



The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations

EDITED BY
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and Thibaud Boncourt

**SOCIO-HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE
SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES**



Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences

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Thibaud Boncourt
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Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences
ISBN 978-3-319-73298-5 ISBN 978-3-319-73299-2 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018935249

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Cover Image: Opening Ceremony of the 7th IPSA World Congress - Brussels, 18-28 Sept 1967 © International Political Science Association

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

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1

Introduction: The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations

Johan Heilbron, Thibaud Boncourt, and Gustavo Sorá

The processes of globalization that have transformed the shape of the world during the past decades are the subject of a vast literature and vivid controversies. Having become a core issue in the social and human sciences (SSH), the worldwide circulation of goods, people and ideas has been studied by disciplines ranging from economics (with the rise of multinational firms and global markets), cultural studies (with the spread of cultural goods and the phenomena of cultural “imperialism”

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_1

or “hybridization”), and politics (with the internationalization of governance for example). Many of these processes and their interpretations are the subject of heated debates. According to a popular view, the global condition would be defined by the breakdown of traditional barriers to mobility and communication and a state of generalized “liquidity” (Bauman 2000). For Thomas Friedman, for example, globalization does not merely entail growing exchanges on a global scale; it also implies that the world is becoming “flat”, as traditional hierarchies between and within countries dissolve into global flows of communication (Friedman 2005). Weaker versions of this argument have similarly insisted on the transformative power of global connectivity and worldwide communication.

Taking a closer look at global structures of exchange and communication, however, the predominant pattern is not that of collapsing hierarchies and a “flattening” universe. Power relations between countries and regions are shifting, established centers are challenged by upcoming ones, but there is little evidence that contemporary social relations would consist of communication flows between more or less equally endowed individuals, organizations or states. Globalization, past and present, can be defined as those processes that are fundamentally concerned with a widening scope of cross-border communication, the intensification of transnational mobility, and the growing dependency of local settings on global structures. All of these processes, however, depend on resources that are unequally distributed and that are at the root of asymmetrical power relations.

The struggles they entail and their actual outcomes are far removed from the irenic vision that some economists and communication theorists have proposed. Economic globalization and the assumed benefits of unfettered global markets have, in fact, become increasingly contested among economists as well (Stiglitz 2002; Rodrik 2011). In particular since the financial crisis (2007–09) and the Great Recession that followed it, “globalization” in the more general, not just the economic sense of the term, is, in fact, widely criticized and combated. Populist revolts of various kind, forms of fundamentalism, and neo-nationalist movements have all identified “globalization” as the main threat of our time, and have, in

doing so, become global movements as well (Sousa Santos 2014; De Lange 2017).

If the social and human sciences have studied various forms of globalization extensively, few of these inquiries have concerned the globalization of the social and human sciences themselves. Science being considered to be, in contrast to other activities, international by nature, the growing circulation of scholars and scientific ideas has only recently become the object of systematic study (Alatas and Sinha-Kerkhoff 2010; Beigel 2013, 2014; Bhambra 2007; Boli and Thomas 1999; Connell 2007; Danell et al. 2013; Fleck 2011; Fourcade 2006; Gili et al. 2003; Gingras 2002; Jeanpierre 2010; Keim 2011; Keim et al. 2014; Kennedy 2015; Krause 2016; Kuhn and Weidemann 2010; Medina 2014; Dubois et al. 2016). Regularly, however, considerations about globalization, including globalization of the social and human sciences, focus on the discussion of theoretical models rather than the analysis of empirical data (e.g. Sorá 2017). Breaking away from these tendencies, this book intends first and foremost to contribute to the systematic empirical analysis of the globalizing social and human sciences.

The Globalization of the Social and Human Sciences

Various developments indicate that the social and human sciences are indeed in the process of becoming a global field of research. As has been documented by successive versions of the UNESCO *World Social Science Report* (1999, 2010, 2013) and by the *Humanities World Report 2015* (Holm et al. 2015), these disciplines are today practiced and debated in virtually all countries and regions of the world. Over the past decades, furthermore, the production of SSH articles and books has increased significantly almost everywhere; the Russian Federation being the only exception (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014).

This growth of these disciplines on a global scale has been initiated and shaped by transnational dynamics from the outset. Even before the institutionalization of the social and human sciences into formal research and training units, intellectual debates about the nature and dynamics of

society drew on both “national traditions” (Heilbron 2008) and on the transnational circulation of ideas (Porter and Ross 2003; Gunnel 2007; Heilbron et al. 2008; Heilbron 2014b). Historically transnational exchanges have gradually become more extensive in scope and more frequent in time. From the late nineteenth century and especially after the end of the Second World War, such exchanges were facilitated by the increasingly frequent translation of major authors (Sapiro 2008), the voluntary and forced migrations of scientists (Heilbron et al. 2008), and the institutionalization of international scientific congresses, associations, and journals (Rasmussen 1995; Brian 2002; Boncourt 2016). This has resulted in an increasing globalization of scientific references. Bibliometric evidence shows that in the main regions of the world the share of ‘self-citations’ (i.e. references to producers in the same region) has diminished, whereas references to producers outside of the region have increased. This is the case especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have become more integrated into the field of “global” social science, but a slight decrease of self-citations has also occurred in the dominant regions of North America and Europe (Kirchik et al. 2012; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014).

In spite of the growth and extending scope of transnational exchanges, the globalization of the social and human sciences continues to face significant obstacles and limitations. Most of the actual teaching, research and publishing is still carried out at the local and national level. Careers are, for the most part, organized by national systems of higher education, which – depending on disciplines and countries – tend to be relatively closed to foreigners. The intellectual content of the social and human sciences is also, to a certain extent, tied to local contexts. The objects studied by the SSH are more context-dependent than in the natural sciences (Passeron 1991) and cross-cultural variations have shaped the way in which the SSH locally conceptualize their objects of study, and set the conditions for the circulation, or non-circulation, of social and human scientific knowledge. The globalization of the social and human sciences is therefore likely to be a more diverse, contradictory, and puzzling process than one might be led to believe. This book aims to systematically explore the complexities of this process by studying the struggles and structures that advance, or impede it.

Power Relations

While the studies gathered in this book focus on understanding the dynamics that shape the development of scholarly work, they also deepen our understanding of political power struggles from an original perspective. The globalization of the SSH is indeed shaped and structured at several levels by the competition between political powers.

Political actors have heavily invested in the development of the SSH. Guided by the belief that these disciplines play a key part in shaping political interactions and competitions, nation states, international organizations, and private actors with political agendas (such as philanthropic foundations and corporations) have consciously promoted or prevented the development of the SSH. At the national level, the connection between political regimes and the development of the SSH has been well documented, with democracies traditionally being understood as a setting favourable to the SSH (Easton et al. 1995). Colonial empires have been shown to be key proponents of disciplines such as anthropology (Asad 1973; Steinmetz 2007; De L'Estoile et al. 2002) and other, related social sciences (Escobar 1995; Steinmetz 2013; Davis 2016), as they sought to better understand the indigenous societies of their colonies. In so doing, empires played a major role in the globalization of the SSH and, more specifically, in the structuring of North-South relationships in these disciplines.

International political actors and struggles have provided a key impetus for the globalization of the SSH. After the Second World War, UNESCO sponsored the creation of international social science associations, as the SSH were conceived as a relevant medium for the promotion of peace and mutual understanding between countries and regions (Chap. 4 in this book). During the Cold War, the United States government, together with American philanthropic foundations, funded the development of transnational scientific exchanges between Europe and the United States, in order to contain the influence of Marxism (Solovey and Cravens 2012; Boncourt 2015). European institutions sponsored the creation of European SSH networks and the European University Institute, in order to organize the production of knowledge relevant to the legitimization of the European integration project (Boncourt and

Calligaro 2017). US academic policies and American philanthropic foundations contributed significantly to the institutionalization of the Latin American social sciences during the Cold War. In particular, the Ford Foundation played an important role in the creation of national graduate programs (Garcia 2009, Chap. 9 in this volume) and regional teaching and research institutions (Chap. 5 in this volume). These external interventions seldom had a straightforward impact and often faced resistance, as they were interpreted by some as imperialist actions for cultural colonization, notably in Latin America (Navarro and Quesada 2010).

As the direct involvement of political actors suggests, the global field of SSH is marked by power struggles and inequality. To date, globalization has mostly favored the already dominant regions of North America and Europe. As the reference pattern in journals indicates, the autonomy of the other regions has diminished and their dependence on the dominant centers, North America and Europe, has increased (Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014). A significant example of this uneven development is that the expanding exchanges have increasingly implied the use of English as the *lingua franca* of international social science. In the 1950s and 1960s nearly half of the publications registered in the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences were in English, by 2005 their share had gone up to over 75 per cent. The proportion of all other languages had declined; for the most important ones, German and French, to a level of about 7 per cent (Ammon 2010; De Swaan 2001a, b; Desrochers and Larivière 2016). Despite large numbers of primary speakers, none of the other language groups (Chinese, Spanish, Hindi, Arabic) is capable of competing with English as the international language of science and scholarship.

As the widespread use of English suggests, the predominant characteristic of this globalizing field of research and publication is a core-periphery structure (Heilbron 2001; Keim 2010). While having extended to most countries of the world, the research capacity and research output are very unevenly distributed. According to a selective North American database like the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) nearly half of the articles published worldwide are produced in North America alone; with almost 40 per cent, Europe has become the second producer. Together,

North America and Europe account for about three-quarters of the registered world's social science journals (Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014). According to these bibliometric indicators one of the most significant global shifts during the past three decades is that Europe has increased its production of articles as well as its citations. In terms of output it currently has a position that seems more or less comparable to that of the United States. The share of social science articles in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) that are produced in Europe has risen most strongly. The only other region with a substantial increase is Eastern Asia, but its production is still much smaller than that of Europe. As a consequence of the growth of Europe and, to a lesser extent Asia, the proportion of articles produced in North America worldwide has decreased (Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014).

Databases such as the Web of Science (WoS) favor Anglo-American publications and, by implication, western authors. There is no doubt, however, that the global field of the social and human sciences is characterized by highly uneven and asymmetrical power relations. On the most basic level, that of production capacity and output, it can be characterized as a structure with a duopolistic, Euro-American core, some semi-central and semi-peripheral countries (smaller European and larger Asian countries), and a host of peripheral countries, which have only a minor share of the world output, and few collaborative links with the dominant centers (Heilbron 2014b; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014, Chap. 2 in this volume).

