this presentation, 13 different nati-

ons are represented on the Advisory Board.

Each issue of the journal includes a focus section with guest editors, as well as an open section. The focus section ensures that there is always a coherent set of papers targeted on a specific substantive topic. The range of these topics is remarkable.

Let me cite just a few from published issues to give you a sense of the diversity of the journal's content: Radicalization and Deradicalization; Violence and Violence Research in the Global South; Collective Memories and Colonial Violence; Is a General Theory of Violence Possible? Anomie and Anomia; and Terrorism. The journal welcomes submissions representing all scholarly genres: theoretical essays; empirical studies based on quantitative, qualitative, or mixed methods; and analytic reviews of the literature. I am convinced that the journal occupies a unique and important niche in the publishing arena on the topic of conflict and violence, and I hope that it will be possible to sustain it in the years ahead. This was the shared sentiment of the IKG Advisory Board, although here is where we noted in particular financial challenges.

Another scholarly product of the Institute that has helped place it on the international map is the International Handbook of Violence Research. This is a truly authoritative handbook. It contains 63 chapters, extending over 1200 pages, authored by many of the leading experts in the field. One review of the book characterized it as "an unparalleled effort to survey comprehensively all areas of violence research." I concur with that assessment. It is my understanding that there are

efforts under way to update the research reported in the Handbook with the publication of a new edition, which I would encourage. The body of knowledge in this field has grown substantially since the Handbook first appeared.

I mentioned earlier that I had the privilege of being a member of an IKG sponsored research group. This project entailed bringing a number of researchers from a variety of academic disciplines and from different countries to ZiF to be in residence for a period up to a year. We oriented our studies around the common theme of the "control of violence." The respective members of the group reported their research ideas and findings in regular seminars to be scrutinized and critiqued by others. These seminars were a delight – intellectual feasts. I cannot claim that we always reached agreement on contentious substantive issues in these seminars, but the dialogues, sometimes confrontations, were always spirited and constructive.

The activities of the research group culminated in a volume titled "Control of Violence: Historical and International Perspectives."

The book has been published by Springer. The book has a distinguishing quality that is characteristic of much of the scholarship coming out of IKG more generally. It manages to combine comprehensiveness in coverage with coherence in a way that it is rather rare in the contemporary social sciences. A wide range of topics are addressed within an overarching analytic framework. In the preface to the book, the editors call attention to value of the research group and its products more eloquently than I could, so I will quote.

The editors write that “the research project demonstrated once again that cooperation across disciplinary, geographical, and cultural frontiers is not only possible, but also effective and extraordinarily productive.” Amen.

Finally, I would like to note two initiatives that are currently under way that promise to further enhance the international reputation of IKG. One is the establishment of the Center for Violence Research in the Global South. The term “global south” refers here to West Asia, Central and South America, and North and Sub-Saharan Africa. The center will focus on three important forms of violence: urban violence, political violence, and domestic violence.

A distinctive feature of the Center is that it will integrate conventional collaborative research activities with a capacity development approach. The latter component of the agenda refers to systematic and deliberate efforts to help build and develop an infrastructure for research on conflict and violence in those parts of the globe in which such research has been relatively scarce up until now. This is to my mind a very bold and ambitious project with considerable potential.

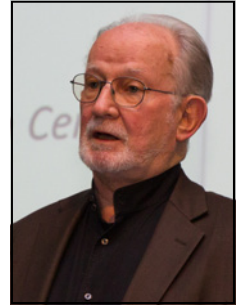
Another initiative of IKG that is also oriented toward fostering and deepening working relationships that cross national borders pertains to international criminology – an area of particular interest to me. Several projects are at various stages of development, but I will mention one for illustrative purposes that I am currently involved in. This research entails a cross-cultural study of the connections between migration/immigration and youth crime. The general topic of migration

and crime has certainly received a good deal of attention in criminology, especially in the U. S., but the research has been limited in two important respects. Much of the attention has focused exclusively on the dynamics within a single nation. We plan to conduct systemic comparisons of the social processes linking migration with youth crime in three different socio-cultural settings, settings that we think are strategic ones: Germany, China, and the U. S.

A second limitation of much research in this area is that it tends to be based on a shaky theoretical foundation. Various stands of theoretical arguments from both the immigration/migration literature and the criminological literature are often invoked, but there is little in the way of a coherent theoretical framework to guide empirical inquiry. We are in the process of formulating an integrated theory that draws upon two approaches that share core elements, and that seem to be particularly apt for the substantive issue – social disintegration theory, which is a signature perspective of IKG, and general strain theory, a highly influential approach in U. S. criminology. Hypotheses derived from the integrated theory will be assessed with original survey data collected from urban samples in the three counties. This particular study is just one part of the broader efforts of IKG at internalization, efforts that I think are very worthwhile.

By way of closing, I will try to wear my two hats simultaneously. The Advisory Board concluded its assessment by expressing optimism that IKG would continue to flourish in the years ahead. I personally feel that this

optimism is well founded. I would add from the vantage point of a researcher from abroad that IKG can be regarded as a rising star in the international skies. There is more work to be done, but there is every reason to expect that it will shine even brighter in the years ahead. I congratulate all of those who have contributed to the Institute's accomplishments to date, and I look forward to its future – beginning with this conference.



Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Friedhelm Neidhardt

## Maßstäbe kritischer Würdigung von Wissenschaft.\*

### Einleitung

Es gibt gute Anlässe, den 15. Geburtstag des Bielefelder Instituts für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung zu feiern. Das IKG hat, denke ich, ein beeindruckendes Forschungsprogramm betrieben und ein ungewöhnliches Maß an öffentlicher Resonanz gesucht und gefunden. Und dies zu einem Großthema von grundgesetzlichem Rang. Über alle Einzelprojekte des Instituts hinweg geht es direkt oder indirekt um das Thema der Menschenrechte und darum, in welchem Maße diese hierzulande ernst genommen werden. Es berührt die Dignität unserer Gesellschaft, wenn die Befunde der Bielefelder Kollegen darauf hinweisen, dass die Bundesrepublik erhebliche Defizite im Umgang zumindest mit den Minoritäten besitzt, die zu schwach sind, sich selber zu wehren.

Bei der Frage, ob solchen Befunden zu trauen ist, will ich mich im Folgenden nicht nur auf persönliche Eindrücke und private Meinungen verlassen. Bei Jubiläen befindet sich der Redner vor der Festversammlung unter einem gewissen Nettigkeitszwang, der der Qualität seiner Anmerkungen nicht immer gut tut. Ich will mich dadurch absichern, dass ich eine Objektivierung meiner Urteile über die IKG-Forschung versuche, also externe Güteurteile heranziehe. Ich möchte aber am Anfang persönliche Wahrnehmungen und

eigene Sympathien doch dazu benutzen dürfen, dem Generalunternehmer des Bielefelder Instituts, nämlich dem Kollegen Wilhelm Heitmeyer, meinen Respekt zu bekunden. Er hat, zum Thema sehr moralisch engagiert, mit ebenso freundlichem wie unerbittlichem Elan Strukturen geschaffen, Ideen verfolgt und weit ausgreifende Netzwerke gepflegt; das erscheint mir ungeachtet aller Verdienste, die sich die vielen kooperierenden Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus Bielefeld, aber auch aus Marburg und Gießen, in der Forschung erworben haben, als eine herausragende Leistung.

Geht es nun aber um das IKG als wissenschaftliche Einrichtung, so kommen allgemeinere Maßstäbe ins Spiel. Nachdem ich in einem ersten Vortragsteil Projekte und Ansätze der IKG-Forschung knapp vorgestellt habe, frage ich dann danach, welche allgemeinen Leistungskriterien bei deren Einschätzung zur Verfügung stehen – und welche Urteile sich bei ihrer Anwendung ergeben. Warum kann und wofür sollte ich die Bielefelder heute loben? (Finding an answer for this, I prefer to speak German today. My English is not good enough, to express myself as sophisticated as I find it necessary to be. I beg your pardon to all those who have difficulties understanding me up to now.)



## 1. Projekte, Ansätze und einige Befunde

Das Bielefelder IKG hat sich seit seinen Anfängen zu einem stattlichen Betrieb entwickelt. Schließt man Graduierte und Post-Docs eines angeschlossenen DFG-Graduiertenkollegs ein, sind gegenwärtig etwa 40 Wissenschaftler und Wissenschaftlerinnen am Institut beschäftigt; 25 studentische Hilfskräfte kommen noch dazu. Was haben diese samt den Vorgängern, die inzwischen nicht mehr am Institut arbeiten, zustande gebracht?

Mit einer Zahl von Publikationen, die ich auch bei fleißiger Vorbereitung nicht vollständig sichten konnte, wird über sehr viele Projekte berichtet, in denen mit diversen methodischen Instrumenten gearbeitet wurde. Durchweg war das Forschungsprogramm auf Formen und Vorformen, Ausmaße und Ursachen von Konflikt und Gewalt bezogen, und deren ethnische, religiöse und kulturelle Formate standen im Zentrum. Da gab es – um Beispiele zu nennen – Langzeituntersuchungen über Vorurteile von Jugendlichen, Befragungen über den Zusammenhang von Religion und Gewalt, teilnehmende Beobachtungen, die in Gemeindestudien über Rechtsextremismus eingebaut waren, auch aufwändige Evaluationen über zivilgesellschaftliche Strategien gegen Rechtsextremismus – und vieles mehr.

Besondere Beachtung verdient die zehnjährige Langzeituntersuchung zu dem, was vom Institut als „Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit“ benannt worden ist. Die zwischen 2002 und 2012 abgelaufene Serie von demoskopischen Einstellungsbefragungen ragt aus den Bielefelder Arbeiten nicht nur

heraus, weil sie mit den zehn Suhrkamp-Bänden unter dem Titel „Deutsche Zustände“ bei einem großen Publikum beachtliche Aufmerksamkeit fand, sondern weil sie für die Institutsforschung paradigmatische Bedeutung besitzt – eine Bedeutung, die sich eben auch in den analytischen Ansätzen anderer Bielefelder Projekte ausdrückt. Es lohnt sich deshalb, diesen Beitrag in seinem Ansatz kurz darzustellen.

