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Symposium:

Critical Deliberations Concerning DA-RT

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DA-RT and Its Crises

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> The authors of such [historical] works espouse actuality,
> *but that is not to say that they have replicated it.*
> They may have dipped into document collections that…are incomplete….
> If they were going to rely on oral testimony, they could not…interview the dead.
> Even among the living, they may have engaged in…a selection.
> Claude Lanzmann's massive film *Shoah*…encompasses the testimony of perpetrators,
> victims, and bystanders. It includes Germany, Corfu, Auschwitz, Treblinka,
> Sobibor, Chelmno, and…in its raw, unedited state,
> questions and answers take up something like 350 hours.
>
> …It is at this point that we must become specific about rules [of writing].
> One of them is…silence. Of course, there cannot be silence without speech.
> Silence can only be introduced between words, sometimes with words.
> …[I]n Lanzmann's Shoah…after the first trainload was delivered to the death camp,
> it was the silence that alerted [the Sobibor station master] to something ominous.
>
> …[W]e historians usurp history precisely when we are successful in our work,
> …[when] some people might read what I have written in the mistaken belief that here,
> on my printed pages, they will find the true ultimate Holocaust as it really happened.
>
> —Raul Hilberg, "I was not there" (1988, 22-23, 25; emphasis added)

Critical deliberations concerning the Data Archiving and Research Transparency effort (DA-RT) which had been set in motion within the context of the American Political Science Association's (APSA) Qualitative and Multi-Methods Research (QMMR) Section had, by the Fall of 2015, resulted in multiple conference workshops and panels, email exchanges, webpage and listserv posts, and various Section newsletter publications. Most of these seemed to come from Comparative Government and International Relations (IR) scholars, who are the mainstays of the QMMR Section. Researchers in other subfields of political science—notably, public policy, public administration, public law, and political theory—were less often heard from among those deliberations. And so Peri Schwartz-Shea and I, both of us working in the first two of those subfields, convened a roundtable at the 2016 Western Political Science Association (WPSA) meeting, "Engaging DA-RT: Critical Assessments from Public Policy and Political Theory," to address this gap. The essays in this symposium—by Renee Cramer (Drake University), Samantha Majic (John Jay College, CUNY), Amy Cabrera Rasmussen (California State University-Long Beach), Peregrine Schwartz-Shea (University of Utah), and Nancy J. Hirschmann (University of Pennsylvania), ordered by appearance here—were

developed from those roundtable presentations. (Amy T. Linch [Pennsylvania State University] was also a member of the roundtable, but she has not joined in this written compendium.) As panel chair, I set the stage for the discussion; and it is those comments that I present here, expanded to situate DA-RT in its contemporary context.

What problem does DA-RT solve? A bit of history

DA-RT became the focus of attention of a large swathe of US political science in the Summer and Fall of 2015, in large part due to its proponents' call to journal editors to endorse the policy that articulated its aims, the Journal Editors' Transparency Statement (JETS). This statement instituted changes in manuscript and publication procedures, to be implemented in January 2016. Presented in 2014 as a policy endorsed by APSA[1]—DA-RT continued to appear on the APSA home page through at least the Winter 2017-18 without any indication of the ferment surrounding it—JETS calls on researchers doing empirical work to submit their unrestricted data to a repository at the time of publication. In the case of "cited data" that are restricted,

> (e.g., classified, require confidentiality protections, were obtained under a non-disclosure agreement, or have inherent logistical constraints), authors must notify the editor at the time of submission. The editor shall have full discretion to follow their journal's policy on restricted data, including declining to review the manuscript or granting an exemption with or without conditions. The editor shall inform the author of that decision prior to review (Journal Editors' Transparency Statement 2015).

What problem or problems in the discipline was this policy intended to solve? That issue was never directly addressed, such that one has to infer the character of the problem(s) on the basis of APSA roundtable and QMMR Section discussions, APSA Council minutes, various publications, and other sources over the years, from 2009 on. DA-RT has had two central proponents, listed as co-founders on the second's webpage (Lupia n.d.). One is Colin Elman (Syracuse University), an IR scholar who specializes in IR theory, security studies, and qualitative methods. He is also a founder and leader of the QMMR Section at APSA and creator of the Consortium on Qualitative Research Methods, which runs the very successful summertime Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research (Elman n.d.). The second is Arthur ("Skip") Lupia (National Science Foundation and University of Michigan), an experimentalist whose research interests include voting and elections, political psychology, and political communication, with a strong engagement with science communication issues (Lupia 2010). On the basis of these leaders' respective interests, along with firsthand knowledge of the QMMR Section's history, one might reasonably infer that DA-RT has been conceived as a solution to a perceived dual credibility crisis concerning US political science research, one relating to the politics of methods within APSA, the other, political science's public face.