If in addition to basic indicators such as production capacity and output, recognition and prestige (citations, prizes) are taken into account the distribution becomes even more skewed. Virtually all of the most cited scholars in the social and human sciences were born and have worked in western countries. Among the more than thirty most-cited book authors in 2007, for example, only one author was born outside of the Western hemisphere (Edward Said) but his career has developed in the USA.¹ The same goes for recipients of international prizes such as the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in memory of Alfred Nobel. Among the almost 80 laureates so far, Amartya Sen is the only one born in a non-western country and, again, his career has developed in Britain and the USA.

Toward a Global Understanding of Global Scholarship

These unequal relations are not restricted to material conditions and institutional structures. Power relations also affect the knowledge produced, i.e. the theoretical perspectives adopted, the assumptions made, and the categories and concepts used. In spite of its universalist claims, social science in the west has, in fact, focused on “modern,” western societies, relegating knowledge of other, non-western societies to anthropology and to the domain of “area studies” (Wallerstein 1996, 1999). This division of labor was premised on the dichotomy of “modern” versus “primitive” or “civilized” versus “non-civilized” societies (Goody 1977, 2006). This dichotomy was based, among others, on modernization theory, which assumed that all societies developed along a similar path, and could be thought of as more advanced or more backward.

In spite of its dominance in western social science (Gilman 2004), this view was fundamentally criticized. Latin American dependency theorists defended the idea that economic development in peripheral regions did not follow the same path as in the West. Rather than being conceived as belated modernization, underdevelopment was conceived as a consequence of the dependence of the South and the domination of the North in the world economy (Frank 1967; Seers 1981; Blomström and Hettne 1984; Hettne 1995). Similarly, several authors engaged in a criticism of the “western” character of the SSH and its influence on the reproduction of North-South inequalities (Alatas 2003). Edward Saïd’s *Orientalism* (1978) challenged dominant western representations of the Orient, and was of critical significance for the shaping of “postcolonial” and “subaltern studies” (Saïd 1993; Ashcroft et al. 1995; Guha and Spivak 1988). These inquiries have, in turn, contributed to renewed studies into the history of the humanities (Bod et al. 2016; Lardinois 2007; Clifford 1997). Other scholars have argued that it is necessary to “de-Westernize” the human sciences (Brisson 2015) and to “provincialize Europe” (Chakrabarty 2000). Without necessarily lapsing into a relativist stance, part of this endeavour has been to propose alternative, “Asian” or “southern” perspectives on the social and human sciences (Alatas 2006; Connell 2007; Sousa Santos 2014; Keim et al. 2014; Go 2016).

As an integral part of the process of globalization, western social and human sciences have thus been critically re-examined, and alternative approaches from the South have become part of the global configuration of contemporary scholarship. This has enlarged the scope of inquiry, reappraised the plurality of human societies and civilizations, and reinvigorated comparative analysis. It has also implied a more sustained attention to the plurality of social science traditions (Patel 2010), which is a necessary step in building a truly global social science (Burawoy et al. 2010; Bhambra 2014). However, disciplines have not embraced this move in similar ways. Critical questioning of the hegemony of western social science has mostly emerged in disciplines informed by narrative and contextualized approaches, such as anthropology and sociology (Albrow and King 1990; Wallerstein 1996, 1999). By contrast, in disciplines such as economics and political science, globalization appears to have reinforced rather than undermined the dominance of western approaches (Boncourt 2016). What has become the “mainstream” in these disciplines (a blend of methodological individualism, statistical analysis, and causal reasoning) has been criticized for contributing to the diffusion of dominant democratic and neoliberal norms (Amadae 2003, 2016; Guilhot 2005; Chwieroth 2008), but is only marginally challenged by alternative paradigms. The emergence of “heterodox economics” has thus provoked a backlash from advocates of more “orthodox” approaches (Dezalay and Garth 2011).

This book proposes to study the institutional, social, and intellectual inequalities that shape the globalization of the social and human sciences from a structural perspective. Its contributors rely on theoretical frameworks informed by new approaches to dependency theory (Beigel 2013, 2014), field analysis (Bourdieu 1999a, b; Dezalay and Garth 1996, 2002; Sapiro 2013; Heilbron 2014b; Go and Krause 2016; Steinmetz 2016), or a world systems approach (Wallerstein 1999, 2004; De Swaan 2002). Such approaches allow contributors to veer away from strictly causal accounts of the globalization of the SSH (which would focus on the identification of explanatory variables and the evaluation of their respective importance) and to reflect, instead, on the asymmetric power relations of the global order, and on the channels through which dominant international norms and ideas are produced and reproduced.

In elaborating such a framework, the book is divided into four parts. Part 1 explores various patterns of transnationalization that shape the social and human sciences at the global level. If the current modes of transnationalization all occur in a “global” context, globalization in the more strict sense of the term is merely one form of transnationalization. It refers to processes of extending exchange to all parts of the globe, and to the dynamics of the more or less global structures that are the outcome of these processes. Part 2 examines a particular form of internationalization, transnational regionalization, by studying two cases: Latin America and Europe. Parts 3 and 4 focus on the circulation of ideas and scholars between respectively North and South, and between West and East.

Outline of the Book

Part 1 examines the global structure of transnational circulation and exchange through the study of citations, translations, and professional associations. On the basis of bibliometric data, Chap. 2 by Johan Heilbron and Yves Gingras shows that international collaboration in the social sciences and humanities has increased strongly in the period 1980–2014, but that its geographical pattern has known few structural changes. While at the basic level of production capacity and article output, the global field of the SSH has a duopolistic, Euro-American core, at the higher level of co-authorships and citations, the field structure tends to be monopolistic. No language can compete with English, no country can rival the USA, and globalization effects proper, that is, the extension of collaboration and exchange on a world scale, has been relatively weak. The growth of transnational exchange, according to the authors, has thus reproduced rather than undermined existing hierarchies. One of the consequences of this structure is that in the USA, due to its hegemonic position, journals remain largely national in their authorship and references, and researchers are less frequently involved in transnational co-authorship than their European colleagues. For European researchers, transnational collaboration has become somewhat more global in scope, but most of it has remained with the USA and other English-speaking countries. Of the other regions, China is the only country that has become significantly

more important. Another dimension of the global hegemony of the USA is that in European countries the reference pattern in journal articles indicates that *bi-nationalism* is the predominant form of transnational exchange: citation hierarchies are dominated by a combination of national and American journals; journals from other countries as well as “international” and “European” journals are hardly ever among the most cited journals. Patterns of transnational collaboration and exchange thus tend to be structured like star networks with many relations to the US center, less frequent relations among semi-central countries, and infrequent or absent relations among semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.

Within this hierarchically structured global field, transnational circulation takes different forms. The circulation of scholarly books in translation offers an important site of observation. In Chap. 3, Gisèle Sapiro proposes a general assessment of the factors determining the translation of scholarly books and of their circulation channels. Six sets of factors are analyzed: power relations between languages and cultures, symbolic capital and other properties of the author (gender, academic position, social capital), properties of the book (content, form, length, “packaging”), symbolic capital of the publisher(s), networks (editorial and academic), and funding (private and public). Some of them are specific to this category of books, others are characteristic of upmarket translations, again others derive from the power relations structuring the global book market. This framework is grounded in an empirical study of the cross-circulation of scholarly books between French and English in the era of globalization, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. In the period studied, the United States became hegemonic in many domains, including the book market, a process which started in the 1970s, while French hegemony declined, without, however, losing its symbolic capital in the area of the social sciences and humanities.

Chapter 4 by Thibaud Boncourt shows that the patterns and meanings of internationalization change over time and across disciplines. Through a comparative study of the international political science and sociology associations, the chapter demonstrates that international social science organizations play different roles at different times. After their creation under the auspices of UNESCO after the Second World War, these associations focused primarily on promoting, and to a certain extent,

inventing their respective discipline, in keeping with UNESCO's agenda of developing knowledge that could foster mutual peaceful understanding between societies. Their "international" scope then mostly encompassed the western world and was vastly synonymous with the building of transnational connections within Western Europe and between Western Europe and North America. However, this emphasis on Western Europe, transatlantic connections, and transnational convergence changed from the 1970s onwards. With the evolution and, later, the end of the Cold War, and the increasing professionalization of political science and sociology as disciplines, professional social science associations focused increasingly on diversifying their membership and widening their geographical scope – a diversification more pronounced in sociology than in political science. Thus, rather than analyzing the internationalization of the social sciences as a single mechanism driving them all in the same direction (e.g. that of an "Americanization"), the chapter shows that internationalization is a plural process that takes different forms and shapes sciences in different ways depending on disciplinary, social, and political contexts.

On the whole, Part 1 documents and demonstrates that transnational circulation and collaboration have become significantly more important, but that the global structure of these processes has remained relatively stable. Within these structures, however, processes of internationalization do not necessarily result in transnational convergence. Internationalization may take various and sometimes contradictory forms depending on the historical period, the discipline, and the local or national context in question.

Part 2 pursues the issue of the varieties of internationalization. One of the more remarkable forms of internationalization of the social and human sciences has occurred not so much at the global, but at the transnational regional level, i.e. at the level between that of national states and the global field (Heilbron 2014a, b). The UNESCO *World Social Science Report* (2010), for example, provided brief but suggestive information about such transnational regional structures in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America. While these transnational regional initiatives on a continental scale (research councils, professional associations, journals, data bases) have developed in most parts of the world – North America is the exception – Latin America has been one of the earliest examples.

Chapter 5 by Gustavo Sorá and Alejandro Blanco demonstrates that the institutionalization of the social sciences in Latin America from 1950 to 1970 was at once a national and a regional process. The cycle of Latin Americanism began with the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), founded in 1948 and headquartered in Santiago, Chile. As evidenced by the proliferation of professional organizations, regional centers of education and training, research projects, journals and book series on Latin America, regionalization was a prominent strategy in the search for scientific autonomy in this peripheral part of the world. As a result of the regional institutionalization, Latin America was treated as an object of primary knowledge in all disciplines of the social and human sciences in this period, which ended with the waves of repression against the SSH under the region's most violent military regimes in the 1970s.

Nonetheless, regional integration on a continental level cannot be achieved solely through political planning. In Latin America, it was a long-term cultural development that required a transnational framework of social relations and beliefs shared by the producers of ideas who made regional integration a priority. From the beginning of the institutionalization process, there was a decidedly Latin American emphasis among the intellectuals involved in the new disciplines of the SSH. The feeling of unity among Latin America's cultural producers had also characterized modernism in the late nineteenth century and was cultivated in many publishing ventures. In all fields of culture, Latin Americanism was affirmed as a principle of self-assertion against threats of cultural colonialism, which was mainly identified with the United States. This study reveals that regionalisation can be a strategy adopted in any sphere of cultural production in a context of symbolic and political domination. In other words, the chapter suggests that regionalization is likely to occur when countries cannot individually compete in a cultural area (the case of Latin American countries) or lose their competitive edge (the case of the major European countries) to the hegemonic centres in a globalizing era.