## 2. Das Grundmodell

Für das Grundmodell der Bielefelder Vorurteilsanalysen steht der sperrige Begriff der Gruppenbezogenen Menschenfeindlichkeit (zuerst Heitmeyer 2002b: 15-36). Mit diesem GMF-Begriff sollte eine notorische Engführung der gegenwärtigen Vorurteilsforschung auf Rechtsextremismus vermieden werden; vermieden werden durch Ausdifferenzierung mehrerer unterscheidbarer Dimensionen von Diskriminierung, zum Beispiel im Hinblick auf Rassismus, Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Antisemitismus, Sexismus, Islamfeindlichkeit, Homophobie, später unter anderem auch im Hinblick auf Vorurteile gegen Obdachlose und Langzeitarbeitslose. Die Gesamtheit dieser Formen der Ablehnung von sozial schwachen Gruppen wird dabei als ein Syndrom begriffen, das heißt als ein Satz von Einstellungen, welche in einem überzufälligen Ausmaß zusammen auftreten, also miteinander korrelieren und über ihren Verbund dann auch eine besondere Stabilität und Reichweite erlangen.

Ihre problematische Bedeutung entsteht dadurch, so wird weiter angenommen, dass sich einzelne Vorurteile nicht nur miteinander

der verschränken, sondern mit den von ihnen ausgelösten Folgen unter Umständen auch aggressiv werden. Sie werden, ohne selber schon Gewalt zu sein, als „Vorformen von Gewalt“ insofern verstanden, als sie tatsächlichen Gewalttätigkeiten allgemeine Rechtfertigungsmuster bereitstellen und dadurch ermöglichen und unterstützen können. „Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit“ wird als allgemeine Legitimationsressource „zerstörerischer Brutalität“ – so Heitmeyer – verstanden (Heitmeyer 2002b: 15ff.).

Erscheint das Syndrom „Gruppenbezogener Menschenfeindlichkeit“ als zentrale abhängige Variable im Grundmodell Bielefelder Studien, so dient ein breites Konzept von Desintegration als maßgeblicher Faktor ihrer Erklärung. Desintegration wird auf Seiten derer, die soziale Vorurteile ausbilden, als deren Mangel an sozialen, politischen und emotionalen Ressourcen gesellschaftlicher Anerkennung begriffen und als Produkt von Ungleichheit gedeutet (Anhut/Heitmeyer 2005: 83ff.). Entscheidend für den Erklärungszusammenhang ist – ich zitiere – die „These, daß Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit und Gewalt ... umso ausgeprägter sind, je größer die Desintegrationsbelastungen in unterschiedlichen Teildimensionen mit der Folge einer negativen Anerkennungsbilanz sind.“ (Endrikat et al., 2002: 40) Auch dies wird in Umfragen auf Einstellungsebene gemessen: Rassismus, Fremdenfeindlichkeit, Homophobie etc. werden als Ausdruck von Deprivationen interpretiert, die die Befragten an sich selber wahrnehmen. Wer sich

schlecht behandelt fühlt, sucht sich – bewusst oder nicht – Sündenböcke, und schwache Gruppen eignen sich dafür am besten, weil sie sich am wenigsten wehren können.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. Empirische Befunde

Fragt man danach, ob und in welchem Maße diese und andere Annahmen der Bielefelder Forscher empirisch bestätigt werden konnten, darf man sich als Sozialwissenschaftler nicht wundern, wenn die behaupteten Zusammenhänge zwar nachweisbar waren, dies aber zu großen Teilen nur relativ schwach. Starke Ursache - Wirkungsrelationen sind in den Sozialwissenschaften kaum zu finden. Typisch sind komplexe Konstellationen von Faktoren, bei denen der suggestive Begriff von Kausalität deshalb fiktiv wird, weil diese Faktoren wechselseitig auf sich einwirken und auch dies variabel in Abhängigkeit einer mehr oder weniger großen Zahl volatiler Randbedingungen. Die oft nur geringe Ausprägung der im GMF-Projekt ermittelten Zusammenhänge widerlegt deshalb nicht die vorgestellten Annahmen; sie verweisen aber darauf, dass eine Reihe weiterer Variablen wirksam sind, die auf andere Weise untersucht werden müssen. Gleichwohl lässt sich angesichts der vorhandenen statistischen Signifikanzen fast aller dieser Befunde doch mit Nachdruck festhalten: Es ist etwas dran an dem sich selbst stabilisierenden und deshalb auch nur schwer korrigierbaren Syndrom von sozialen Vorurteilen. Und es ist richtig, deren Entstehen in Zusammenhang mit Integrationsdefiziten zu bringen, die den

<sup>1</sup> In den Bielefelder Überlegungen (siehe z.B. Heitmeyer/Mansel 2003: 55f.) wird diese Vorstellung mit dem Rekurs auf das für soziale Verhältnisse in der Tat zentrale Reziprozitätsprinzip (Gouldner 1960: 161ff.) einbezogen.

Menschen soziale Anerkennung vorenthalten. Es ist schließlich auch nicht bestreitbar, dass die mit beidem verbundenen Faktoren die Entwicklung von Gewalttätigkeit gegen die schwachen Gruppen, die das Vorurteil trifft, erleichtern können – dies schon dadurch, dass sie den Gewalttätern ein gutes Gewissen vermitteln.

Betrachtet man diese Übernahme Bielefelder Befunde als eine relative Anerkennung und Wertschätzung dieser Befunde, und versteht man dies auch als Güteausweis für die Arbeit des Instituts, das wir heute feiern wollen, dann lässt sich fragen, ob und wie sich meine Einschätzung objektivieren lässt – objektivieren mit der Nutzung externer Indikatoren, mit denen in der Wissenschaft Leistung bestimmt werden kann. Sind die Bielefelder so gut, wie sie mir erscheinen? Ich will mich im Folgenden vor allem dieser Frage widmen. Es geht um Evaluation.

#### 4. Evaluationen

Evaluationen sind in den vergangenen Jahren zu einer nicht unumstrittenen, aber nachhaltig wirksamen Praxis in der Wissenschaft geworden. Dabei zeigt sich, dass sich systematische Probleme von Leistungsmessungen daraus ergeben, dass sich die Qualität von Forschung weder im Hinblick auf die Wahrheitsinteressen der Wissenschaft noch im Hinblick auf die Anwendungsinteressen der Praxis direkt messen lässt (Neidhardt 1996). „Fachlicher Erkenntnisfortschritt“ und „praktischer Nutzen“ sind im Wissenserwerb Zielgrößen, deren Erreichen sich in komplexen Prozessen und in Abhängigkeit von mancherlei Imponderabilien nur langfristig

bestimmen lässt. Es ist ja kein Zufall, dass auch die Verleihung von Nobelpreisen nur mit einem erheblichen time-lag riskiert wird.

Verswindet damit die Möglichkeit, schon für den laufenden Wissenschaftsprozess den erwartbaren akademischen und außerakademischen Wissensfortschritt von Forschung zu bestimmen? Die Wissenschaftstheorie hat das Nichtvorhandensein absoluter Maßstäbe bei der Einschätzung von Forschungsqualität mit der Annahme aufgefangen, es ließen sich über den Konsens hervorragender Experten – so Stephen Toulmin (1983) – zumindest „vernünftige Wetten“ darüber erreichen, ob eine Forschung etwas tauge oder nicht: Bürgen einschlägig erfahrene Experten für die theoretische und praktische Qualität von Forschung, dann wird diese – so die Annahme – wohl gut sein. Akzeptiert man diese Verschiebung von objektiven Wahrheits- und Nützlichkeitskriterien auf einen sozial gesicherten Expertenkonsens, dann kommen für die akademischen Erkenntnis- und die praktischen Anwendungsbelange unterschiedliche Kategorien von Experten ins Spiel: Wissenschafts- und Praxisexperten, die sogenannten Peers und die Users. Frage nun: Zu welchen Vorhaben und Produkten des IKG liegen Urteile von Peers und Users vor? Wo kann man sie finden? Und welche Indikatoren lassen sich daraus valide bilden?

#### 5. Akademische Anerkennung – Peer Review

Das IKG sieht seine Bedeutung nicht nur darin, akademisch erfolgreich zu sein. Es verfolgt den Anspruch, als eine „öffentliche Sozialwissenschaft“ praktisch zu wirken (vgl. Burawoy 2005, 352ff.). Seine Forschung soll, wie Wil-

helm Heitmeyer in Band I der „Deutschen Zustände“ schreibt, einen „Beitrag zur Selbstaufklärung der Gesellschaft“ leisten; es geht um die Bezugsgruppe „Öffentlichkeit“, es geht um „Anstrengungen für ein zivilgesellschaftliches Projekt“ (Heitmeyer 2002a, 9ff.). Aber auch diese praktische Zwecksetzung bedarf, will sie Aufklärung im Namen der Wissenschaft seriös betreiben, der akademischen Anerkennung. Die Forschung muss zuerst einmal gute Forschung sein, um dann auch praktisch nützlich werden zu können. Wo aber findet man Expertenurteile, mit denen sich gute Forschung identifizieren lässt?

Zu den Lieblingsindikatoren akademischer Anerkennung gehören in Evaluationen die sogen. Drittmittel, Geld also, das der eigenen Forschung von externen Geldgebern zugewiesen wird, weil diese glauben, dass dies dem Erkenntnisfortschritt dient. Daraus ergibt sich aber ein valider Indikator für erwartbare akademische Leistungen nur unter einer Bedingung: Die Prüfung der Förderwürdigkeit eines Projekts muss von akademischen Experten geleistet werden, also durch „Peer Review“ von Kollegen und Kolleginnen, die im Forschungsfeld Bescheid wissen. Das ist die Basis auch für die Solidität der praktischen Verwertung der Forschungsprodukte.

In der Evaluationspraxis hat sich nun ein Missverständnis eingebürgert, das leider bestandsfähig erscheint, weil es für manche Akteure profitabel ist. Der Erfolg der Drittmittelinwerbung wird in der gängigen Praxis nicht durch die Zahl positiver Begutachtungen und die Häufigkeit von Antragsbewilligungen und -nachbewilligungen gemessen, sondern durch die Höhe der Geldmittel, die

den Antragstellern dabei zugeschlagen wurden. Zwischen der beantragten EURO-Menge und der Qualität der beurteilten Projekte dürfte es aber nur einen geringen, jedenfalls keinen linearen Zusammenhang geben. Ein Physikerprojekt von einer Million Euro, will es bewilligt werden, muss nicht um einen Faktor zehn besser sein, als ein Historikerantrag auf den Zuschlag von 100.000 Euro. Beantragte und bewilligte Geldmittel sind ein Ausdruck des Geldbedarfs von Forschung, und dieser Bedarf variiert vor allem mit den Merkmalen des Projekts, seiner Laufzeit und danach, in welcher Disziplin dieses Projekt laufen soll. Drittmittelsummen sind, rein wissenschaftlich betrachtet, ein invalider Indikator. Sie sind ein ökonomischer Erfolgsausweis und zum Beispiel bei klammen Universitätspräsidenten, die unter dem Rückgang staatlicher Haushaltsmittel leiden, gerade deshalb hoch im Kurs; ihr Geldwert ist aber kein akademischer Güteaussweis. Die Drittmittelverdienste werden in der Forschungsförderung, auch zum Beispiel im sogen. Exzellenzprogramm, in falscher Währung gemessen.