With respect to the internal politics of science at APSA, the section originally named Qualitative Methods was created to give an intellectual home and visibility to research done using such methods as focus groups, comparative case analysis, process tracing, causal mechanisms, qualitative comparative analysis, concept formation, historical analyses, textual analyses, interviews, and participant-observer ethnography. The petition to found a new section, circulated at the 2002 APSA meeting and signed eventually by over 1000 members, was accepted by the APSA Council, and the Section was created the following year (see the essays in Qualitative Methods 2003). The motivation underlying this move was to gain greater legitimacy for qualitative methods in the face of the dominance of quantitative researchers, who had taken the generic language of "Political Methodology" for their own section, created in 1986. (I have been told[2] that the latter's founders were also motivated by legitimacy concerns, in their case with respect to economists, who apparently held that political scientists' quantitative research, being an "application" of econometrics to political scientific problems, was an inferior version of that method.) Sadly—in my view—and despite what appeared to be great success, assessed in terms of the size of Section membership, engaging and sometimes standing-room-only panels at APSA meetings, and a supremely well-edited newsletter, many Qualitative Methods Section members apparently continued to feel that their research was disrespected within political science. This led the Section's leadership in 2008 to propose, and the membership to vote for, a name change—from the original Qualitative Methods to Qualitative and Multi-Methods Research (QMMR),

1 On this point, see Schwartz-Shea and Yanow (2016). The involvement of APSA's leadership and staff is also documented at Data Access & Research Transparency (2015-16).

2 I no longer remember who told me this; but I do recall thinking at the time that the individual was articulating firsthand knowledge.

thereby bringing natural experiments, critical juncture analysis, quantitative content analysis, Bayesian analysis, and other such methods into the Section's domain.

The addition of "multi" (or "mixed," as it initially appeared in various communications) to the Section name seemed intended to signal that "qualitative" methods had a place alongside "quantitative" methods in US political science, as equals. Whether the name change achieved its desired result is unclear. My sense is that the feeling of being not-fully-respected, second class APSA citizens has continued to hover over the Section; indeed, one would want to know what indicators Section members would recognize as demonstrating full recognition and acceptance within the discipline. In light of this history, DA-RT seems like yet another effort to establish the legitimacy of qualitative research within APSA and various journals. It appears as if the thinking were that if QMMR members would make their data available to other researchers—to which end a Qualitative Data Repository was created, linked to Syracuse's Center for Qualitative and Multi-Method Inquiry (Qualitative Data Repository 2017)—thereby facilitating replication of their research, "qualitative" methods' legitimacy within political science would rise. That replicability has been problematic in many natural and physical sciences was seemingly not attended to,[3] nor were the potential confidentiality, security, and other ethical difficulties arising from making field research transcripts and notes public. (These included—initially—possible violations of ethics review committee policies and practices for the protection of human "subjects," a topic reworded in the 2012 revisions of the APSA Ethics Guide. On these points, see the symposium essays by Cramer, Majic, Cabrera Rasmussen, and, on the science question, Hirschmann). Replicability (discussed further below) has dropped out of most of the explicit discussion (see Tripp 2018, 734-35, for an exception), but other issues continued to be discussed, especially in several APSA sections' newsletters (see, e.g., Büthe and Jacobs 2015; Golder and Golder 2016; Roundtable: Debating DA-RT 2016; Friendly Fire: DA-RT 2016; Qualitative Transparency Deliberations n.d.;[4] and Dialogue on DA-RT n.d.).