One of the most important changes in the global system of the past decades has been the rise of Europe, which in terms of research output (articles, books) and research organizations (networks, journals,

professional associations) is on a level that is almost comparable to that of North America. In a relatively short period of time a European infrastructure emerged (funding programs, journals, professional associations) that has reshaped the research and publication process in the region. In Chap. 6, Johan Heilbron, Thibaud Boncourt, and Rob Timans show that the building of European institutions was initially triggered by funding from American philanthropies in the context of the Cold War. Since the 1980s funding has been gradually taken over by an active European research policy. The European research infrastructure now includes “European” professional associations, journals, and databases in virtually all research fields. Transnational collaboration within Europe has increased significantly since 1980, although in several respects not more than transatlantic collaboration with scholars from North America. Within Europe collaborative networks are dominated by the largest countries, in particular by the United Kingdom. Smaller countries, however, including those of Central and Eastern Europe, have become more involved as well. As a whole, the European SSH research field has become larger, more inclusive and denser as well as slightly more centralized.

Although European journals, associations and networks have come to form a transnational European field of research and publication, it still appears to be relatively weak as compared to both the hegemony of the US and persisting national structures in the largest European countries. So-called “European” and “international journals,” for example, have multiplied but are still relatively few in number as compared to national journals. With few exceptions, furthermore, they do not rank very high in the citation hierarchies, which tend to be dominated by American journals and by the most prestigious national journals in individual European countries.

Part 3 uncovers some of the tensions and conflicts scientific internationalism has provoked. Similar to other parts of the book, this part documents some of the most significant variations across time periods, disciplines and countries. It also highlights several instances of internationalization as a movement from South to North, rather than the other way around.

In Chap. 7, Tristan Leperlier outlines the obstacles for developing the SSH in the context of postcolonial Algeria. In his chronicle of the fields of literary studies and sociology, the factors responsible for relegating the SSH in this region of Maghreb become evident. He reveals the persistence of forms of colonial dependence that prevent Algerian researchers from fully participating in an academic world where global connections have become essential. This suggests the need for examining the ways in which France still controls both the French language and international scientific exchanges between its former colonies. With an ethnographer's sensitivity, the author notes that not all researchers view internationalization as a prerequisite, revealing thoughts and practices that are staunchly anti-global. This chapter makes a significant contribution to understanding the active engagement among scholars from the South in their connections with the dominant poles of academic production and scientific thought.

That the pace and degree of internationalization vary by disciplines, is also evidenced by the two following chapters on Latin America. In Chap. 8, Alejandro Blanco and Ariel Wilkis analyze the international mobility of recent generations of Argentine sociologists and the circulation of their books and journal articles. They examine the participation of these sociologists in the most coveted circuits based on current dynamics of international academic exchange and study how more international professional activities influence a sociologist's intellectual prestige and power in local academia. In Chap. 9, Leticia Canêdo describes how the Ford Foundation contributed to the institutionalization of Brazilian graduate programs during the Cold War, analyzing complex interactions between academic and political competition as the foundation sought to establish political science as an academic discipline. Beyond the foundation's interest in the SSH, Canêdo finds that its intervention reflected a broader international goal: to substitute traditional political studies for comparative studies on government and political behavior.

Far from being a passive importation of the academic models of the dominant North, the configurations of the institutionalization and internationalization of the SSH in peripheral regions reveal complex patterns of core-periphery relations. This becomes evident in Gustavo Sorá and

Alejandro Dujovne's study (Chap. 10) of translations in the social sciences and humanities in Argentina since 1990. Argentina is a hub within Latin America and a book market where the translations of French works outnumber those of English. The analysis of French, English, German, Italian and Portuguese translations into Spanish maps the intellectual connections across borders. Though at certain points, German and Italian works are more frequently translated than English, the authors show how the dynamics of book translation varies by discipline and also depend on other factors. Nonetheless, the publishing industry imposes its own rules and norms for cultural production, creating a market for symbolic goods that is relatively autonomous from the field of academia. In terms of publishers, their position in the industry varies according to discipline, topic and language. This study provides a fresh perspective on areas of competition between dominant and subordinate languages on academic markets.

In parallel to Part 3, Part 4 focuses on East-West relations, examining their most significant forms, and paying particular attention to reception dynamics, which go far beyond the commonly held diffusion model. In Chap. 11, Victor Karady and Peter Tibor Nagy focus on Eastern Europe through the case of Hungary. Their wide-ranging historical overview covers Hungarian state policies of international intellectual exchange, the position of foreign languages and books in the local academia, and the transnational circulation of Hungarian social science students and scholars. The study shows that Westernization in the Hungarian social sciences has always been conceived of as an integral part of strategies of modernization. In the pre-socialist regime it was under the sway of dominantly Germanic influence, given the geo-political position of the country and the structure of the emerging modernizing elites. The fall of the old regime in the years 1944–1946 and the rise of “socialism” prepared the ground for the attempt at a forcible Sovietization of the social sciences. Though some aspects of this attempt survived till 1989, such as mandatory Russian tuition and courses on “scientific socialism”, it started to be partially abandoned in the 1960s. In the re-emerging social sciences the Anglo-Saxon and, secondly, the German and, to a more limited extent, the French orientation tended to reach globally hegemonic positions as evidenced, for example, by the specialized literature accessible in major

libraries. With the fall of the Kádárist regime in 1989 the social sciences in Hungary experienced an unprecedented expansion, accompanied by almost unhampered Westernization, as shown by the sudden rise of translations from Western tongues. However, recent policies by the current Hungarian government are putting this expansion and internationalization in jeopardy.

Chapter 12 by Thomas Brisson, Laurent Jeanpierre, and Kil-Ho Lee turns to East Asia to analyze how the social sciences, especially sociology, an outcome of Western modernity, have been implemented in the region. Through case studies of Japan and South Korea and a theoretical framework inspired by Immanuel Wallerstein and Pierre Bourdieu, the chapter shows the paradoxical discrepancy between the influence of the American academic field in East Asia and the continuing supremacy of European theoretical references. Even though South Korean and (to a much lesser extent) Japanese academics have been trained abroad, they refer selectively to American and European social scientists, with western references often used as tools to criticize western scientific imperialism. While there is no doubt, then, that western social sciences circulate and have an influence of the structuring of these disciplines in East Asia, the chapter shows that the circulation of orthodox and critical social sciences follows different logics. The influence of western references can, therefore, be variously embedded into the production of global power relations.

As a consequence of the processes of both “globalization” and “transnational regionalization,” research in the social and human sciences forms a four-level structure: in addition to the local and the national level, both the transnational regional and the global level have become significantly more important (Heilbron 2014b). This multi-level structure is all the more important to take into account, since – unlike in most natural sciences – locally and nationally oriented SSH research has not lost its significance. Since the object matter of the social and human sciences is more context dependent than in the natural sciences, research in these disciplines continues to take place and be published on the local and the national level as well.

One of the complexities of the globalizing social and human sciences is that the relationship between these different levels varies across disciplines and countries. Broadly speaking the social sciences are more

internationally oriented than the humanities (in term of citation practice, international co-authorship, and international research ventures). But within each group of disciplines the variation is considerable: some social science disciplines are more internationally standardized (economics, management), others tend to be more nationally oriented (law, sociology). Within the humanities a similar differentiation exists contrasting strongly internationalized disciplines as linguistics with more nationally embedded fields as literature or national history. Smaller countries, furthermore, tend to be more internationally oriented than large and scientifically dominant countries, which are more insular and self-sufficient.

The development of this multi-layered structure comes with an increase in the number of actors involved in the structuring of the social and human sciences in a given setting. Power struggles involve scholars trained and socialized in increasingly transnational and diverse contexts, political actors at various levels (from local governments to regional and international organizations), and professionals related to academia (such as translators and publishers), who all pursue their own, sometimes contradictory, agendas. The combination of these multiple factors means that the globalization of the social and human sciences takes forms that are highly context specific and subject to considerable variation from one discipline to the next, from one era to the next, and from one local setting to its neighbours.

Such broad comparative conclusions could not have been reached without a collective research effort. This book is a result of the European research project INTERCO-SSH “International Cooperation in the Social sciences and Humanities”, which was conducted by an international team of social scientists between 2013 and 2017. The project aimed to unveil the processes at work behind the institutionalization of the social and human sciences after 1945. It focused on classical social science disciplines (economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology) and on some of the humanities (philosophy, literature). Three dimensions of the development of these disciplines were studied: patterns of institutionalization, exchanges between disciplines and countries, and the international circulation of paradigms, theories and controversies. The project was funded by the European Commission with, in particular, the aim to gain a better insight into the functioning of social

sciences and humanities in Europe, to identify obstacles to exchange and collaboration, and to stimulate new avenues for collaboration in the social and human sciences.² It is the editors' hope that this volume contributes to fulfilling these objectives and does justice to the quality of the research developed in the framework of the INTERCO-SSH project.

Notes

1. The citation study, based on the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI), was published in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 26 March 2009 (see Heilbron 2014a).
2. For more information and other publications of the project, see <http://www.interco-ssh.eu/>. The project received funding from the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 319974 (Interco-SSH). Johan Heilbron would like to thank Louise and John Steffens, members of the Friends Founders' Circle, who assisted his stay at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study in 2017–18 during which he completed his work on the present volume.

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Part I

Patterns of Transnationalization



2

The Globalization of European Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities (1980–2014): A Bibliometric Study

Johan Heilbron and Yves Gingras

Introduction

Conceiving the globalizing social and human sciences as an emerging global field in the sense of Pierre Bourdieu implies that there are struggles for a commonly recognized stake, in this case a particular form of symbolic capital: international scholarly recognition (Bourdieu 1999a, b; Gingras 2002; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014; Heilbron 2014). The individual and collective agents who compete for this type of recognition dispose of unequally distributed resources, both material and symbolic. The emerging debate about the globalizing social and human sciences can from this point of view be seen as essentially about uneven access to these resources (databases, research funding, publication outlets), and about the

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_2

relations of dependency and domination that are the outcome of these inequalities (Alatas 2003; Alatas and Sinha-Kerkhoff 2010; Beigel 2013, 2014; Boncourt 2011, 2018; Connell 2007; Fleck 2011; Danell et al. 2013; Keim 2011; Keim et al. 2014; Kennedy 2015; Kirchik et al. 2012; Medina 2014; UNESCO 1999, 2010).