Die Forschung des IKG ist von den hier angesprochenen Unterscheidungen allerdings wenig betroffen. Das Institut ist erfolgreich in beiderlei Hinsicht (IKG 2012): Das Institut hat sich für die Universität Bielefeld mit mindestens 20 Mio. Euro, die es in 15 Jahren erworben hat, erstens als einträglich erwiesen – weit einträglicher, als Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftler es normalerweise zustande bringen, einträglicher auch als die meisten zentralen wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen und Sonderforschungsbereiche dieser Universität. Die Drittmittel des IKG übertreffen die von der Universität finanzierten Haus-

haltsmittel des Instituts sogar in einem schon nicht mehr gesunden Verhältnis, nämlich um mehr als das Dreifache; ich werde darauf zurückkommen. Die weit überwiegende Mehrheit der Drittmittel geht zweitens auf eine relativ große Zahl von Zuschlägen des reputierlichen Peer-Reviews von Deutscher Forschungsgemeinschaft und Volkswagen Stiftung zurück, besitzt also die Anerkennung einer relativ großen Zahl anerkannter fachwissenschaftlicher Gutachtergruppen. Das möchte ich als einen außerordentlichen wissenschaftlichen Vertrauensnachweis verbuchen – beachtlich auch dadurch, dass die Zuschläge für Projekte erfolgten, für die der Beifall der Fachgenossen nur schwierig zu haben ist, nämlich für interdisziplinär ausgerichtete Forschung mit methodisch anspruchsvollem Design, z. B. von Panelforschung, auch für das Programm eines großen Graduiertenkollegs.

Gleichermaßen eindeutig sind die bibliometrischen Daten nicht zu beurteilen. Die im Prinzip instruktiven Zitationsanalysen mit den Daten des Web of Science dürften – ich habe nicht im Einzelnen nachgezählt – für das IKG insgesamt nicht sehr imponierend ausfallen. Zitationsanalysen auf der Grundlage des Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) gelten zumindest in den Sozialwissenschaften allerdings auch nicht als zuverlässig und valide genug, um flächendeckend einsetzbar zu sein; wir haben Zitationsanalysen zum Beispiel beim Forschungsrating des Wissenschaftsrats im Bereich der Soziologie nach Durchführung mehrerer Tests nicht benutzt. Im Fall des IKG ergeben sich niedrige Zitationsindizes wohl schon aus dem Publikationsverhalten des Instituts und seiner Mitglieder.

Das Publikationsaufkommen ist insgesamt zwar außerordentlich hoch, aber die Zahl der Veröffentlichungen in Fachzeitschriften, die für die Ermittlung des akademischen Zitationsindex erfasst werden, ist, sieht man von Sozialpsychologen im Bereich der GMF-Forschung ab, ziemlich gering. Es dominieren bei weitem Veröffentlichungen in Sammelbänden, und diese werden in der großen Mehrheit der Fälle vom Institut selber herausgegeben und unterlaufen dabei in der Regel die unabhängige Kontrollen von Peer Review.

Gegenrechnen muss man allerdings, dass sich unter den Sammelbänden fachlich reputierliche Handbücher befinden, zum Beispiel das große, von Wilhelm Heitmeyer und John Hagan herausgegebene und im Springer-Verlag erschienene *International Handbook of Violence Research* von 2003. In mehrerer Hinsicht herausragend ist das zweimal jährlich erscheinende, von der DFG geförderte „*International Journal of Conflict and Violence*“. Ein Mindestmaß an fachlicher Anerkennung ist schon dadurch dokumentiert, dass dieses online-Journal im März 2011 in den Social Science Citation Index aufgenommen wurde. Zählt überdies die Internationalität der Forschung auch in den Sozialwissenschaften zu den anerkannten Leistungskriterien, so erweist sich das *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* für das IKG auch in dieser Hinsicht als ein Pluspunkt. Ein stark internationalisierter Beirat sorgt dafür, dass in den Ausgaben seit 2007 mehr als zwei Drittel der insgesamt knapp 200 Autoren Nicht-Deutsche waren. Das internationale Autorenpektrum ist von den USA über die Niederlande und Großbritannien bis hin zu Südafri-

ka, Kenya, Äthiopien, Indien, Brasilien und Argentinien über die Kontinente gespannt; und das ist für sozialwissenschaftliche Zeitschriften ungewöhnlich global. Nicht überraschend ist dann, dass auch die Nutzer dieser Online-Zeitschrift, also die Leser, nachweisbar in beachtlichen Mengen über alle Kontinente streuen.

Man kann die relativ breite Publikationspalette des IKG nun aber auch dadurch evaluieren, dass man nicht die Daten des „Web of Science“, sondern von „Google Scholar“ benutzt. Dieser Datensatz vermeidet die für die Sozialwissenschaften nachteilige, allerdings im Hinblick auf Peer-Kontrolle zuverlässiger wirkende Verengung der Bibliometrie auf jene Publikationsstichprobe von Fachzeitschriften, die den Zitationsindices und Impactfaktoren des Web-of-Science unterliegt. Misst man nun die wissenschaftliche Resonanz des IKG mit dem weiter ausgreifenden, wenngleich nicht zweifelsfrei validen Datensatz von „Google Scholar“, dann schneiden auch die Wissenschaftler und Wissenschaftlerinnen des IKG überwiegend sehr beachtlich ab.

Es entsteht also ein differenziertes Bild, wenn man die berichteten Daten bilanzieren will. Die bibliometrischen Leistungsausweise des IKG erscheinen nicht durchweg, aber in mehrerlei Hinsicht als befriedigend, z.T. sogar als ausgesprochen gut. Zusammen mit den hervorragenden Drittmitteldaten kann man dem IKG bescheinigen, ein Maß an akademischer Anerkennung zu besitzen, das für die fachliche Fundierung praktischer Anwendungen hinreichend solide und belastbar ist. Von diesen Anwendungen, auf die der Endzweck

des Bielefelder Instituts letztlich vor allem bezogen ist, soll nun die Rede sein.

## 6. Öffentliche Resonanzen

Die Würdigung der praktischen Erfolge von Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften ist gegenwärtig eingeschränkt dadurch, dass in Evaluationen bislang kaum fassbare Erfolgsindikatoren für Transferleistungen vom akademischen in den außerakademischen Bereich verfügbar erschienen. Dies im Unterschied zu den Natur- und Ingenieurwissenschaften. Als ich vor kurzem als Sachverständiger des Wissenschaftsrats das inzwischen abgeschlossene Forschungsrating der Ingenieur- und Kommunikationswissenschaftler beobachtete, wurde es mir als völlig selbstverständlich dargestellt, dass in diesen Fächerbereichen zur Bestimmung der Praxiserfolge Mittel aus Industrieaufträgen, Patentstatistiken und Firmenausgründungen als valide und sehr gut operationalisierbare Erfolgsindikatoren für Wissenstransfer betrachtet werden. Anders in den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften, und das zeitigt auch nachhaltige Folgen für die praktischen Ausrichtungen ihrer Forschungsprozesse. Als rationale Akteure strengen sich Wissenschaftler mit zusätzlichem Motivationsüberschuss bei den Forschungsleistungen an, mit denen sie auch sichtbar gemessen werden. Umgekehrt: In den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften gilt die Berücksichtigung von Anwendungsinteressen in der akademischen Forschung in der Regel schon deshalb als nachrangig, weil deren Wirkungen nicht als genau feststellbar erscheinen; sie bekommen bei ihren Evaluationen nicht bescheinigt, ob und für was sie sich als nützlich erweisen oder erweisen könnten.

Versteht man nun aber, wie die Wissenschaftler des IKG, die Forschung als „public sociology“ (Burawoy 2005), und bezieht man „public sociology“ auf die sozialen Probleme in den Vorurteilsbereichen, die mit dem Konzept von „Gruppenbezogener Menschenfeindlichkeit“ angesprochen werden, dann erscheint es als unabdingbar, bei Evaluationen des Instituts auch zu fragen, was es mit seiner Forschung dafür tut, bei einer Öffentlichkeit für jenes Maß an Problembewusstsein zu sorgen, das Problemlösungen vorausgehen muss. Kommt das IKG in der „interessierten Öffentlichkeit“ an, die sie mit ihren Problemdarstellungen ausdrücklich erreichen will?

Öffentlichkeit stellt eine Arena dar, in der viele Akteure um die Aufmerksamkeit des für sie interessanten Publikums konkurrieren müssen, bevor sie nachfolgend die Chance haben, dessen Unterstützung zu erreichen. Wer da mitmischen will, muss unter Nutzung sogen. „Nachrichtenwertfaktoren“ geschickte Öffentlichkeitsarbeit betreiben. Öffentlichkeitsarbeit stellt aber für eine seriöse Wissenschaft – wie Heitmeyer selber früh gesehen hat (2003: 10) – einen „nicht risikolosen Balanceakt [dar]. Er besteht darin, die Standards des Wissenschaftssystems einzuhalten und gleichzeitig das Wissen und die Ergebnisse so aufzubereiten, daß sie in einer breiten Öffentlichkeit das Interesse an den aufgezeigten Problemen wecken oder verstärken.“

Liest man die Beiträge in den zehn Suhrkamp Bänden der „Deutschen Zustände“, dann entdeckt man in deren Prosa nun tatsächlich Spuren einer Öffentlichkeitsrhetorik, mit der man die Aufmerksamkeit eines breiten Publikums erreichen kann. Dabei hilft natürlich,

dass der Gegenstandsbereich der Institutsforschung die Verletzung von Grundwerten betrifft, was per se einen relativ hohen Nachrichtenwert besitzen kann. Aber die damit verbundenen Probleme bedürfen einer Dramatisierung, um in der lärmigen Geräuschentwicklung öffentlicher Meinungsbildungen wahrgenommen zu werden. Dem dienen im vorliegenden Fall unter anderem journalistisch aufbereitete, eindrucksvolle Fallgeschichten von kriminellen Folgen sozialer Vorurteile, wie sie in den jeweils zweiten Teilen der Suhrkamp-Bände mehrfach dargeboten sind. Dem dienen auffällige, gut zitierbare Begriffe, zum Beispiel „prekäre Normalität“, „rohe Bürgerlichkeit“, „ungesicherte Zivilität“, auch die dramatisierte Zentralformel von „Gruppenbezogener Menschenfeindlichkeit“, welche eine drastische Moralisierung „deutscher Zustände“ nahelegt (Heitmeyer 2012a: 238). Manchmal, nicht oft, begegnete ich auch starken Aussagen mit schwachen Daten, ebenso der publikumswirksamen Behauptung von Steigerungstendenzen im Aufkommen untragbarer Vorurteile auch dort, wo ich in den Statistiken keine eindeutige Steigerung fand. Aber es gibt offenkundig einen öffentlichen Aufmerksamkeitsverfall für Probleme, von denen man nicht behauptet, sie würden wachsen; man gewöhnt sich an sie. Von daher die PR-Tendenz des „immer mehr – immer schlimmer“, von der auch die Bielefelder Prosa zumindest in ihren Presseberichten und Interviews nicht ganz frei war.