With respect to the public face of political scientific research and the politics of science external to APSA, research funding was being battered in Congress, increasingly coming under attack through curtailed budget allocations to the political science unit within the National Science Foundation's Social, Behavioral and Economic Sciences Directorate. "Science communication" was a chief concern of Skip Lupia's, as he noted in at least one conference panel discussion. The DA-RT-related thinking may have been that if political science research could be made to bear a closer resemblance to natural or physical science, or even to economics and psychology, it would fare better in the halls of Congress. Archiving "raw" data, such archives to be made publicly accessible for purposes of research replication (an emphasis downplayed in later discussions, as noted above), would make the research more "transparent" and, presumably, make it resemble more closely the kinds of research that NSF funded under other programs and directorates. Here, then, was the second "crisis" that DA-RT seems to have been designed to resolve.[5]

This analysis is supported by the third slide in the presentation that runs on DA-RT's homepage (see Figure 1):

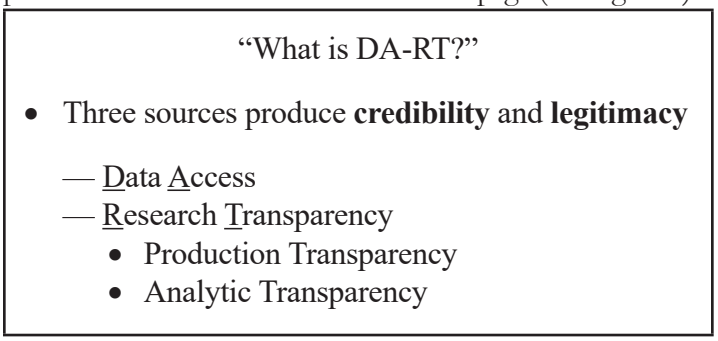

Figure 1. What is DA-RT?[6]

3 For a sense of the methodological argument and its application to the social sciences, consider Katz' (2019, 39-40) discussion of the rationale underlying replicability: "'Replication' is especially informative in pointing out the subordinate status of a reflection theory of truth in research…," by contrast with a pragmatist theory of truth such as that advanced by William James. Katz draws on Erving Goffman's example of researching the concept of "with" in relationships, to illustrate the impossibility of replicating that and other field research: "We cannot replicate his finding in the sense of going where he was and lying in wait to observe the 'with' he witnessed. We intuit it would not make sense to try to track down others who were present and verify that those Goffman observed were indeed 'with' each other. *We care whether he is right or wrong, but we do not care that there is no evidence to show that his description reflects a prior time and place*" (idem., emphasis added). Katz adds how his own behavior validates Goffman's theory whenever he encounters several people walking towards him on a mountain trail.

4 Although discussion at this webpage ended some time ago, it continues to provide a description of the process by which QTD reports were generated, an overview of the topics taken up, domain statements of each, and links to the comments made at the time. Citations to specific reports relevant to this symposium's topics are included at the end of this introduction and in the essays.

5 As this symposium goes to press, NSF has gone beyond merely cutting funding to renaming what had been its political science programs, effectively eliminating "political science" as a funding category from the national scientific agenda. See, e.g., Political Science Now (2019). All 18 living APSA presidents since 1999 have signed a letter asking for at least a delay in implementing these changes.

6 Source: Data Access & Research Transparency (2015). This is the original layout, "credibility" and "legitimacy" appearing in red font. It is replicated at Elman, Lupia, and @DARTsupporters (n.d.).

Furthermore, Lupia's personal webpage, under "Projects," describes DA-RT this way: "A project that seeks to increase the *legitimacy, credibility, and public value* of social science by developing and supporting greater transparency in scientific practice" (Lupia n.d.; emphasis added). But how precisely (and why) accessing data and transparency would enhance the credibility and legitimacy of political science and resolve the perceived double crisis has not been sufficiently explained—nor has empirical evidence of missing legitimacy and credibility been provided (ironic, given that the slide that follows the one reproduced above leads with the need for "evidence-based knowledge claims"). Moreover, the process by which DA-RT was instituted as APSA policy, including the Association's ongoing support, was problematic. It involved consultation with a relatively narrow range of APSA members, leading to several unwarranted assumptions concerning its uptake in various corners of the empirical research world (see Schwartz-Shea and Yanow 2016 for details, and Hirschmann in this symposium on its status vis à vis political theory). Several scholars have noted a range of methodological assumptions embedded in the policy which do not fit with various forms of research, most of them qualitative-interpretive. Specifically, DA-RT assumes a methodological universality across the political science discipline, with "data," "archiving," and "transparency" presented as unproblematically common across all forms of research (on these points, see Cramer 2015; Pachirat 2015; Parkinson and Wood 2015; as well as the section newsletters cited above and the essays that follow in this symposium).