International scholarly collaboration, however, is not only dependent on unequal resources, but also on the specific properties of the scientific field in question. Since the subject matter of the social and human sciences is far more context-dependent than in the natural sciences, research practices and modes of collaboration differ. In the natural sciences the objects of study can be relocated. The same is not true for the social and human sciences. In contrast to elementary particles or chemical elements, social and cultural objects vary significantly over time and across space. This ontological difference in the objects of study leads to differences in the networks of international collaboration: the natural sciences (physics, chemistry, etc.) generally have a higher level of collaboration than the social sciences (Gingras 2002). Their work is more often organized in international collaborative projects than it is in the social sciences and the humanities (history, philosophy, literature). Within the latter, for example, collaborative transnational authorship is relatively rare and its growth has been much slower than in other fields: the proportion of articles published in the humanities in international collaboration rose from less than 2% in 1980 to only 5% in 2006, whereas for the social and human sciences as a whole it increased from 4% to almost 16% (Gingras and Heilbron 2009: 362–64). Individual work and reflection predominates in the humanities, so that, compared with the social sciences, international exchange far less often takes the form of co-signing articles and more of informal meetings for discussions, often more visible in the acknowledgments of papers.¹

The development of transnational co-authorship is a significant indicator of how international scientific collaboration has evolved. Has transnational co-authorship in the social and human sciences indeed become more frequent? Is there a trend towards a more global pattern of transnational collaboration, or is the trend rather towards collaboration on a regional level? Has intra-European collaboration, for example, become more important than Euro-American collaboration? And, more generally, what are the most significant variations in patterns of internationalization across countries and disciplines?

Using bibliometric data, mainly from the Web of Science for the period 1980–2014, we will try to answer these questions by analyzing the evolution of the proportion of scientific articles in the social sciences and humanities (SSH) written in international collaboration by researchers, who are primarily but not exclusively from European countries.² The focus on Europe allows us to clarify and refine the analysis of the duopolistic, Euro-American structure that can be observed for the global field of the social and human sciences, and draw some broader conclusions about its functioning. In addition to treating Europe as a universe comparable to the USA, we will also analyze publication and citation practices in individual European countries like France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

A word about the quality and limitations of our data sources is in order. For our analysis we first combined data from the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI), both produced by Thomson-Reuters (recently bought by Clarivate Analytics). The dataset contains some 3000 journals from 45 SSH disciplines (including some professional domains such as education and health) amounting to a total of about half a million articles for the period under study (1980–2014). The most important quality of the SSCI and AHCI databases is that they compile all the references contained in the articles as well as the addresses of all the authors (when indicated in the article) and the language in which the article is published. This allows a country-by-country analysis of the articles and an analysis of the references they contain. However, these databases contain a significant bias in favor of Anglo-American journals and underestimate the contributions of journals in other countries. Comparing these data with those provided by other databases compiling scholarly journals around the world (using the Ulrich's International Periodicals database, for example), there is an estimated bias of about 20% in favor of the Anglo-American journals in the SSCI and AHCI bases while French articles are underestimated by about 25% and German articles by 50% (Archambault et al. 2006; Mongeon and Paul-Hus 2016) In order to understand the true significance of this bias, it would be necessary to account for variations by disciplines and research fields; research in economics or psychology is no doubt better represented than research in linguistic anthropology or medieval history.

Despite this well-known Anglo-American bias, a rational use of these Indexes is possible. Since we will be concerned with analyzing changes over a period of 35 years over which the Anglo-American bias has not dramatically changed, it is possible to make valid observations about historical trends. It is also possible to compare these trends according to the countries that dominate these collaborations. We can thus take advantage of the Anglo-American bias by analyzing the rise of European publications in these journals. Finally, with regard to references and citations, the identified biases do not fundamentally affect the results because references are analyzed according to the origin of these cited articles. But it is unlikely that the distribution of the country of origin of references in the French (or German) journals covered by SSCI and AHCI differs radically from that of the French (or German) journals which are not covered in the databases. If it is necessary to acknowledge the Anglo-American bias in the data used, this should not prevent us from using them as indicators of developments that can be tested later using other, more representative databases and more precise case studies (see Gingras 2016 on these issues). In short not all questions discussed here are affected by the Anglo-American bias of the database.

In addition to the Web of Science (WoS) we will also use a more selective French database, which contains citation data about the highest ranked French and Anglo-American journals for a more limited period (1992–2001). This will allow a more detailed analysis of variations in national and international references according to discipline and country. These various indicators (proportion of transnational co-authorship, places and language of publication of research, proportion of national and international references by country and by discipline) will enable us to highlight the transformations in social and human sciences research in Europe and beyond to the extent to which they can be measured by publication and citation practices. We will show that the social and human sciences have indeed become more internationalized, and that there has been a trend towards slightly more global practices as well, but that this is a very uneven process, which is structurally limited by two factors: the enduring hegemony of American social science and the persistence of national research systems.

Accelerated Growth of International Collaboration

As shown in Fig. 2.1, transnational collaboration in the social and human sciences has increased significantly since 1980. The growth is general and continuous, although there is an acceleration around the year 2000. The share of articles that are transnationally co-authored increased more than fivefold: from 4% in 1980 to 21% in 2014. This general growth, however, was uneven. Comparing the production from the largest countries a divergence has occurred between the US and the most productive European countries (Fig. 2.2). Whereas the share of transnationally co-authored articles reached a level of 22% in 2014 for researchers in the US, the proportion for the major European countries went up to about 40% (Germany and the UK) and 45% (France). Note that the reason each country has a much higher proportion of international collaboration than USA (or Europe taken as an entity) is that smaller entities tend to have a larger proportion of international collaboration. The links between the countries that make up Europe are counted as international collaborations for each of the country, but when we calculate the international

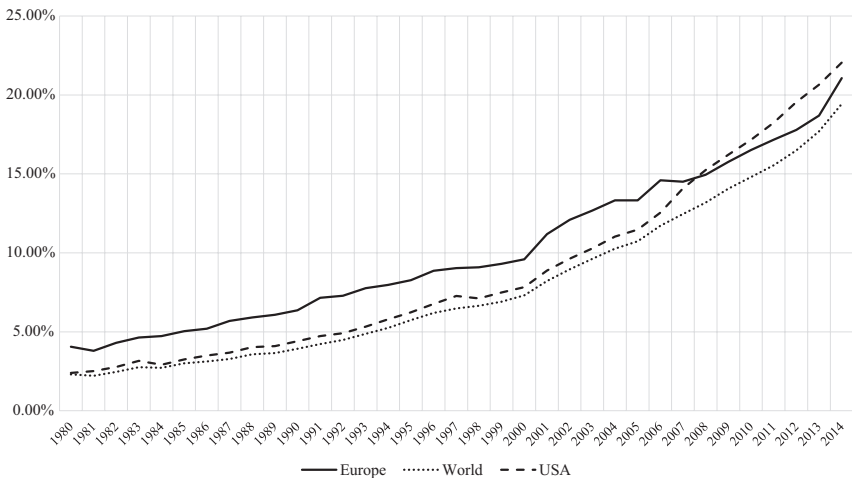


Fig. 2.1 Proportion of SSH articles written in international collaboration (1980–2014)

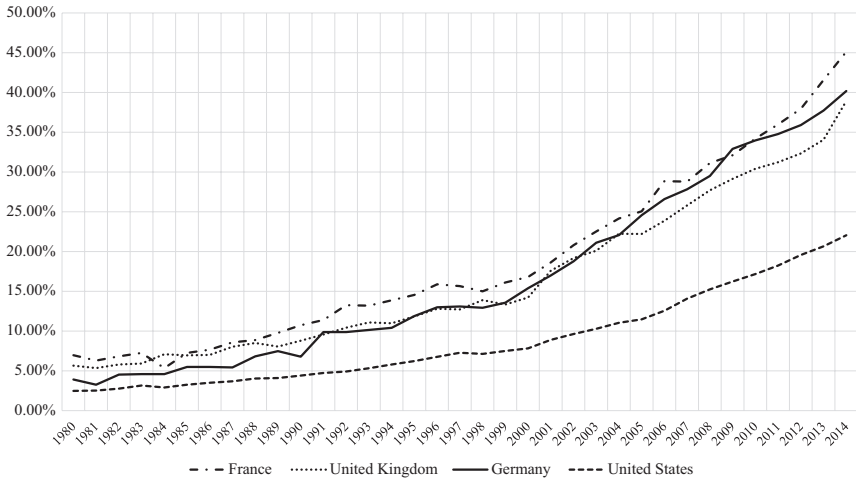


Fig. 2.2 Proportion of SSH articles written in international collaboration. France, United Kingdom, Germany, USA (1980–2014)

collaboration of “Europe” as an entity, all the links between those same countries are then not taken as international but intra-European. This approach makes possible a comparison between USA and Europe as two entities. One could for example look at intra-USA collaborations by calculating the links each State has with the other states.

As is also the case in the field of the natural sciences, researchers in the United States have fewer international collaborations because, as we have just said, of the larger size of their research system. As a rule, the larger a country is (measured in number of researchers or in number of articles produced), the less it depends on other centers, and the more it tends to favor internal collaboration. It is understandable that a researcher from a smaller system has a greater need to find outside its borders the desired complementary expertise than a researcher living in a country with a significantly larger research system. In addition to its size the US is also the most prestigious scientific center. One may suppose that prestige, *ceteris paribus*, works in a similar manner as size, so that in the most prestigious and most recognized centers the propensity for transnational collaboration is lower than in less prestigious centers, which occupy a lower position in the international hierarchy (Heilbron 2002). In practice, this may be compensated by the fact that the demand for collaboration with

those prestigious centers will be higher than the average so that the measured proportion of collaboration is not lower but often higher than the average of the country. Notwithstanding that attractiveness, the exceptional position of the United States can be explained by the fact that it represents the largest as well as the most prestigious scientific system.

If we focus on Europe, we observe that the growth of intra-European collaboration follows the same trend as that of collaborations with countries outside of Europe (Fig. 2.3). ‘Europeanisation’ is, in other words, not stronger than the more general trend towards transnationalization. This is a rather surprising finding since intra-European funding and collaboration have markedly increased since the 1990s (see Chap. 6 in this book on the European research area). The effect of European funding seems nonetheless to have been important in stimulating intra-European collaboration for a comparison with Canada shows that the proportion of intra-Canadian (or inter-provincial) collaboration followed exactly the same slope as that of Europe from 1980 et 1988, when the two curves started to diverged with intra-European collaboration growing more rapidly than intra-Canadian collaboration, whose slope remained the same as no programs were created to stimulate those collaborations (Gingras 2011).