Hat all dies nun zu den erwünschten Öffentlichkeitsresonanzen geführt? Gibt es Indizien für die angestrebten Aufklärungseffekte? Die Evaluationsforschung kennt im Bereich der

Sozialwissenschaften keine Konventionen, wie man mit solchen Fragen umgehen könnte. Es gibt deshalb auch keine Vergleichsdaten, mit denen man Befunde für die Bielefelder Publikumseffekte validieren könnte. Aber die Frage bleibt wichtig auch über den hiesigen Fall hinaus: Welche Daten mit Indikatorenqualität sind verfügbar, wenn man praktische Effekte messen will? – Ich kann dazu im Folgenden nur einige Erwägungen beisteuern.

Ähnlich wie für die Frage, ob eine Forschung zum wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisgewinn nachhaltig beiträgt, muss auch die Frage nach der praktischen Nützlichkeit einer Forschung auf Experten rekurrieren, die in der Lage sind „vernünftige Wetten“ über den Nutzwert einer Forschung abzugeben. Geht es bei der Praxis, wie im vorliegenden Fall, um Aufklärung, so könnte das allgemeine Publikum, das von einer Forschung erreicht wird, die entscheidende Bezugsgruppe sein – und die Vermittler dieses Publikums wären dann die Experten, die für Multiplikatoreffekte im Publikum sorgen: Verlage, Journalisten, Veranstaltungsunternehmer etc. Das tatsächlich erreichte Publikum stellt dann das Potential von Nutzern einer wissenschaftlichen Botschaft dar. Man weiß zwar nicht, was das Publikum mit dieser Botschaft anfängt, ähnlich wie man auch in der Wissenschaft bei den Zitaten, die für die Konstruktion von Zitationsindices benutzt werden, nicht genau weiß, welche Wirkung sie auslösen: ob man sie aufnimmt und sich tatsächlich von ihr inspiriert weiß, ob man sie beiseite schiebt oder ob man sie ausdrücklich verwirft. Die Wahrnehmung von Forschung und das Registrieren von Forschungsbefunden

sind sowohl in der scientific community als auch im nichtakademischen Publikum, eine notwendige, aber noch nicht hinreichende Bedingung eines nachhaltigen Forschungserfolgs – immerhin eine notwendige Bedingung, welche die weitergehenden Wirkungschancen gleichermaßen eröffnet wie eingrenzt.

Mustert man in diesem Sinne die Leistungen des IKG, so fällt für den Bereich des massenmedialen Publikums auf, dass das Institut durch seine Veröffentlichungsverträge mit dem Suhrkamp-Verlag einen renommierten Multiplikator mit großer Publikumsreichweite gefunden hat. Dass die Auflageziffern der Suhrkamp-Bände „Deutsche Zustände“ jährlich durchschnittlich bei ungefähr 3.000 Exemplaren lagen, mag für den Verlag vielleicht nicht berauschend gewesen sein, für die Wissenschaft erscheint dieser Publikumszuspruch aber enorm hoch. Auch die regelmäßige Resonanz, welche die Veröffentlichungen in vielen, darunter auch den überregionalen Zeitungen, vermittelt über Presseberichte und Interviews von Institutsmitgliedern erreichte, ist für den Wissenschaftsbeereich durchaus ungewöhnlich.

Hinzukommt, dass das IKG nicht nur über Medienöffentlichkeit ein großes Publikum gesucht hat, sondern über zahlreiche Veranstaltungen auch ein kleineres Publikum, das an den verschiedensten Orten für die Berichterstattung über „Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit“ mobilisiert wurde. In den zehn Jahren zwischen 2002 und 2011 haben lt. IKG-Statistik 438 Vortrags- und Diskussionsveranstaltungen allein über Befunde der GMF-Umfragen stattgefunden. Es wurden also in praktisch jeder Arbeitswoche



durchschnittlich einmal vor fremdem Publikum die Bielefelder Erhebungsdaten verbreitet. Andreas Zick ist dabei in besonderem Maße engagiert gewesen, aber es waren zahlreiche Mitglieder und Kooperationspartner des IKG, die an dem Diffusionsprozess beteiligt waren. Dabei wurden mit fast zwei Drittel aller Veranstaltungen außerakademische Foren aufgetan, und die Veranstalter waren zivilgesellschaftliche Organisationen und Gruppierungen der verschiedensten Art – nicht nur Parteien und Gewerkschaften, sondern viel häufiger noch – ich nenne nur wenige Beispiele – die Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit und das Netzwerk Toleranz und Menschenfreundlichkeit und die Weiße Rose e.V. und die Evangelische Gemeinde Lübeck und die Gewaltakademie Schwerte und das Forum Friedenspsychologie etc. etc.; vielfach waren Stiftungen unterstützend beteiligt, vor allem die Freudenberg- und die Amadeu-Antonio Stiftung. Diese Veranstaltungsakteure erscheinen als Basisexperten im Aktionsbereich von Gruppierungen, die gegen Formen und Träger aggressiver Vorurteile vorgehen. Und mit ihrer Nachfrage nach GMF-Befunden sowie ihren Einladungen an Mitglieder des IKG, diese vorzutragen, bestätigen sie die praktische Bedeutung der Bielefelder Forschung für sich und ihre Arbeit. Deshalb lassen sich nicht nur Publikumsveröffentlichungen mit großer Auflage, sondern auch solche Vorträge vor kleinerem Publikum als Indikatoren von Transferleistungen ansehen. Ohne über Vergleichsdaten zu verfügen, erscheint es mir gerechtfertigt, dem grass-root-Engagement des IKG eine Spitzennote zu geben.

Allerdings kann man nicht wissen, was Auf-

klärungen im Kampf gegen Vorurteile tatsächlich bewirken. Man kann wohl feststellen, dass die GMF-Forschung in der Öffentlichkeit angekommen ist; dafür sprechen zum Beispiel die sehr hohen Trefferzahlen, die man bei der Google Web Search erhält, wenn man den Begriff „Gruppenbezogene Menschenfeindlichkeit“ oder auch die von Heitmeyer eingeführte Formulierung „rohe Bürgerlichkeit“ eingibt. Man wirkt bei der Gestaltung der erratischen Prozesse öffentlicher Meinungsbildung zuerst und vielleicht vor allem dadurch ein, dass man die eigenen Begriffe und die mit ihnen einen bestimmten Vorstellungshorizonte („frames“) einschleust. Aber es ist nicht bestimmbar, welche praktischen Folgen sich aus einer gewissen Prominenz der Bielefelder Forschung ergeben. Das hängt nämlich von einer Vielzahl von Rahmenbedingungen ab, über die die GMF-Forschung selber wenig Auskunft gibt. Sie ist keine „policy“-Forschung, welche der politischen Praxis Hinweise auf die Erfolgsbedingungen von Menschenrechtsarbeit gibt. Sie ist als Umfrageforschung weniger dazu geeignet, Problemlösungen zu entwerfen, als das Problembewusstsein zu erzeugen, das die Dringlichkeit von Problemlösungen einklagt. Sie ist in praktischer Absicht vor allem kritische Sozialwissenschaft, die – so Heitmeyer (2012a: 236) – „stören will“, „aufstören will“. Den Akteuren vor Ort zu sagen, wo es lang geht, ist mit dem GMF-Ansatz nicht möglich; das aber ist offenkundig auch nicht gewollt.

Allerdings ergibt auch der kritische Ansatz der GMF-Forschung allgemeine Orientierungen; dies zum Beispiel für die Initiativen gegen Rechtsextremismus. Roland Roth würdigt in seinem Gutachten für die Friedrich-Ebert-

Stiftung „die von Wilhelm Heitmeyer angestoßene Erweiterung der Rechtsextremismusforschung um zusätzliche Einstellungsdimensionen“, aus der sich „neue Akzente in der Präventionsforschung“ ergeben hätten (Roth 2010: 16). Dass die damit eingeführte „mensenrechtliche Horizonterweiterung“ Komplexitäten aufwirft, die praktisch nicht leicht zu bewältigen sind, führt andererseits dazu, dass der GMF-Ansatz – so Anetta Kahane, die in der Amadeu Antonio Stiftung mit den Bielefelder Anregungen sehr interessante Praxisprojekte betrieben hat – dass der „GMF-Ansatz auch bei Praktikern nicht unumstritten“ ist. Komplexitäten haben den Nachteil, unhandlich zu sein. Wie man sie in konkreten Auseinandersetzungen vor Ort kleinarbeitet, bleibt ein Problem. Ich rechne es zu den Verdiensten des IKG, dass es sich auch in solche Auseinandersetzungen mit Lokalstudien eingemischt hat; es wäre interessant, in absehbarer Zeit eine Zusammenfassung dieser Felderfahrungen lesen zu können. Wilhelm Heitmeyer selber zieht im Hinblick darauf „nach zehn Jahren eine ambivalente Bilanz“ (Heitmeyer 2012b: 327). Aber vielleicht hat er das geschrieben, bevor er von der Röhl-Stiftung in diesem Jahr den Göttinger Friedenspreis verliehen bekam.

Wie kann es nun weitergehen?

## 7. Planungen

Wünscht man sich für das Institut für Konflikt- und Gewaltforschung eine Zukunft, in der seine mannigfachen Erfahrungen genutzt werden können, um eingeholte Datenbestände weiter auszuwerten, vorhandene Befunde zu vertiefen und mit neuen Projekten auszuweiten, dann sehe ich für die Biele-

felder Kollegen und Kolleginnen einige Probleme, die mir Sorgen machen. Wilhelm Heitmeyer erreicht in wenigen Monaten sein Emeritierungsalter, ohne dass derzeit ein Nachfolger oder eine Nachfolgerin für seine frei werdende Professorenstelle bereit stünde; von der Universität ist, höre ich, nicht einmal die Ausschreibung einer Stelle, die Heitmeyers Funktionen entspräche, bislang programmiert. Andererseits laufen einige der wichtigsten Institutsprojekte aus, zur Finanzierung neuer Projekte sind also neue Geldquellen zu erschließen; das bringt viel Arbeit mit sich.