Rhetorical Arguments and the Politics of Science

The "crisis" in the internal politics of political science that DA-RT addresses appears to use some of the same rhetorical devices at play in other scientific crises. One of the methodological issues underlying DA-RT's development and its implied or explicit claims, which has not received the discussion it warrants, is replicability. It remains the rationale underpinning the demand for transparency in qualitative research (as distinct from interpretive research), even if it has not recently been a central part of the discussion. As the APSA Ethics Guide (2012; emphasis added) states:

> 6. Researchers have an ethical obligation to facilitate the evaluation of their evidence-based knowledge claims through data access, production transparency, and analytic transparency *so that their work can be tested or replicated.*

Replicability was also part of the initial JETS statement by way of a footnote to Andrew Moravcsik's "Active Citation: A Precondition for Replicable Qualitative Research" (2010, 29), which ties it to a "crisis" in political science: "…qualitative political science finds itself in self-imposed crisis. This crisis stems, above all, from a failure to impose firm standards of replicability." That substantive link disappeared subsequently from the JETS statement. However, "replication" featured in the "APSA NEWS" announcement on the Association's webpage for many months (last accessed for these purposes on January 31, 2017) announcing a "participatory, open-to-all members discussion" sponsored by QMMR, under the headline "Replication and Data Research Transparency (DA-RT)."

I know no one who is opposed, in principle, to "transparency" in research proceedings; but, as Stanley Fish (2018) and Lawrence Lessig (2009) both argue, the concept warrants much more detailed examination than it has received to date as to its meanings, both "real" and idealized. Fish reminds us that "transparency is not unambiguously a good thing," quite aside from whether it is, in fact, even attainable. With respect to speech—consider interviewing, for example—he writes, "silence and the withholding and sequestering of speech may be useful and even necessary in some contexts," something Raul Hilberg observed years ago (see epigraph) and colleagues doing research in conflict settings continue to remind reviewers and editors. Lessig (2009) asks,

> How could anyone be against transparency? Its virtues and its utilities seem so crushingly obvious. But I have increasingly come to worry that there is an error at the core of this unquestioned goodness. We are not thinking critically enough about where and when transparency works, and where and when it may lead to confusion, or to worse. And I fear that the inevitable success of this movement—if pursued alone, without any sensitivity to the full complexity of the idea of perfect openness—…will simply push any faith in our political system over the cliff.

Much of its DA-RT-based discussion unfolded as if "transparency" were an unmitigated good, with singular meaning for all forms of research, and, furthermore, as if "replication" were a recognized and accepted hallmark of science (of any sort). Indeed, the language of replication or replicability, which has its origins in

experimental research design, has at times been conflated with the call for the reproducibility or duplication of findings when original data are re-used (see Schwartz-Shea, this issue, n. 5). More problematically, a lack of replication is sometimes treated as the lack of testability (see, e.g., Flaherty 2015). Additionally, the same examples of egregious scientific misconduct—e.g., by psychologist Diederik Stapel or biologist Marc Hauser, each of whom fabricated data in his experiments—are invoked over and over, to justify the need for making data available for replication even in research that is not experimental. And arguments concerning research design criteria that may well fit psychological or biological experimentation are being extended, in a methodological leap of faith, to participant-observer, ethnographic research, with Alice Goffman's (2014) study serving (without warrant) as the most recent example of misconduct. Some, at least, of DA-RT's initial critics accepted the legitimacy of having and instituting such a replication-cum-transparency policy, looking only to tinker with its language to enhance its suitability for a wide range of qualitative and interpretive methods, rather than challenging its fundamental framing (but see Fujii 2016 for an exception).

Several of the essays in this symposium show the extent to which DA-RT constitutes the political construction of a crisis. I would extend that to a consideration of the politics of changes in higher education worldwide, and in particular to both funding cuts in and the curtailed independence of social science research (e.g., the UK's "Research Excellence Framework" and its predecessors and current version; see Wright 2016; in her essay Hirschmann sounds a related theme). These manifestations of New Public Management thinking (see also Schwartz-Shea's essay) are also playing out, to some extent, in some IRB research regulation practices: all of them seek to rein in researchers and regulate their actions, flying in the face of longstanding values concerning academic freedom. The essays presented here help to clarify what questions need asking, if not what the answers might be. How, and why, have these "normal science" research procedures suddenly become crises? What are the implications and consequences of framing them as a crisis? What are the implied threats of "non-DA-RT research"—and who is being threatened? What are the impending perils of *not* adopting a DA-RT-like policy (an idea signaled by the crisis framing of the issues)? How is it that so many proponents continue to ignore the consequences—for research, for newer political scientists' careers—of their stance?