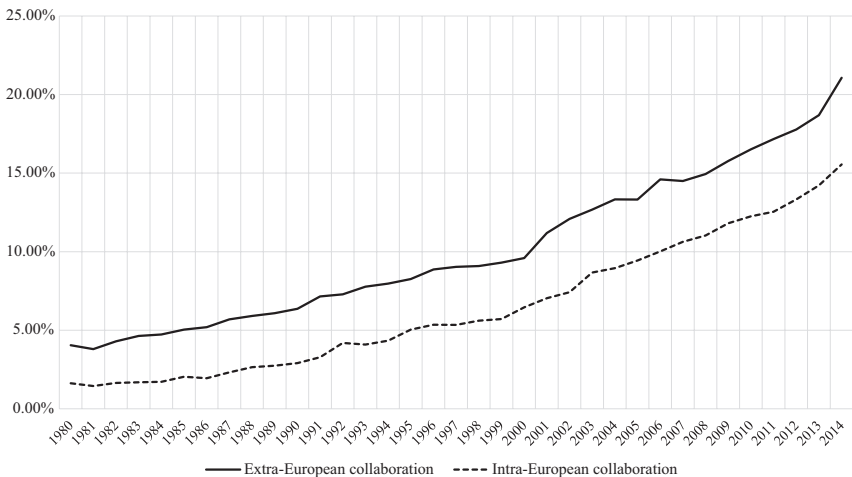


Fig. 2.3 Proportion of European articles written in international collaboration. Intra-European and extra-European collaboration (1980–2014)

European researchers continue to collaborate most frequently with colleagues from North America (USA and Canada), which are present in 2/3 of the European papers written in international collaborations, but the presence of other countries has proportionally become both more important and more diverse (Table 2.1). The overall change indicates a somewhat more global and slightly more diverse pattern of collaboration, involving a larger number of countries. The role of the USA has proportionally diminished, but its hegemony is not threatened by any country or region in the world. Other English speaking countries (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa) and China have become more important, whereas this is not the case for Latin America and Africa; nor is it the case for large countries like India or Japan.

Formulated in network terms certain links of European researchers are much more frequent than others. As is suggested by the number of connections in the network of Fig. 2.4 the majority of collaborations is concentrated between a small number of countries, basically the USA and

Table 2.1 Main countries involved in co-authorships with European researchers (1980–2014)

Countries	1980–1993		1994–2005		2006–2014	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
United States	9739	69.12	23,781	63.88	55,690	53.32
Canada	1766	12.53	4351	11.69	12,704	12.16
Australia	960	6.81	3238	8.70	12,962	12.41
Israel	301	2.14	1037	2.79	2310	2.21
Japan	279	1.98	880	2.36	2231	2.14
India	218	1.55	342	0.92	1644	1.57
Brazil	161	1.14	519	1.39	2632	2.52
New Zealand	146	1.04	785	2.11	2807	2.69
South Africa	86	0.61	741	1.99	3248	3.11
China	83	0.59	916	2.46	5765	5.52
Nigeria	75	0.53	69	0.19	297	0.28
Mexico	59	0.42	337	0.91	1313	1.26
Singapore	50	0.35	224	0.60	1360	1.30
Egypt	47	0.33	59	0.16	370	0.35
Argentina	40	0.28	179	0.48	789	0.76
South Korea	22	0.16	209	0.56	1224	1.17
Taiwan	11	0.08	154	0.41	1020	0.98

Note: The percentages slightly exceed 100% because collaboration can imply more than two countries

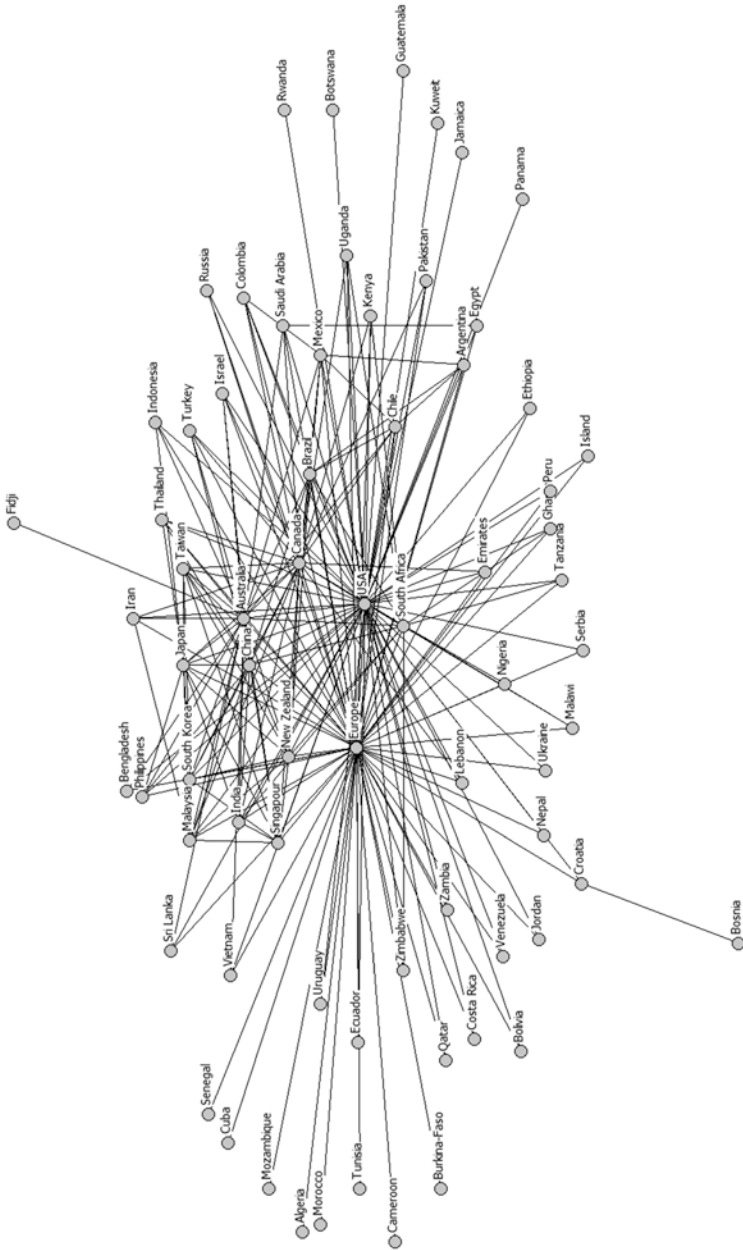


Fig. 2.4 Network of extra-European collaboration of European researchers (2006–2014)

other English speaking countries (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa). China has become significantly more important, whereas this not the case for other Asian, Latin American, African and Arab countries.

The Development of Intra-European Collaboration

Focusing on intra-European co-authorship, a growth and densification of collaborations can be observed as well, while the structure of the network has remained more stable. As is shown in Table 2.2 Great Britain is most involved in European collaborations, being present in about 45% of all intra-European collaborations, with Germany and France in second and third position, but contributing significantly less than Great Britain. As was the case in the global network, some smaller or more peripheral

Table 2.2 Main European countries involved in intra-European co-authorships (1980–2014)

Country	1980–1993		1994–2005		2006–2014	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Great Britain	2347	46.60	10,131	47.67	31,954	43.44
Germany	1298	25.77	5495	25.86	20,875	28.38
France	1170	23.23	4679	22.02	16,338	22.21
Netherlands	927	18.40	3595	16.92	11,201	15.23
Italy	706	14.02	2811	13.23	10,109	13.74
Belgium	646	12.83	2638	12.41	9117	12.39
Switzerland	513	10.18	2124	9.99	9092	12.36
Sweden	469	9.31	2090	9.83	8817	11.99
Austria	311	6.17	1918	9.03	7466	10.15
Norway	275	5.46	1197	5.63	5020	6.82
Spain	242	4.80	1192	5.61	4832	6.57
Denmark	230	4.57	1173	5.52	4432	6.02
Finland	193	3.83	1113	5.24	3771	5.13
Ireland	171	3.39	800	3.76	2916	3.96
Poland	168	3.34	751	3.53	2736	3.72
Greece	132	2.62	531	2.50	2326	3.16
Hungary	119	2.36	504	2.37	1691	2.30
Portugal	87	1.73	480	2.26	1384	1.88

The percentages significantly exceed 100% because collaboration regularly implies multiple countries

countries (Spain) have slightly increased their share. In the case of intra-European collaboration this is probably related to the funding requirements of the European Union's Framework programs, which have included the social sciences and the humanities from 1994 onwards, and demanded participation from multiple countries. With an average fluctuating between 6 and 14 partners, small and more peripheral countries have undoubtedly profited most from the European requirements of the Framework programs (for more details see Chap. 6).

Within the European constellation, research traditions and international networks tend to vary from country to country. Figures 2.4, 2.5 and 2.6 show the growth of collaborative articles for French, German and British researchers. The acceleration (increasing slope) of this growth around 2000 is a common feature. In the case of France, for example, different growth regimes can be distinguished: the period 1986–2000, followed by a first acceleration in 2000 and a second acceleration in 2012. The strong increase in transnational collaboration in France (from 7% to 45% of the registered articles) is equally distributed between researchers from other European countries and from non-European countries. The pattern for collaborations from Germany is roughly similar to that of

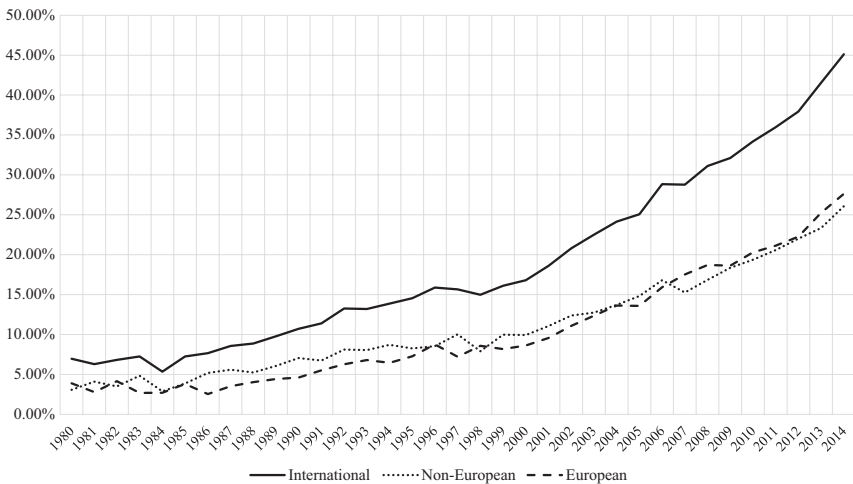


Fig. 2.5 Proportion of articles by French authors written in international collaboration (1980–2014)