Der Vorstand des IKG hat sich dazu natürlich Gedanken gemacht, und ich kenne einige der Pläne, die derzeit erwogen werden. Ich finde darunter einige patente Ideen; mir erscheint die Erwägung neuer Themen ebenso wie eine damit verbundene Erweiterung des Methodeneinsatzes weg von Umfragen hin zu teilnehmenden Beobachtungen, Dokumentenstudien und Inhaltsanalysen als ausgesprochen produktiv. Allerdings finde ich die Kreativität insoweit auch beunruhigend, als sie – soweit ich weiß – nicht ausdrücklich einhergeht mit dem dezidierten Vorsatz, mit den vorhandenen Daten in größerem Stil Sekundäranalysen zu betreiben. Diese erscheinen mir aber als das Mittel der Wahl, um zu verhindern, dass in der Sozialforschung die Kellerbestände an unkultivierten Datenmengen durch Bielefelder Ablagen noch anwachsen. Ich denke daran, dass mindestens die Paneldaten, aber auch die internationalen Vergleichsdaten bislang noch nicht hinreichend ausgewertet wurden. Ich denke auch daran, dass einige wichtige Annahmen, die dem GMF-Ansatz zugrunde liegen, mit den bishe-

rigen Analysen noch nicht hinreichend geprüft sind.

Allerdings mögen im Hinblick auf Sekundäranalysen Umstände eine widrige Rolle spielen, die sich aus der materiellen Situation des IKG ergeben. Diese werden durch die ungesunde Drittmittellastigkeit der Institutsforschung ungut bestimmt. Zwischen 1997 und 2010 ist die Finanzierung des Instituts und seiner Forschung zu fast 80 Prozent über Drittmittel gelaufen. Da Drittmittel bekanntermaßen eher für empirische Projekte als für Sekundäranalysen zu erhalten sind, erscheint die Haushaltslage des IKG als ein institutionelles Handicap für den Typus von Forschung, mit denen Daten nicht angeschafft, sondern ausgenutzt werden sollen.

Es fällt mir deshalb leicht, am Ende gegenüber der Bielefelder Universität als Lobbyist des IKG aufzutreten. Das Institut hat es mit seiner bisherigen Arbeit und deren Ertrag verdient, dass es mit Haushaltsstellen besser versorgt wird.

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## 9. Abstract: Standards for Critical Appraisal of Science

Remarks on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Bielefeld Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence

1. The speaker at an anniversary celebration experiences a certain compulsion to be nice, which is not always conducive to the quality of the comments. I hope to counteract that tendency by seeking to objectify my own verdicts about the IKG's research and drawing on external measures of quality. I will examine what **general performance criteria** are available, and what judgements ensue from their application. What we are talking about is evaluation.

2. The theory of science addresses the absence of absolute standards for assessment of research quality with the hypothesis that a *consensus of outstanding experts* can at least make what Stephen Toulmin called "good bets" about whether research is any good or not. If one accepts this shift from objective criteria of truth and usefulness to a socially rooted consensus of experts, then matters of academic insight and practical application call for different categories of expertise: scientific and practical experts, **peers and users**. Question: For which IKG projects and products do we have judgements from peers and users?

3. One of the preferred indicators of academic recognition in evaluations is **third-party funding**. The Institute has been very successful in this respect. This applies firstly (a) to the *volume* of third-party funding acquired over fifteen years: what is for the social sciences the unusually large total of at

least € 20 million. (Incidentally with the not unproblematic consequence that third-party funding is more than three times the Institute's university-funded budget.) More important for the purposes of evaluation of research performance would appear to be the qualitative factor (b) that the overwhelming majority of third-party funding originates from relatively numerous successes in the *high-reputation peer reviews* of the German Research Foundation and the Volkswagen Foundation. These projects thus possess the recognition of a relatively large group of recognized experts and reviewers. I would rate this as exceptional evidence of academic confidence.

4. The **bibliometric data** are not quite as unequivocal. While in principle instructive, the results of *citation analysis* using *Web of Knowledge* data are not as a whole terribly impressive for the IKG. This is, however, typical of German-speaking social sciences for reasons unconnected with its quality. If we measure the academic resonance of the IKG's relatively broad spectrum of publications using the much broader dataset of "Google Scholar" we find largely impressive rankings for the IKG's researchers.

Beyond that, we must not forget that the IKG's publications include highly regarded *reference works*, such as the major *International Handbook of Violence Research* edited by Wilhelm Heitmeyer and John Hagan and published by Springer in 2003. The biannual DFG-funded *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* is outstanding in multiple respects. Basic expert recognition of the online journal is already documented by its March

2011 inclusion in the Social Science Citation Index. And in terms of the *internationality* of research as a recognized performance criteria in the social sciences, the *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* represents a boon to the IKG. With a strongly international advisory board, more than two-thirds of the almost two hundred authors since 2007 have come from outside Germany. The spectrum is unusually global for a sociological journal, arching across the continents from the United States through the Netherlands and the United Kingdom to South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, India, Brazil, and Argentina. It is consequently unsurprising to find that the users of this online journal, the readers, are also demonstrably strewn in notable numbers across all the continents.

5. If one understands one's own research as part of a "*public sociology*" (Burawoy 2005), as the researchers at the IKG do, then it follows that any evaluation must also examine what the institute's work contributes to addressing the topic of Group-Focused Enmity in public and to heighten the levels of awareness required to drive a search for solutions. Does the IKG reach the "interested public" that it explicitly seeks with its diagnoses?

In assessing the achievements of the IKG in this respect, it is conspicuous that (a) for the field of mass media the Institute has found renowned publishers through whose **books and newspapers** a *mass audience* can be reached. The average annual sales figures of 3,000 copies of each of the ten Suhrkamp volumes in the "Deutsche Zustände" series are in themselves outstanding for the social sciences, while the regular resonance they

achieve in the regional and national press through reports and interviews with institute members is certainly exceptional for the academic sphere.

6. Moreover, the IKG has not only sought to reach a large audience via media publicity, but also through numerous **events** a smaller audience mobilized in the widest range of venues for reporting on "Group-Focused Enmity." In the ten years between 2002 and 2011 IKG statistics list 438 lectures and discussion meetings about the findings of the GFE surveys alone. Almost two thirds of meetings reached non-academic forums, and the organizers include the widest variety of *civil society organizations and groups*. Many foundations have lent their support, above all the Freudenberg Foundation and the Amadeu Antonio Foundation. These and other event-organizing actors function as grassroots experts in the sphere of groups acting against forms and manifestations of aggressive prejudice. Their demands for GFE findings and their invitations to members of IKG to present these confirm the practical importance of the Bielefeld research for them and their work. Alongside large-circulation lay publications, such smaller-audience events also represent indicators of transfer achievement. Without having access to comparative data, it would appear to me justified to give top marks to the IKG's *grassroots engagement*.

7. However, we cannot know what scientific information actually achieves in the fight against prejudice in the public sphere. It is certainly the case that the GFE research has achieved relatively broad public acceptance,

but one cannot determine what *practical consequences* ensue from its relative prominence. That depends on a plethora of circumstances about which the GFE research itself supplies little information. This is not “policy” research supplying practical indications on conditions for successful human rights work. As survey research it is suited less to designing solutions than generating an awareness of the urgency of addressing the problems. In its practical intentions it is above all **critical sociology** that, as Heitmeyer puts it, seeks to disrupt and provoke. The GFE approach plainly cannot tell the actors on the ground what they should be doing – but that is obviously not the intention anyway.

*Prof. Dr. Andreas Zick*

## Caught between Chairs: Interdisciplinary Research and Its Requirements



### 1. Being interdisciplinary

This essay has two motives. First, I want to declare my love of interdisciplinary research (IDR). Having moved from one disciplines into the other and ending up at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence (IKG) this seems only reasonable. And there can be no better place to make this declaration than the Bielefeld Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZIF), which is one of the most prominent European centers for IDR. Second, I want to remind us all that this love will remain unfulfilled, if we fail to nurture it. This is especially relevant for early-career researchers who commit to IDR on conflict and violence and feel threatened by loss of disciplinary identity and competitive capacity.

Love is complicated and never safe. Our commitment to IDR on conflict and violence has to overcome two restrictions. First, we have to recognize the specific conditions of IDR on conflict and violence. Especially where young researchers are working in IDR teams, they need support. They need a security, time, and resources. I will address the most significant problems and options later. Second, one critical hurdle for IDR is the “fallacy of emptiness”, i.e. if we use the term ‘interdisciplinary’ because it sounds good and for no other reason. Interdisciplinarity is hard to pin down, since it is a broad category comprising very different approaches and

methods. As a broad and inclusive category, interdisciplinarity can often be lip-service. Metzger and Zare (1999, p. 642) identify this as the mantra of IDR: “Virtually any meeting on the current state and future of science is leavened by obligatory statements about the importance of enabling researchers to work seamlessly across disciplinary boundaries and by solemn declarations that some of most exciting problems in contemporary research span the disciplines.”

Early-career researchers especially need to learn more than mantras. Interdisciplinarity transcends our traditional view of research, and has many advantages. First, IDR is multi-cultural practice creating diversity by heterogeneity and multiple perspectives. One good example is the way in which IDR increasingly shows how physical space affects human behavior. Second, IDR destroys the myth and reality of uniformity in science. Third, being able to do IDR is a skill that is often in demand (see also Srinivasan, O’Fallon and Dearth, 2003; Stuart, 2004; Reich & Reich, 2006). Fourth, IDR is a prospering field of research. Jacobs and Frickel (2009, p. 46) tallied peer-reviewed papers published between 1990 and 2007 that use the term “interdisciplinary” in their titles. As Figure 1 shows, IDR clearly follows a rising trend. Altogether, IDR seems to be a good “market”.