The authors of these symposium essays are not opposed to the idea of science as a public good (Kolowich 2016; indeed, see Cabrera Rasmussen, this issue, on this point). But trust in science rests on more than just replicability. The practices of ethical research conduct (including, in many cases, complying with ethics review board requirements) and of data sharing are on a collision course, as more and more editors, granting agencies, and other gatekeepers demand from field researchers that, if they cannot share fieldnotes and interview transcripts, they identify research participants in their published work by various demographic details (see, e.g., Harper 2018, Krystalli 2018)—not recognizing or accepting that such revelations, even when names are anonymized, could lead to job loss, torture, and even murder (e.g., Georges Condominas' experience with the unauthorized translation of his ethnography into English for circulation among US Green Berets in Vietnam, leading to the subsequent torture and killing of one of his "informants" [Salemink 2003: 3-4]; see also Harper 2018; Knott 2019, esp. 145-47, 148; Krystalli 2018; Tripp 2018, 733). Several of the difficulties posed by DA-RT for qualitative and interpretive research were discussed and debated in various of the QTD workgroups as they produced their reports. Among the more relevant of these to the issues engaged in this symposium are:

- on vulnerable groups: Lake, Majic, and Maxwell (2019) (discussed by both Samantha Majic and Renee Cramer in this symposium);
- on peer review: included in Schwedler, Simmons, and Smith (2019) (see discussion in Schwartz-Shea's essay in this issue);
- on ethnographic and participant-observation research: Schwedler, Simmons, and Smith (2019) (discussed in Renee Cramer's essay);
- on interpretive research and its methodological implications: Björkman, Wedeen, Williams, and Hawkesworth (2019) and, on transparency specifically, Luke, Vázquez-Arroyo, and Hawkesworth (2019) (both of these informing much of the methodological backdrop to this symposium's essays).

Underlying DA-RT's policy and procedural thinking is a curiously, and doubly, un-political assumption: that "data" can be freed of their political contexts (in the process of "sharing" them through a collective storage facility) and that they can then be re-used (in replicating the research that produced them) in a similarly apolitical

process, transplanted into a new Petri dish that itself is absent all politics. Lessig (2009) quotes Archon Fung, Mary Graham, and David Weil from their book *Full Disclosure: The Perils and Promise of Transparency*: "'[R]esponses to information'"—think: archived data—"'are inseparable from…interests, desires, resources, cognitive capacities, and social contexts. Owing to these and other factors, people may ignore information, or misunderstand it, or misuse it. Whether and how new information is used depends upon its incorporation into complex chains of comprehension, action, and response'" at the hands of researchers who did not generate that information, accessing it, instead, detached from the complex chains in which those researchers who did generate the data were immersed. This is a way of thinking about research that treats it, as the late Lee Ann Fujii put it (personal communication, March 13, 2014), as if it were not "a highly social and socializing practice that bumps up against and lives through enduring social structures of race, age, gender, social class, etc., etc."

The assumption that data can exist in a pure, uncontaminated state and can in that way be conveyed via a repository to other researchers itself rides on a particular, older model of communications—that message "senders" and "receivers" can, in a perfected state, communicate with one another through a channel that is, or can be rendered, devoid of any "noise" distorting the communication. The latter is the second assumption of "un-politicality" in the DA-RT policy. That model was relinquished years ago in communication studies as the discipline's scholars recognized the impossibility of noise-free communication and the presence of what in literary analysis is known as reader-response theory: that "receivers" interpret "messages" in light of their own experiences, etc. In other words, data are not, and cannot be rendered, "pure," neither in their generation nor in their use. Data "have" politics (to paraphrase Langdon Winner, 1980). That is the point made in one way or another by the scholars writing these essays, as when Renee Cramer says,

> I accept that what anyone can know about the "rightness" of my work relies on their own evaluation of the interpretation I make of the world I observe and interact with. This isn't as simple…as checking my math in an equation, checking my code book for errors, or thinking about the variables I use and the value I assign them. Knowing if I am "right" becomes less important than the superordinate question: "Is my interpretation persuasive…[,] plausible…[, or useful in] shed[ding] light on related phenomena?" (this issue, page number)

This is what Hilberg (in the epigraph) was driving at, in part, in noting the massive amounts of "field" data that historians draw on, the "multi-sitedness" that characterizes their research, the silences that cannot be duplicated (or replicated), and the mistaken belief that a realistic replication of field experiences can yield any form of "truth."