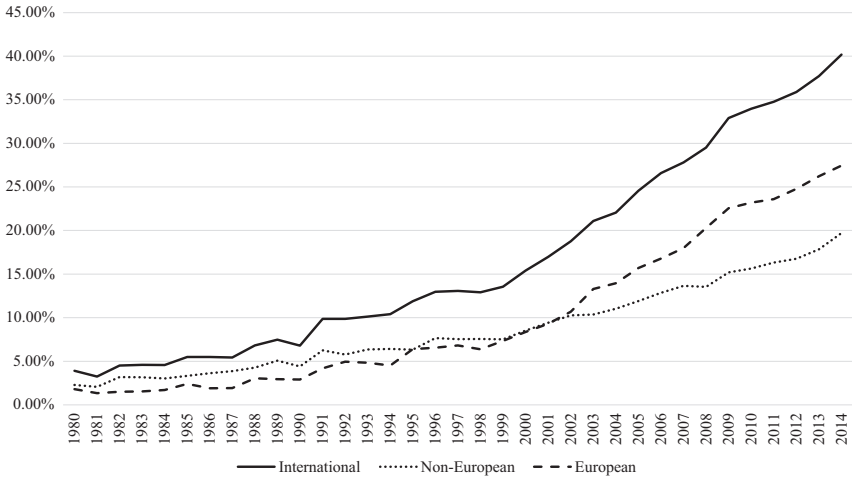


Fig. 2.6 Proportion of articles by German authors written in international collaboration (1980–2014)

France, except that from 2002 onwards intra-European collaboration becomes more important than extra-European collaboration. This is in all likelihood related to the expanding European funding since the second half of the 1990s through the already mentioned EU Framework programs (for more details see Chap. 6). The relative increase of intra-European collaboration is even stronger for a smaller country such as Belgium (Fig. 2.7). It is indeed to be expected that smaller countries have benefitted from the statutory obligation to include a minimum number of participating countries per European Framework project. Whereas the more central scientific countries have long built large international networks, small countries with limited resources can benefit more from European programs to build new networks.

The position of the United Kingdom is different in this respect, because it has a slightly lower level of transnational collaboration than France and Germany, and extra-European collaboration has consistently remained more important than intra-European collaboration (Fig. 2.8). Although the UK occupies the most central position within European networks of collaboration (see Table 2.2) its relationships with the USA and former

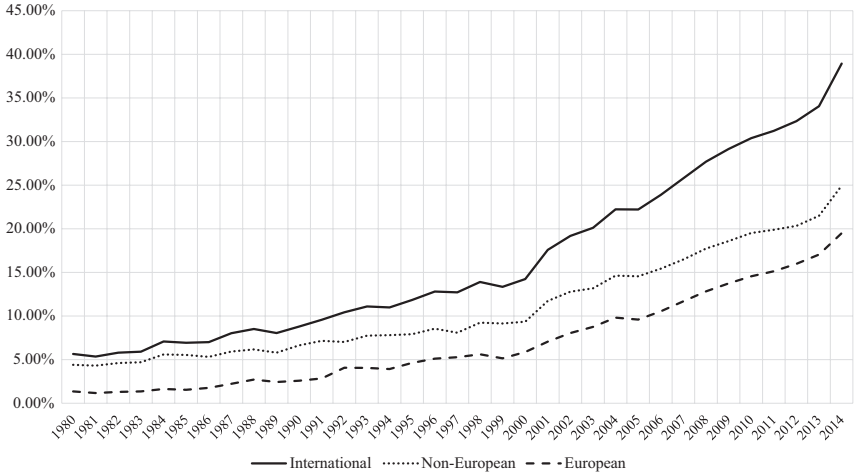


Fig. 2.7 Proportion of articles by British authors written in international collaboration (1980–2014)

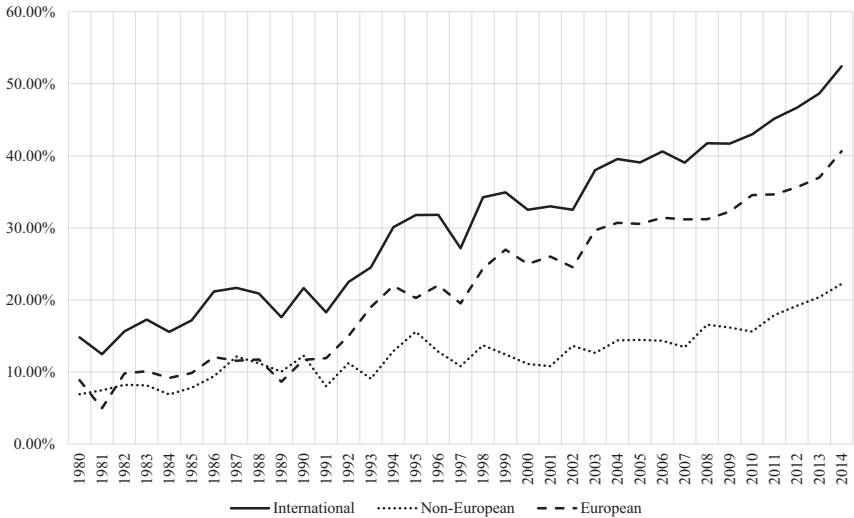


Fig. 2.8 Proportion of articles by Belgian authors written in international collaboration (1980–2014)

colonies have retained greater significance than with its closest European neighbors (France, Germany, the Netherlands). On a more global scale the UK occupies an intermediary position, functioning itself like a bridge between the USA and continental Europe.

Between National Closure and American Hegemony

Inquiring into processes of transnationalization, it is too easily forgotten that research practices are still in multiple ways bound to national research systems (Grossetti et al. 2009). The training of researchers as well as the funding and much of the publishing of research still largely takes place within national systems. This is especially the case for the largest and most prestigious national research systems, which are the least dependent on what is produced outside of their own borders and are in that sense most autonomous and self-sufficient. If international collaboration has so far been analyzed over time and across countries, its meaning can be clarified further by a taking a closer look at citation practices on the national level.

Referencing practices vary first of all according to discipline. Disciplines with highly standardized and formalized research procedures and a dominant mainstream such as economics tend to have a high level of internationalization, that is with publications mainly in the form of research articles in English, few individually authored monographs, and internationally standardized textbooks. In the humanities and other parts of the social sciences, the level of co-authorship is lower, research is more qualitatively oriented and more strongly bound to national languages and publication systems. Some of the variation between disciplines can be clarified by considering the example of the social and human sciences in France (Heilbron and Bokobza 2015). On the basis of citation patterns in the leading human science journals in France, disciplines can be compared along two dimensions: their degree of international openness (or closure) and their degree of openness (or closure) to other disciplines. The two dimensions define a space that can be visualized by a diagram in which seven disciplines are represented (see Fig. 2.9).

The citation profile of the top journals in these disciplines indicates three poles or positions. In economics and management, and to a lesser

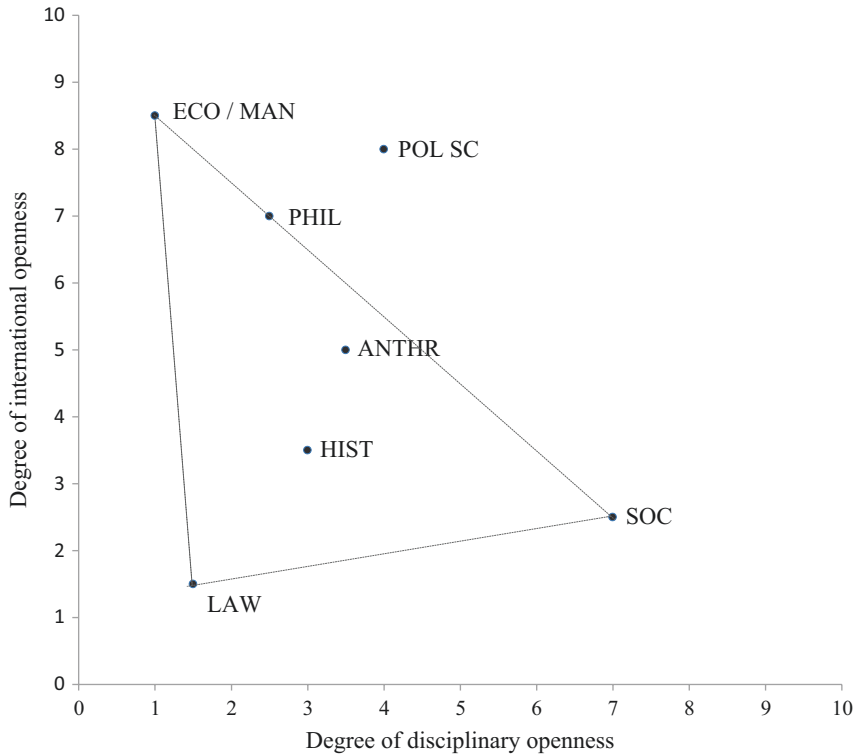


Fig. 2.9 Degree of international and disciplinary openness of the social and human sciences in France (1992–2001) (Source: Heilbron and Bokobza (2015))

extent political science, a high proportion of most cited journals are non-French, but they tend to be restricted to the discipline in question. A high level of ‘international’ openness is thus accompanied by a high degree of disciplinary closure. Law has a strong monodisciplinary citation profile as well, but is, unlike economics and management, strongly oriented toward other national journals. Sociology represents a third position or type of discipline, since it combines a pronounced national citation pattern with a high level of references to journals from other disciplines.

In terms of disciplinary closure, the citation pattern of American researchers is very similar to that observed in French publications. Economics is in the US also the most self-centered discipline with the highest level of intradisciplinary references (81%). In decreasing order, it

is followed by law (78%), management (77.8%), psychology (65%), political science (59%), anthropology (53%) and sociology (52%) (Jacobs 2014: 81–82).³ Economics, furthermore, is not only the most insular social science, it is also the most hierarchical discipline as citations are more strongly concentrated in the top journals and the most-cited journals contain a particularly high proportion of papers from elite departments (Fourcade et al. 2015).

By examining references to national and non-national journals, the (inter)national orientation of disciplines can be assessed more precisely. The “nationality” of a journal is better established through the composition of its editorial board than by the nationality or the location of the publisher. If the majority of a journal’s editorial board members work in Great Britain, the journal may be considered “British.” According to the citation data for the top ranked SSH journals, the overwhelming majority of cited journals still have national editorial boards. Journals that call or describe themselves as “international” or regional (European, Asian, etc.) are relatively few in number.