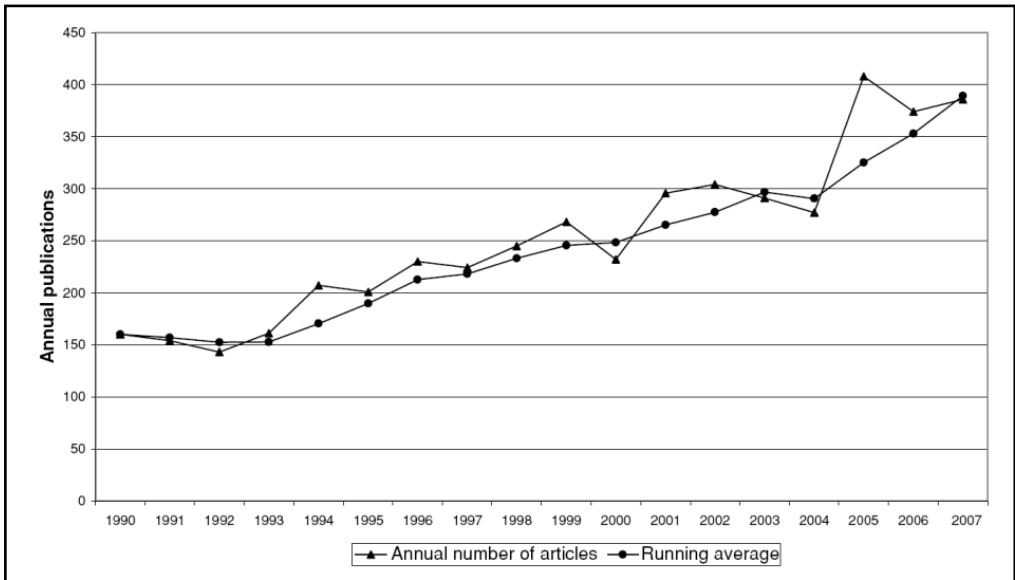


Fig. 1: Articles with the term “interdisciplinary” in title, 1990–2007. Source: Jacobs & Frickel (2009, p. 46)

An analysis of websites mentioning “interdisciplinarity” by google-analytics will show a similar upward trend. So, it seems profitable to do IDR. I will address more of the benefits later. However, such gains must be balanced with the costs researchers face while doing and developing IDR. These are higher for young researchers without tenure track. Since they have to compete in a job market defined by disciplines they can end up “falling between the chairs”. In its original sense, *duobus sellis sedere* means to get into conflict of interests, to be hustled by two sides. That is something young researchers – including many of our graduates – have to face up to. Disciplines demand their standards. They mostly ignore research that is not dominantly contributing to their claim. To some extent this is fueled by intra-disciplinary rivalry. Of course, the academic job and publication market is a scarce resource and disciplines fight for this. To explain that you come from IDR can be a good

argument to exclude you if IDR is not explicitly wanted.

In the following paragraphs I hope to create some bridges for IDR, beginning by attempting to locate IDR. It is always good to know where you are starting out from. Then I will examine some of the most prominent obstacles that have to be overcome, before sketching out an example of how to do IDR and ending with some demands for support for young interdisciplinary researchers. While I will do this as a researcher on conflict and violence, the quotes on IDR do not largely stem from this field. Education, health, and natural science have made much more progress on IDR.

## 2. A process of acculturation

There are many different definitions and framings of IDR – but basically there are two types. The first is what I called “lip-service or pseudo-IDR.” This kind of interdisciplinarity is



found in scientific meetings, debates, talks, etc., when it looks as if IDR is attractive. There is IDR as “nice-to-know IDR,” in the sense of recognizing that certain facts do exist outside our own discipline. There is “as-if IDR,” taking a disciplinary look at the world using terms or methods from another discipline. There is “adopted IDR,” which integrating scientists who seem to be interdisciplinary into one’s own disciplinary approach. There is “composite IDR,” which aggregates people from different disciplines without involving any change within the disciplines. We might detect much more “pseudo IDRs” in team calling themselves simply because they meet and talk.

Aboelela and colleagues (2007) differentiate interdisciplinarity by theory, methods, and empirical findings to produce a set of core typologies (see Table 1).

According to the widely read papers by Latu-tuca (2001), Klein (1996), and Rosenfield (1992) there are several weaknesses of IDR. Mostly these approaches involve sharing knowledge between discipline-bound groups

and individuals without changing the central characteristics of theories and methods. On a more advanced level synthesis is achieved by joining knowledge. The most sophisticated form of IDR – understood here as a broad term rather than a specific interdisciplinarity – is transdisciplinarity and conceptual IDR. Although there are differences between ap-proaches, IDR obviously describes a shared group process of analysis, whereas transdis-ciplinarity transcends the borders of discipli-nary terms, theories, and methods.

While analyzing patterns of IDR from the perspective of theory of science is an inter-esting endeavor, but the theoretical perspec-tive might collapse with the empirical reality of IDR. Doing IDR is not the same as framing IDR. Aboelela and colleagues (2007) ran a rather interesting empirical study of IDR re-search teams. After analyzing forty-two pa-pers on health care, business, and educa-tional science which directly address IDR and analyzing interviews and other reports, they came up with a modified typology of IDR.

Again they differentiate from less to more

Table 1: Typology of IDR

Author	Typology		
	Lattuca (2001)	Klein (1996)	Rosenfield (1992)
Degree of synthesis			
Least	Informed disciplinarity: disciplinary questions may be informed by concepts or theories from another discipline Synthetic disciplinarity: questions that link disciplines (question either belongs to both or neither disciplines)	Instrumental interdisciplinarity: bridge building between fields. Problem-solving activity, does not seek synthesis or fusion of different perspectives	Multidisciplinary: teams work in parallel or sequentially from their specific disciplinary base to address a common problem
Moderate	Synthetic disciplinarity	Epistemological interdisciplinarity: restructuring a former approach to defining a field	Interdisciplinary: teams work jointly but still from a discipline-specific base to address a common problem
Greatest	Transdisciplinary: the application of theories, concepts, or methods across disciplines with the intent of developing an overarching synthesis Conceptual interdisciplinarity: questions without a compelling disciplinary basis	Transdisciplinary: a movement toward a coherence, unity, and simplicity of knowledge	Transdisciplinary: teams work using a shared conceptual framework, drawing together discipline-specific theories, concepts, and approaches to address a common problem

Source: Aboelela et al. (2007, table 2, p. 337).

Table 2: Typology of IDR by empirical evidence

	<i>Participants/ Discipline</i>	<i>Problem Definition</i>	<i>Research Style</i>	<i>Presentation of Findings</i>
Multidisciplinary	Two or more disciplines	Same question but different paradigm OR different but related questions	“Parallel play”	Separate publications by participants from each discipline
Interdisciplinary	Two or more distinct academic fields	Described/defined in language of at least two fields, using multiple models or intersecting models	Drawn from more than one, with multiple data sources and varying analysis of same data	Shared publications, with language intelligible to all involved fields
Transdisciplinary	Two or more distinct academic fields	Stated in new language or theory that is broader than any one discipline	Fully synthesized methods, may result in new field	Shared publications, probably using at least some new language developed for translation across traditional lines

Source: Aboelela et al. (2007, table 3, p. 340).

interdisciplinarity, with the most being transdisciplinarity. Whereas multidisciplinary can already be observed where disciplines work in parallel, transdisciplinarity is at least a change of methods, including the development of a new language. IDR is the mid-range of collaboration. This empirical take on interdisciplinary work is interesting because it goes beyond meta-theories.

Now it becomes obvious that IDR is basically a process. A process that can vary between multi- and transdisciplinarity. It is a social psychological process, and much research on IDR clearly finds that this is a group process. Some call it a process of a primary group where unity is the most needed aspect. IDR is a process of intra-group acceptance supplanting destructive passions, jealousy, fear, rivalry, scapegoating, etc. (Colley, 1956; Stone, 1969). Empirical studies clearly show that IDR is a process of managing communi-

cation and language, which will last in processes of disciplinary differentiation, conflict and distance (see Jacobs & Frickel, 2009).

Others define IDR as a secondary group process. Secondary groups are *societies, bureaucracies*, etc., which are defined by rules, regulations, status, etc. So IDR is a process of constructing “we-ness” that can lead to coaction and inter-action instead of pseudo-*community*. Rhoten and colleagues (2008) ran a real-life experiment with interdisciplinary and non-interdisciplinary groups working on human ecosystem sustainability. External evaluation of their proposals, presentations, observations, etc. found that the interdisciplinary groups with less training were the best. This suggests that with complex problems IDR works best if groups have the freedom to develop their own values, rules, norms etc. Lamont and colleagues (2006) suggest how secondary group devel-

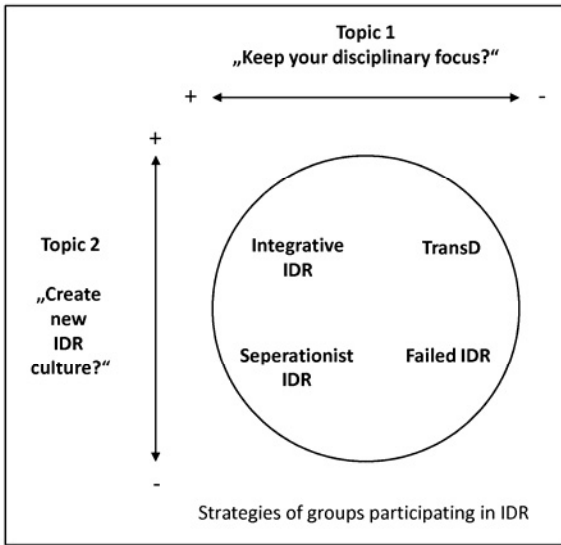


Figure 2: Strategies toward IDR

opment can be supported. Their interviews with 81 experts on IDR imply that the key to IDR is not interdisciplinary autonomy, but knowing when to bring in the disciplinary standards. Building a group by maintaining disciplinary standards seem to be highly relevant. Thus analysis of interaction and the channels and rules of communication are the key defining factors for assessing the level of IDR.

The social psychological group perspective on IDR is shared by empirically working scientist who study IDR. However, if we take the distinction between multidisciplinary and transdisciplinarity seriously, I would suggest a new perspective on defining IDR. I propose that IDR is a process of acculturation. I adopt a classical definition of acculturation of groups into new cultures (Berry, 1986) and apply it to the IDR process. In this sense IDR is a process by which researchers change their characteristics, change the surrounding context, or change the amount of work by approaches of other disciplines in order to

achieve a better understanding and fit with features of an IDR system in which they carry out their research. If we take transdisciplinarity as the ideal and most sophisticated form of IDR and perceive IDR as a group process, this fits with the empirical reality of IDR. Taking the acculturation concept seriously, the orientations that researchers from different disciplines have and develop toward this process become relevant. Scientists starting a process of acculturation within disciplinary diverse teams have to acknowledge and solve two

critical problems: How much do I want to keep my disciplinary focus? How much do I want to create a new disciplinary culture? We can differentiate at least four strategies of acculturation (Figure 2).