The Essays
Five essays follow this introduction:

- Renee Cramer, in "Trust, Transparency, and Process," thinks through the impact that DA-RT has for scholars engaged in participant-observation and ethnographic research, those doing interpretive work, and those working with IRB approval meant to protect vulnerable subjects from adverse impact.
- In "Not There for the Taking: DA-RT and Policy Research," Samantha Majic draws from her investigations of sex work-related policies and political activism in the United States to challenge DA-RT's conception of research, and in particular policy-focused research, as an "extractive" enterprise (Pachirat 2015) that simply draws on materials that are generally visible and available to the public, such as administrative documents and court decrees.
- Amy Cabrera Rasmussen's "DA-RT: Prioritizing the Profession over the Public?" engages the impact that the DA-RT policy will have on political science's engagement with the public, especially on its marginalized segments, and on members of the discipline lacking professional status and security. In particular, she argues that DA-RT is an example of ways in which political science has tended to prioritize discipline-focused ethics over researchers' ethical responsibilities to the public. In light of the external "crisis" noted above, I find tremendous irony in her argument that DA-RT threatens researchers' relations with members of the public—the very audience whose esteem of science DA-RT was intended to raise.
- Peregrine Schwartz-Shea's essay, "Every Reader a Peer Reviewer?" examines how DA-RT's founders failed to take up two key dimensions of the policy: whether a "full" or "complete" explication of the steps in a research process is possible or desirable; and the relationship of DA-RT to peer review, including the "de-skilling" of researchers implied when *any* reader—

as contrasted with a peer reviewer—is assumed to be competent to assess a researcher's decisions and interpretations.

- And in "Data, Transparency, and Political Theory," Nancy Hirschmann considers these several issues from the perspective of political theory, which she maintains already adheres to the spirit of transparency and access. She raises the dangers of political theory's further marginalization from the discipline and makes a plea to political theorists to join the conversation.

DA-RT policies and practices remain a contested issue. The number of journals whose editors signed on to the JETS statement remains, as reported on the webpage, at 27;[7] but the rhetoric used to persuade scholars of the necessity of DA-RT as a policy has been ramped up, as can be seen in this statement from the Data Access & Research Transparency webpage (Elman, Lupia, and @DARTsupporters n.d., penultimate slide; emphasis added): "By date X [sic], all of the journals *in which you most want to publish* will require data-sharing and comprehensive documentation." And in a 2018 review essay, Elman, Kapiszewski, and Lupia (2018, 29; emphases added) claimed, with respect to DA-RT, that "…despite the challenges, *consensus* about the value and practice of transparency *is emerging* within and across political science's diverse and dynamic research communities." Such messages are being repeated, inter alia, to doctoral students attending the summer Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research at Syracuse's Maxwell School, their repetition ignoring both problems and contestations. However, as Nancy Hirschmann (personal communication, September 24, 2018) observed, Aili Mari Tripp's (2018) assessment of DA-RT's implications for those doing field research in authoritarian and politically sensitive contexts suggests that perceptions of consensus likely depend on which scholars and scholarly discourses perceivers are interacting with.

Tripp (2018, 737) voices another concern—that scholars working in such contexts are leaving political science for other disciplines, such as history and sociology, including because of DA-RT:

> Political science as a field at times appears to be asking narrower and narrower questions of decreasing importance[,] and the attempt to discipline (in the Foucauldian sense) qualitative researchers through DA-RT is yet another step in this direction. … [T]his could also be seen as an attempt to…discipline scholars who study the messy reality of politics in such contexts—and to get us to study people and places using methods that are considered more "scientific" than others.

The authors of the essays in this symposium share these concerns. We join our voices to others critiquing the adoption of DA-RT as APSA policy, as if all of the Association's members, not to say all political scientists, everywhere, endorse the policy's narrow understanding of social scientific methods and purposes.

Finally, it is nearly a truism in public policy studies that policies are often crafted "today" to address "yesterday's" problems. That surely seems to characterize DA-RT at the moment, in light of Donald Trump's muzzling of the EPA, NIH, and other agencies engaged with "hard" science—something none of us, including DA-RT proponents, could have envisioned. I join my colleagues in this symposium in seeing DA-RT coming across as a misguided effort to address the internal and external "crises" delineated above. In the contemporary political world, DA-RT seems even less adequate in the face of the wholesale attack under way, in the US and worldwide, on the standing of science, facts, and truth in politics and society.

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7 This is up two from the initial, October 31, 2014 list; but the reported numbers are different from the number of journal titles listed both in 2014 and currently, making the changes difficult to assess.

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