As can be seen from Table 2.3 “national” journals (French, USA, German, etc.) continue to dominate the world of scholarly SSH journals. Obviously some caution is in order, since foreign authors publish in ‘French’ or ‘British’ journals as well, though that proportion remains low (Gingras 2016: 55–56). But in virtually all SSH disciplines in France the most cited journals are either French or American. This is especially the case for the top journals (the top 10 and top 20). The most prominent disciplinary journals thus tend to be *bi-national*, not inter- or transnational. And there are hardly any exceptions. British and German journals are very rarely among the top 20 most cited journals in France thus remaining relatively marginal, and this is even more the case of Italian and Spanish journals. The overwhelming Franco-American dominance is least salient in anthropology, which has a more tri-national distribution and a slightly more balanced references between French, American and British journals.

A confirmation of this predominant pattern of *bi-nationalism* is that journals that use the adjective “international” or “European” are peripheral in the citation hierarchies. In disciplines like philosophy, history and law, there is in France not a single “European” title among the 50 most cited

Table 2.3 Percentage of references to national and international journals according to discipline and to the hierarchy of cited journals (top 10, 20, 50 et 100) in French SSH journals (1992–2001)

	French	USA	Great Britain	German	European	International	Other	France + USA
Sociology								
Top 10	70	20	0	0	0	10	0	90
Top 20	75	20	0	0	0	5	0	95
Top 50	68	22	4	0	2	4	0	90
Top 100	61	21	4	4	4	5	1	82
Anthropology								
Top 10	40	30	30	0	0	0	0	70
Top 20	50	30	15	0	0	0	5	80
Top 50	46	22	16	0	2	2	12	68
Top 100	29	32	17	1	2	4	15	61
Political science								
Top 10	30	50	10	0	10	0	0	80
Top 20	20	55	15	0	10	0	0	75
Top 50	26	48	16	0	4	4	2	74
Top 100	18	43	21	2	3	6	7	61
Economics/ management								
Top 10	20	80	0	0	0	0	0	100
Top 20	15	80	0	0	0	5	0	95
Top 50	14	80	0	0	4	2	0	94
Top 100	11	73	6	0	2	7	1	84
Philosophy								
Top 10	50	30	0	0	0	20	0	80
Top 20	30	30	15	5	0	10	10	60
Top 50	20	32	10	10	0	8	20	52
Top 100	18	33	14	7	0	13	15	51

(continued)

Table 2.3 (continued)

	French	USA	Great Britain	German	European	International	Other	France + USA
History								
Top 10	50	30	20	0	0	0	0	80
Top 20	65	20	10	0	0	0	5	85
Top 50	52	26	8	0	0	2	12	78
Top 100	55	16	13	1	0	2	13	71
Law								
Top 10	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Top 20	85	0	0	5	0	0	10	85
Top 50	66	6	2	10	0	0	16	72
Top 100	59	9	5	10	0	1	16	68

Source: Heilbron and Bokobza (2015)

journals. In sociology and anthropology there is one European journal among the 50 most cited; in political science and economics there are two (Table 2.3). So-called “international journals” tend to be slightly more frequently cited, but the differences with “European” journals are very small.

The Case of Sociology

Considering the case of one discipline in particular, sociology, some of the similarities and differences can be brought out more clearly. Comparing references in the core sociology journals in France (*Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, *Revue française de sociologie*, *Sociologie du Travail*, *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*) with the leading American journals (*American Journal of Sociology* and the *American Sociological Review*), and the *British Journal of Sociology* confirms that sociology has a quite similar profile in these countries. Like in France sociology in the USA and Great Britain is the social science discipline that is most open to other disciplines (see also Jacobs 2014: 81–82). In the USA and Great Britain, however, references to extra-sociological journals rarely extend to intellectual journals. Whereas in France four general intellectual journals are in the top 100 most cited journals, there is only one such journal in the top 100 journals in the United States and Great Britain: the *New Left Review*. It is among the ten most cited journals in the *British Journal of Sociology*, while it occupies a lower position in the United States (65th position). The separation of the intellectual from the academic field is traditionally much greater in the Anglo-Saxon world than it is in France. Whereas university presses dominate scholarly publishing in the USA and Great Britain, in France general publishers (Fayard, Gallimard, Seuil, etc.) still play a major role in scholarly publishing.

Sociological journals in the USA and Britain tend to have a strong national orientation as well. In the United States references to journals from other countries are rare, even to “Canadian” or “British” journals. “European” or “international” journals are peripheral as well (see Table 2.4). There is merely one “European” journal among the top 100 most cited: the *European Sociological Review* (36th place). Focused on quantitative research, the latter has many links with the United States

because it emanated from an international network of specialists in social stratification. Of the “international” journals cited, all have close relations with the United States.⁴ The best ranked is *Social Networks* (16th place), a product of a research tradition, born in the United States and Canada, in which a large number of North Americans participate. The other most cited “international” journals are also Anglophone journals with a strong Anglo-American orientation: *Population and Development Review* (31st position), *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* (42nd), *Social Studies of Science* (56th), *Social Science and Medicine* (57th), *International Migration Review* (59th), and *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (95th).

The overwhelming national orientation of American sociology is confirmed by the content of journal articles. On average, 85% of them deal with American society and its intellectual products. American sociology, as Michael Kenney and Miguel Centeno observe, has developed practices that are strongly marked by American references. This “American privilege” varies by research specialization, but even “those specializations committed to understanding the world beyond the United States face pressures that reproduce the discipline’s national presumption in its international work. This happens typically without acknowledgement because it is so apparently natural, so commonsensical (...) Given the power and predominance of American sociology in the world, it is easy to imagine the world in American terms.” (Kennedy and Centeno 2007: 668; see also Ollion 2011).

Descending in the hierarchy of cited journals in American sociology, one finds that among the 500 most cited journals in the United States, nearly all (494) are in English; two are multilingual (*Social Science Information*, *European Journal of Sociology*), two are German (*Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*) and two are French (*Revue française de sociologie*, the *Année sociologique*). Out of a total of 22,000 citations in ten years’ time, French-language journals hardly ever appear in the flagship journals of American sociology: the *Annales* and *Sociologie du travail* were each cited once, Bourdieu’s *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* twice, the *Année sociologique* four times and the *Revue française de sociologie* gets the best score with eight citations, an average of one citation every two years. Pierre Bourdieu is the most cited

Table 2.4 (Inter)national orientation of French sociology journals according to the nationality of the most cited journals in % (1992–2001)

	French journals	USA journals	British journals	German journals	European journals	International journals	Other	France + USA
Top 10	70	20	–	–	–	10	–	90
Top 20	75	20	–	–	–	5	–	95
Top 50	68	22	4	–	2	4	–	90
Top 100	61	21	4	4	4	5	1	82

Source: Heilbron and Bokobza (2015)

sociologist in the US, but this is entirely based on translations; his journal was cited just once per decade in each of the American flagship journals; more than six hundred journals were cited more often than *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* (Heilbron 2009). Sociology journals in other languages than English play no role in American sociology (Tables 2.5 and 2.6).

Comparing American sociology journals with the leading French and British ones confirms that sociology outside of the USA is characterized by a predominant bi-national orientation. The weight of national journals is in each case complemented by the undisputed prominence of American journals. English is the only language with a real international reach. It is not only the language of communication between Europe and the United States, it has also become the dominant language of transnational communication on the European continent (Ammon 2010; De Swaan 2001a, b). Italian and Spanish language journals have very little weight in international sociology, and being unable to compete with English, French and German are in decline. “European” and “international” journals are few in number, they are not prominent in the citation hierarchies, and have a peripheral position as compared to American journals and to the leading national journals in the larger European countries.

Conclusion

The remarkable growth of transnational co-authorship seems to confirm, at first sight, the widespread idea of ‘globalization’ (Boli and Thomas 1999; Drori et al. 2003). Related to the collapse of communism, the rapid development of new communication technologies, and newly emerging political and economic powers in the former ‘third world’, certain globalizing tendencies may indeed be observed. For the social sciences and humanities, this trend has manifested itself in two ways: their spread to most countries around the globe and the growth of transnational exchange and collaboration.

A closer look at the bibliometric evidence, however, reveals patterns that are quite different from and, in fact, in contradiction to much of what the globalization literature suggests. According to a common view, traditional barriers to communication have broken down, information is widely available at little or no cost, and local and national boundaries

Table 2.5 (Inter)national orientation of the British Journal of sociology (BJS) according to the nationality of the most cited journals in % (1992–2001)

	British journals	USA journals	International journals	European journals	Canadian journals	Scandinavian journals	German journals	Other
Top 10	60	30	–	10	–	–	–	–
Top 20	45	40	5	5	–	5	–	–
Top 50	28	50	14	4	2	2	–	–
Top 100	27	43	16	4	3	2	2	3

Source: Heilbron and Bokobza (2015)

Table 2.6 (Inter)national orientation of American sociology journals (AJS, ASR) according to the nationality of the most cited journals in % (1992–2001)

	USA journals	International journals	British journals	European journals	Scandinavian journals	Canadian journals
Top 10	100	–	–	–	–	–
Top 20	95	5	–	–	–	–
Top 50	88	6	4	2	–	–
Top 100	83	8	5	1	2	1

Source: Heilbron and Bokobza (2015)

would have lost much of their meaning. Thomas Friedman famously argued that globalization does not merely entail increasing cross-border exchanges over greater distances, it also implies that the world is becoming ‘flat’: traditional hierarchies between and within countries would dissolve into a global flow of communication (Friedman 2005).

The predominant pattern in the globalizing social sciences, however, is far from being a ‘flattening’ universe. Power relations between countries and regions have shifted somewhat, but there is no evidence that scientific (or any other form of) exchange would consist of unhindered and direct communication flows between more or less equally endowed individuals, organizations or states. Processes of globalization are associated with increasing transnational mobility and the growing dependency of local settings on more global structures, but both processes depend on resources that are unequally distributed, and on power relations that are highly asymmetrical.

Although the share of American researchers in transnational co-authorships has slightly decreased, the dominant position of USA social science remains undisputed. Due to their hegemonic position, USA journals have a particularly low level of references to foreign publications, they remain largely national in their authorship (Gingras 2016: 55–56), and researchers in the USA are less frequently involved in transnational co-authorship than is the case of their colleagues in Europe. For European researchers, transnational collaboration has become slightly more global in scope, but by far most of it is still with the USA and, secondarily, with other English speaking countries like Canada and Australia. China is the only other country that has significantly increased its share. The position of researchers from Africa, the Arab countries and Latin America, has not really changed.