*Integrative IDR* is a research process where scientists try to keep their disciplinary focus and identity while striving to create a new approach. *Transdisciplinarity* is nearly the same, but without the attempt to maintain disciplinary identity. A lower level of *separationist IDR* does not strive to develop a new approach but instead protects disciplinary identity by working in multidisciplinary groups. *Failed IDR* occurs where multidisciplinary groups give up their disciplinary identity and do not try to develop a new approach beyond disciplines.

### 3. Immobilities

The discussion of these strategies already points to critical limitations, costs, and burdens. IDR demands additional acculturative efforts and must deal with stresses that are

absent from uni-disciplinary strategies. I will now address some of the most important stresses affecting researchers on conflict and violence on the way toward IDR. This is not a complete list, but a reminder from the perspective of an empirical approach.

First of all, an IDR strategy has costs for careers. This is the most prominent topic for early-career researchers. In their study of university-based programs on environmental change and on education, Rhoten and Parker (2004) found that 62 percent of graduates stated that they were “doing IDR” compared to 49 percent of professors. However, graduates also reported the most negative career effects, also only 16 percent in total report this. IDR may be nice, but it is also very costly.

If we take the perspective of IDR as an acculturative process seriously, the most prominent constraints are threats, communicative borders, prejudices, and loss of recognition. There are plenty of threats to IDR. IDR may require too much knowledge and be limited by self-overestimation. IDR needs simplifications that can lead to distortions of knowledge. IDR means loss of control and needs the freedom of a special space and place. There are many more threats. Communicative borders are reported by several authors. IDR takes time and requires simplification in communication. Blättel-Mink and Kastenholz (2005) report how experts in transdisciplinary groups clearly suffer from a great organizational need for coordination without being efficient. Some had to give introductory lectures for their partners. IDR needs articulated frameworks which are often missing at the beginning. It needs inductive approaches,

but often leads to a lack of sophisticated hypotheses. IDR needs the development of a common meaning, which means the development of a language transcending disciplinary vocabularies (Levinson & Thornton, 2003 p. 677). Third, disciplinary ethnocentrism often limits the process. Multidisciplinarity is often an interaction between tribes in which each discipline has its own intellectual values, patch of cognitive territory, norms, acceptance of methods, discussion, and epistemeology. There is great variation in epistemeology and this often causes conflicting thought styles (Becher & Trowler, 2001). Here, negative stereotypes and prejudices toward other disciplines limit IDR. Fourth, but not least, being interdisciplinary can lessen recognition. Disciplines have their own tokens, and tokenism appears during the development of IDR. Especially young researchers have to balance the demands of publishing peer-reviewed studies while working in an interdisciplinary context. Disciplines increasingly develop their own career rules and paths and become more specialized and bounded. And of course, disciplines have their own systems of power and power flows, as Gerth and Mills (1946) observed.

I could add many more limitations, hurdles, demands, etc. which create immobility between disciplines. The literature on IDR is full of these. IDR teams have to be aware of these stressors and actively develop strategies to cope with them at the beginning of any research process, but they also need to be aware that IDR is a valuable strategy, and sometimes without alternative. IDR is not a method for working together, but a goal in itself. And IDR is possible.

#### 4. Doing IDR

Many of the hurdles addressed above cause immobility. The Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence at the University of Bielefeld was established explicitly to offer a safe and free place for IDR on conflict and violence. Since many projects are funded by research foundations, it is not always possible to meet the demands of advanced IDR. Some projects are reviewed and approved from a disciplinary perspective. But, taking the above-mentioned demands seriously, we have tried our best to develop IDR. The research on conflict and violence at the IKG focuses on conflicts and violence within changing, complex societies. As far as I can see, from a couple of years working at the IKG, it is the focus on change that forces many projects to become interdisciplinary. Societal processes of change cause conflicts, and to some extent violence. This basically goes back to the roots of conflict and violence itself. Conflicts and violence stem from three main sources: war, crises, and the needs of societies. These roots of conflict and violence are the most prominent topics for the IKG. Our main topics of research are control and radicalization of violence in high-risk societies and milieus. We observe and try to explain diverse expressions of collective violence by different societal groups in schools, neighborhoods etc. Secondly, collective action in changing societies which leads to social protest, rebellion, or right-wing extremism is addressed in several projects.

It is possible and necessary to investigate these phenomena with a strong disciplinary perspectives. Political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, educational scientists, etc.

within the institute contribute their theories. However, if we want to analyze these problems as changing collective phenomena within a certain space and time, we have to recognize that disciplines are boundaries that we have to overcome. Dynamics and mechanisms of change in space and time force us to study conflict and violence through an interdisciplinary process.

Taking the social psychological view on acculturative processes of doing IDR into account, this also means that the terms, theories, and methods used to explore phenomena of conflict and violence change and transcend disciplinary boundaries, even if this draws criticism from disciplines and reduces the possibilities of recognition from a strongly disciplinary perspective.

One such example of doing IDR is the long-term study on the syndrome of group-focused enmity (GFE). The research is guided by a simple question that is fundamental to any society that defines itself as democratic: To what extent and why are individuals and groups with different origins, gender, sexual or religious orientations, with or without disabilities, work etc. recognized as equal in worth (*gleichwertig*), or confronted with devaluation, discrimination, and exclusion? To find an answer we need to apply macro-, meso-, and micro-social perspectives, and to seek to understand the mechanisms by which unequal worth is attributed to groups. This demands multi-disciplinary perspectives on the meaning of the question and all of its implications. The GFE approach collected scientific viewpoints and empirical findings from multiple disciplines, including theories of prejudices, stereotypes, intergroup hostility

ity, disintegration, discrimination, extremism, etc. and came up with the idea of a syndromic hostility against groups in a changing society. The term group-focused enmity is a transdisciplinary term, which explicitly refers to the empirical observations of hostilities that had been overlooked within disciplines (Zick, Küpper, & Heitmeyer, 2010). We took very seriously the observation that hostilities against groups that need integrative support or are under threat of disintegration from society are strongly inter-related. This raised the interesting interdisciplinary question: What is behind these linked hostilities? The transdisciplinary solution we proposed theoretically and tested empirically was: An ideology of unequal worth.. This little example illustrates the benefits of IDR for our research on conflicts within society. If I look back over this process we achieved many findings since the research team focused on questions transcending the disciplinary borders from the start.

In 2004 the German philosopher Hans Joas gave an interesting lecture on the future of interdisciplinary research in the social sciences. In his talk to the OECD he argued that IDR is not only possible but highly successful, if it takes certain demands seriously: 1. IDR is possible if it develops an adequate understanding of action; 2. IDR needs a focus on social change; 3. The normative dimension has to be (re-)integrated into empirical research; 4. Discursive dimensions must be reintegrated into social science and the humanities (contradicting cultural studies). If these demands are taken into account, IDR can work and contribute to scientific insight, where disciplines fade.

## 5. Getting up

If we understand IDR as a process of cooperative teamwork causing change in its participants that creates risks of losing disciplinary identity and profile, it is clear that IDR needs particular efforts and specific resources. I will address the most relevant requirements for interdisciplinary research on conflict and violence. I will concentrate especially on the needs of young researchers, who are at best sitting between chairs (and trying to get onto one).

First, members need to know how to do IDR best. This is not so complicated, since there are some very good concrete guides (e.g., Derrick et al., 2011). Repko (2008) identifies several stages of the process, which IDR teams can bear in mind. Justifying the approach at the outset, identifying relevant disciplines, literature search, developing adequacy in each relevant discipline, analyzing problems and evaluating insights, identifying conflicts between insights and their sources, creating common ground, integrating insights, and producing and testing an interdisciplinary understanding are among the most prominent tasks (see also Szostak, 2002). If young researchers starting their career in IDR teams know these specific tasks (and are spared the experience of being confronted without forewarning), IDR is easier to do and commitment is easier to get. Sitting between disciplines is stressful, but at least it sometimes offers an uncontrolled place where we can see the limits of perspectives. As Metzger and Zare (1999, p. 642) stated in *Science*: “The best ideas often come from the bottom up. Some of the most spectacular ideas come from young researchers.”

Second, since IDR is a group process rewards are critical. Rewards must be given for developing self-assessment, understanding one's disciplinary culture, sensitivity to the dynamics of cultural interaction, awareness of power dynamics, and avoidance of tokenism, informal hierarchies, and disciplinary policing (Reich & Reich, 2006). Members of IDR teams have to know what rewards they can get, when, and by which means. Rewards include control and recognition. For young researchers who deciding to commit to IDR groups, control of recognition is critical. They have to understand the mechanisms and resources of rewards for their work.

Third, beyond the procedures for establishing IDR group processes and the organization of reward systems, young researchers investing in IDR research need institutional help to get the rewards and organize the process. The most important scientific reward system for research on conflict and violence is still publication. In social sciences the threat of "publish or perish" is very salient, but interdisciplinary journals are few and far between. The peer-reviewed International Journal of Conflict and Violence ([www.ijcv.org](http://www.ijcv.org)), established by the IKG, can do a great deal to help get IDR papers into the scientific community. More and more interdisciplinary journals are appearing, and some disciplinary journals explicitly invite IDR papers. However, even those journals that are explicitly IDR need skilled reviewers. Instructions for reviewers to increase their awareness of the benefits and limits of IDR would be another tool to increase the probability of getting IDR published. Young researchers might even expand their interests and discuss the estab-

lishment of scientific societies around IDR. And chairs are a crucial question for young researchers. Dedicated chairs are an excellent tool for promoting IDR, and as far as I can see IDR needs many more explicit chairs and positions. The scientific community could also discuss establishing a specific PhD grade ("Dr. id."), as a recognition of scientific expertise in IDR.

We could come up with more concrete resources that could help to establish IDR. It is easy to list further concrete ideas, since one of the core values of the University of Bielefeld is "Transcending Boundaries" ([www.uni-bielefeld.de/\(en\)/](http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/(en)/)). Values do not automatically cause action, but give an orientation. Szostak (2002) describes the need to transcend boundaries in IDR, proposing support for the freedom to explore any theory or method or phenomenon that researchers think appropriate to the question being asked. Researchers on conflict and violence know that embracing the freedom to ask and analyze often causes conflicts. Transcending boundaries forces us to get into processes and conflicts about integration and disintegration. There is no thoughtful interdisciplinary research without conflicts, since science without conflicts is questionable.

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*Prof. Dr.-Ing. Matthias Kleiner*

## **The Social Responsibility of Science**

It gives me great pleasure to join you at the University of Bielefeld today, and to take part in this conference. Many congratulations on fifteen years of the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence; fifteen years of outstanding interdisciplinary research that has reached beyond the boundaries of academia and significantly influenced our understanding of conflict and violence in their varied contexts, both in Germany and abroad.

I could hope for no better opportunity to present my thoughts on the social responsibility of science. As you may imagine, this is a subject that has much occupied my thoughts, both during my career as an engineering scientist and in the last six years as President of the DFG. Therefore, thank you very much for the invitation to join you today.

As you know, the weight of expectation on science and scientists is heavy: Whether we are addressing our economic future, discussing ways to deal with climate change, seeking a cure for diseases such as cancer, or – indeed – looking for ways to resolve violence and conflict within and between societies, scientists have a central role to play in providing knowledge and understanding of specific contexts, and in generating solutions.

This is – in principle at least – widely accepted by the public at large as well as by scientists themselves. As President of the German Research Foundation, I am also the

last person to deny the central importance of scientific insights and innovation as we move forward. Where else, after all, can we go for answers?

At first glance – therefore – the territory is familiar: We live in a complicated world that faces significant challenges. And science will provide the blueprints for solutions.

Herein, however, lies the challenge for my talk today – if it does indeed go without saying that science has a responsibility to solve the “grand challenges”, you don’t need me to repeat this fact, particularly on the third day of what has no doubt been an intellectually stimulating and important conference – I regret very much that my other commitments this week have only allowed me to attend today.

As you know, however, the social responsibility of science is more complex than my comments so far have suggested. The more I have thought about this topic over the years – this thinking process did not begin with the preparation for this presentation, but is fundamental to academic life, and certainly to the life of the President of the DFG – the more complex the relationship between science and society has come to seem.

Science does not exist outside society, looking down on it from its ivory tower. On the contrary! Science is an intrinsic part of our society, a society that consists of a web of

relationships and networks. The scientific dimension represents one of many worlds that come together in “society”, that exist in relation to each other. And that is why it is important that we revisit the question of this relationship, and re-evaluate the responsibility that science bears for society – or indeed responsibilities, for I think it is clear that science has a number of roles to play.

As some of you may recall, last July Federal President Gauck addressed the Annual Meeting of the DFG on a similar subject (indeed, his trip to join us in Dortmund was his first public engagement in an academic setting since his election to the office of President, and therefore a significant moment in the development of his relationship with German science). And his call to academics, formulated in the question why the voices of science aren’t more prominently heard in public discourse, was not without a note of criticism. In asking where science is in society, and what scientists are doing to open the eyes and ears of the people, he underlined the role and responsibility of free academic endeavor to contribute to Germany’s democracy.

I would like to take up his challenge to science today. In every relationship understanding is created through clear communication; and this, as President Gauck went on to emphasize, is no less true for the relationship between science and society. What, however, should science be communicating? In a short article I recently reflected on President Gauck’s contribution to our discussions: I suggested that this communication occurs on two levels: first, the level of knowledge com-

munication, the knowledge achieved through fundamental research and free academic endeavor. But beyond that, I believe academics also have a responsibility to communicate the nature of science itself, and thus the nature of their work to a wider audience.

Science serves society not just by providing knowledge, but through the discourses it makes possible. In this regard, academia is a space in which difficult questions, even arguments, can be pursued. As one university rector once said to me: Universities should be safe places to think dangerous thoughts. In order for this role to be fully realized, however – and this is a point that President Gauck also emphasized strongly – academics have a responsibility to make these discussions not only available but accessible to a wider public.

The efforts of academics to open their discussions to an external audience, perhaps even to external participation, must go beyond justifications for the intrinsic value of scientific research to external stakeholders. Instead, these stakeholders should be offered an opportunity to view science differently: As you will be only too well aware, science is often expected to produce immediate answers, frequently linked to a swift return on financial investment in research. The complex thought-processes, experimental procedures and rigorous examination of data are not often taken into account. Those of us involved in academic research know, however, that its value cannot be pinned down by a short-term calculation. The economic contribution of knowledge is recognized by all of us, yet it cannot be demonstrated fully

using an excel table.

A discrepancy is, therefore, frequently evident between the popular desire for immediate results and the ability of scientists to provide instant answers. Scientific investigation is an uncertain business: it is often difficult to predict the direction in which an idea may take us, or the time needed for a particular project. These are aspects of research that we have tried to take into account in the funding programmes of the DFG, for example in our support for high risk research. By this, we mean research that demands that funders take a risk in offering support, the risk that the research in question may not yield a concrete return for the money spent.

I am, of course, referring in particular to the Reinhart Koselleck Grants, named after the Bielefeld historian whose renown went far beyond his own subject area.

His ability to think laterally, and his refusal to be bound by convention or disciplinary regulation marked him out as both a highly innovative and – at times – also uncomfortable personality for his colleagues. His success, of course, speaks for itself. And his legacy places subsequent scholars under an obligation to challenge both intellectual and – if required – also institutional boundaries in the search for knowledge.

The Reinhart Koselleck Grants provide up to 1.5 million Euros over five years to support an unusual idea or particularly novel line of questioning, carried out by an outstanding researcher in any subject. In designing the programme, we also recognized that in supporting research of this nature, we must be prepared to place considerable trust in the

researcher, and provide him or her (the number of women who have applied for this funding sadly remains very low) with great freedom. Thus, the funds are made available to successful applicants without restrictions on how they may be used.

The researchers who have received Koselleck grants come from a wide variety of disciplines and cover a broad age range. What they all have in common, however, is a high level of self-confidence in their ability as researchers. They are aware of their potential and have confidence in their ideas, energy and dedication – and that at the highest scientific level. They are above all prepared to take the academic risks that science demands, to engage in enquiry even when the outcomes are unpredictable. As such, we hope, we will increase the chances for major discoveries and scientific progress.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are all familiar with the stories of scientific discoveries that have occurred by chance, or emerged as the result of a secondary observation during an experiment. I hardly need to repeat again the story of Alexander Fleming and the discovery of penicillin. Nonetheless, the second part of this story is less frequently told: it takes someone of considerable scientific insight to turn chance findings into well-founded research results.

It was twelve years before proof of the value of Fleming's observations emerged, thanks not to Fleming himself, but to the commitment and hard work of Professor Howard Florey at the University of Oxford.

While the chance discovery made by an absent-minded scientist is perhaps a more com-

mon image of science in popular culture, Florey's hard work is closer to the reality of scientific life. And – returning to the question of communication – there are, it seems to me, considerable advantages to be gained in communicating this reality to the public at large, as well to politicians and other decision-makers. This is, moreover, not simply a question of disseminating information. It must involve providing wider society with access to insights into the process of discovery itself, of drawing the public into our research.

In this way, academic work can inform public discourse. It can also provide the necessary knowledge base on which options can be considered and political decisions made.

Importantly, communication of this sort allows decision-makers to make informed judgements as to the potential of science to innovate in the particular area in question. Thus, science supports society by responding to its needs, through its observations of social and natural phenomena, the questions it asks and the answers it finds. The processes it develops for the generation of new knowledge are often as important as the discoveries themselves.

Ensuring that the knowledge and experiences generated in the course of scientific enquiry reaches those who can transform it into innovations is, however, surely also part of the role the scientist must play in society. Where such transfer processes are successful, they also bring benefits for fundamental research; they raise new academic questions, and not only for the technical subjects and medicine, but across the board.

For this two-way dynamic to operate successfully, however, academics also need to be open to impulses coming from society.

And these – as you know – come in different shapes and sizes. All societies have questions, about their roots and cultural backgrounds, ambiguities regarding language, myths and narratives about their past, which also influence their view of the present and the manner in which they plan for the future. And here, science and academia provide the space for reflection that is needed to arrive at explanations and resolve these questions, not necessarily with final answers; often instead by creating frameworks in which constructive dialogue on these matters is made possible.

The IKG is an example of this, observing the prevailing conditions and social dynamics in which we live, analyzing the points of conflict and actual as well as potential violence, providing not just understanding and explanations, but also the basis for solutions. Its work derives its impulse directly from society, and the results it generates are fed back into the public sphere.

The IKG is, therefore, a good example of the way science can contribute to society's understanding of itself. Science is not a luxury; it is central to our wellbeing, both materially and economically, but also morally. To that end, it is more than a service that academics place at the disposal of social and political actors to provide new information, or knowledge that will lead to innovation. It also provides cultural orientation in a complex world. In doing so, however, it must also be socially critical. My observation over the years sug-

gests that one of the hurdles for many students embarking on a degree programme is to learn that the acquisition and generation of knowledge is not a comfortable pastime. We will achieve little if we are not prepared to challenge existing assumptions, our own and those of others. Advances in knowledge shake up previously held conventions and researchers cannot afford to back away from difficult ideas.

Modern German academia has a strong tradition in this regard, in spite of the scars it carries from lapses under dictatorship.

Yet, as you, Prof. Heitmeyer, have pointed out, there has been a change in recent decades, since the days in which social criticism underpinned the culture of many universities. I am interested in why the prominence of socially critical academic voices appears to have decreased. You yourself present us with an excellent example of a scholar whose own work pushes us to re-examine the fundamental orientation of our society. And during my visits to university campuses across Germany, I have met many socially conscious academics who are seeking to make a difference, and numerous individual initiatives that deal with fundamental questions concerning our culture and society. I am therefore convinced that the capacity for active engagement beyond the confines of the university campus still exists in our system. We need to find ways, together, to exploit this more fully.

Scientists do not operate in a social vacuum; science functions as a partner for political, economic and social actors. It is not, however, always a comfortable partner.

Ladies and gentlemen, I return to my opening remarks: the current and future challenges for science include the generation of solutions to the problems facing society today. But, in order to carry out its role, science must operate in a wider context. Through effective communication, we ensure an exchange of knowledge that informs the development of society, but at the same times provides impulses for fundamental research. I believe that through the creation of this dynamic context for science we will see the best ideas and the most creative solutions to the problems we are seeking to solve. And we will thereby enable science to fulfill its social responsibility.

Thank you for your attention.

**Institute for  
Interdisciplinary Research  
on Conflict and Violence**

Universitätsstrasse 25  
33615 Bielefeld  
Tel: 0049521 106-3162  
Fax: 0049521 106-6415  
[ikg@uni-bielefeld.de](mailto:ikg@uni-bielefeld.de)

**Editor**

Wilhelm Heitmeyer

**Lectorate**

Med Dale

**Photographs**

Ralf Litera

**Layout**

Heiko Mata

**Print**

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