A further characteristic of the power relations in the global field is that the dominant position of the USA is all the more prevalent the higher one gets in the hierarchy. At the basic level of production capacity and output, the global field of the social sciences is best described as constructed around a Euro-American duopoly. But at the highest level of prizes and citations, the field structure tends to be monopolistic: no language can compete with English, no country can rival with the USA.

A telling but neglected feature of American hegemony is that there are virtually no “international” journals that can compete with the major American journals. There is no “European” or other regional SSH journal either that has a prominent position in the citation hierarchies. The only journals that are able to compete with the leading American journals are other national journals in larger, well-endowed countries, but their role is restricted to their respective national fields. French and German journals of the highest international standing and acknowledged innovativeness (such as the French historical journal *Annales* or Bourdieu’s *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*) are invisible in the USA, and, largely as a consequence of this, have no recognition and audience beyond their own linguistic area. International recognition can only be obtained by writing in, or being translated into, English. Partly as a consequence of this linguistic dominance, researchers from Britain occupy the most central position in intra-European collaboration.

Notions of internationalization or globalization are thus in need of serious reconsideration. The spread of the social sciences and humanities around the globe has not meant less hierarchical and more even exchange relations. Much to the contrary, the evidence indicates that globalization effects (like the extension of collaboration and exchange on a world scale) have been weak, and that the growth of transnational collaboration has reproduced rather than undermined existing hierarchies.

Two aspects of transnationalism in this hierarchical global field are characteristic. First, in the most dominant country, internal relations matter more than external ones. For countries outside the core the reverse holds: relations to the dominant center tend to be more important than internal relations. This property of citation and reference practices in a hierarchical field is similar to what is observed for cultural exchanges such as translation: whereas most books worldwide are translated from English

into other languages, the US and Britain have the lowest rate of translation into their own publication system (Heilbron 1999; Heilbron and Sapiro 2016; Sapiro 2009, 2012; Sapiro and Popa 2008; Sapiro and Bustamante 2009).

Second, although transnational collaboration has become somewhat more diversified and more global, *bi-nationalism* is the predominant form of transnational exchange in Europe. Patterns of transnational collaboration and citation thus tend to be structured like star networks with many relations to the center, less frequent relations among the semi-central countries, and infrequent or absent relations among semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.

Notes

1. On international collaboration in the sciences see Gingras (2002), for publication practices across different scientific fields and the relative importance of articles and books, see Larivière et al. (2006).
2. Throughout this article Europe includes the 28 member states of the European Union plus Norway and Switzerland. This chapter contains an updated and slightly corrected version of bibliometric data that were analyzed in an earlier publication in French (Gingras and Heilbron 2009). In addition to the update other data were added allowing a more complete analysis.
3. On the particularly high level of disciplinary closure of economics see Pieters and Baumgartner (2002) and Fourcade et al. (2015); on the internationalization of economics Fourcade (2006).
4. Journals were classified as “European” if they use that adjective in their title or sub-title. They were classified as “international” on the basis of their title, subtitle or self-representation. Since *Social Networks*, for example, presents itself as an “international journal” it is categorized as such.

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3

What Factors Determine the International Circulation of Scholarly Books? The Example of Translations Between English and French in the Era of Globalization

Gisèle Sapiro

Introduction

The international circulation of ideas depends on a series of social factors and on the action of intermediaries (Bourdieu 1999). Within the academic field, this circulation occurs in specific settings, including conferences, journals, and books. The circulation of scholarly books in translation offers a relevant site of observation of intellectual exchanges across cultures. The social sciences and the humanities (SSH) occupy an intermediary position between literature, which is historically linked to vernacular languages, and the natural sciences which often resort to using a universal language to limit ambiguity: Latin played this role in the past in Europe, English has since taken over in the twentieth century, in

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_3

conjunction with formal languages (logic, mathematics). SSH disciplines oscillate between these two options: for those that subscribe to the scientific model, like economics and psychology, the norm is to adopt English as a vehicular language, whereas in more nationally rooted disciplines such as law, literature, and history, scholars mostly write in national languages (with the exception of foreign languages and literatures or comparative law); anthropology and sociology are located between the two. Linguistic choices are related (without entirely overlapping) to the degree of internationalization, which varies across disciplines (Gingras 2002). They are also related to publishing practices: whereas the scientific model is associated with journals, the literary model, which prevails in the humanities (literary studies and philosophy), is attached to the book form, anthropology and sociology again being in the middle of these two models and forms (there is a continuum that exists between history, where the book is more important, to sociology, where articles have come to be more valued in careers, and variations across specialties such as historical sociology).

Consequently, in the SSH, the international circulation of scholarship depends in large part on book translations. What scholarly books circulate in translation and why? The sociology of translation has established a methodology for studying the flows of books across languages and the role of intermediaries, including translators, publishers, literary agents, academics, and State representatives (Bourdieu 1999; Heilbron 1999; Heilbron and Sapiro 2007; Sapiro 2008). However, most quantitative studies have been devoted to the circulation of literary works. The circulation of academic books presents some specificities, as it is embedded in both academic and publishing fields.

The abstract concept of “field” (Bourdieu 1993, 2013) designates relatively autonomous fields, governed by specific rules and stakes, which organize the competition between the field’s agents, et are structured by the uneven distribution of specific capital in the field. The concept of “symbolic capital”, that will be used here as a synonym of “reputation,” refers to this specific capital. The academic field is structured around an opposition between symbolic capital, related to peers recognition for original research production, and “temporal” (worldly) capital, i.e. the reproduction power (Bourdieu 1988). The publishing field is structured around an opposition

between a pole of large-scale circulation, ruled by the law of profitability, and the pole of small-scale circulation, where intellectual logics prevail over financial considerations (Bourdieu 2008). This opposition corresponds to the categories “upmarket” *vs* “commercial” used by the field’s agents (publishers, literary agents) to differentiate the products. Academic publishing is polarized between scholarly books located at the pole of small-scale circulation, and essays designed for a non-academic audience or textbooks, located at the pole of large-scale circulation.

This chapter proposes a general framework of factors that determine translation in the SSH and the channels of circulation. This framework was elaborated based on previous research (Sapiro and Popa 2008; Sapiro 2008, 2012, 2014c) and the results of an empirical study on the cross-circulation of SSH books between French and English in the era of globalization, mixing quantitative and qualitative methods. In this period, the United States became hegemonic in many domains, including the book market, a process which started in the 1970s. In the 1990s, the commercial constraints on the book industry intensified as a result of the economic rationalization which increased profit expectations and accelerated the concentration process through mergers and acquisitions of firms (Schiffrin 2000). In the Anglo-American world, this process had a direct impact on academic publishing (Thompson 2005), the number of translations declined. Cambridge University Press for instance, who used to publish 10–15 titles from French every year, now barely publishes 2–3 titles by contemporary authors, and around 2–3 classics; the number of German titles was reduced from 3 to 1 per year. Nevertheless, French scholarship is still translated into English, although less than Anglo-American academic books into French.

These flows reflect uneven power relations that need to be interpreted in light of different factors. Six sets of factors are analyzed here as favoring or hindering the translation of scholarly books: power relations between languages and cultures, symbolic capital and other properties of the author, properties of the book, symbolic capital of the publisher(s), networks, and funding. Some of them are specific to this category of books, others are characteristic of upmarket translations (Bourdieu 1999; Sapiro 2008), and still others are derived more generally from the power relations structuring the global book market.

Although translation is considered here as a proxy for intellectual exchanges, one must keep in mind, first, that books and articles also circulate, albeit in more limited circles, in their original language and second, the fact that a book is translated does not reveal anything about its reception, appropriations, and usages, issues which require a different methodology developed elsewhere (see Sapiro 2014a; Santoro and Sapiro 2017; Sapiro et al. 2017). In his analysis of the social conditions of the international circulation of ideas, Bourdieu (1999) emphasizes the role of “importers” and describes three operations: selection, marking and interpretation. This paper focuses on the selection process.

Data and Methodology

For the quantitative study, a list of the titles of books in translation and their properties was compiled: the author, publisher, year and place of publication, name of the translator. In some cases, data on the original publisher was available in the source database, in others the information was missing and had to be filled in. The author’s gender had also to be added. Disciplines were checked and in many cases recoded. Other variables were introduced in the data base of books translated from English into French.

1. For the translations from **English into French**, two data sets are used in this paper.

First, a data set of 1555 books translated from English into French between 1985 and 2002 was extracted from the French professional bibliographic database Electre.¹ This data, which was sorted to keep only academic books, checked a second time and recoded, was part of a larger data set of 2950 scholarly translations from 11 languages into French during the same period, and was analyzed in an earlier research paper (see Sapiro and Popa 2008). It concerned law, economics, history, philosophy, psychology, political science, sociology and anthropology (the last two were regrouped in one category).²

Secondly, a smaller sample of 715 titles translated from English into French from 2003 to 2013 was also extracted from Electre, using a more restrictive filter.³ It was sorted, checked, recoded and completed with many variables, among which, those used in this chapter, the author’s gender, the original date of publication, and the original publisher.⁴ While it covers the same disciplines, this sample is not exhaustive and the results are here only indicative.

2. For the translations from **French into English**, two main sources were used.

First, a data base of titles which received funding from the Centre national du livre (CNL) for being translated into English between 2002 and 2012. The CNL is a body affiliated with the French Ministry of Culture that subsidizes literary and scientific publishing in French (including translations) and translations

from French into other languages. The subsidy is allocated only if there is a contract with the publisher and with a translator. Since the Anglo-American market is known to be the most difficult, we can assume that most of the submitted projects get funding if they match the criteria of quality of translation and decent conditions for the translator. Nevertheless, publishers do not always apply for a subsidy. A comparison of the data for the last three years with our next data set (see below), reveals that less than one-quarter of the contracts signed between French and American or British publishers were submitted to the CNL. Furthermore, obtaining a grant is not a sufficient condition to ensure the translation project will be undertaken and completed. In this database there are only two cases in which this failed to happen.⁵ It is also worth noting that this database does not include classics which are in the public domain. The database includes 460 titles of non-fiction, 424 of which were published in the US and the UK (the others appeared in France and the Netherlands, among other places). Because of the relative autonomy of national publishing fields (including in the academic sector), I chose to focus here on the 424. Two variables were added to the existing ones: the author's gender and his/her academic position at the time of publication.⁶

The results of the first exploitation of this data were compared with a database compiled by the French Bureau du Livre (BLF) in New York for the period 2010–2013, which served as a control sample (270 titles). Although only 22 percent of these books won a grant from the CNL, the results were more or less similar regarding the distribution of disciplines, authors, gender, and publishers, which are the variables I focus on in this paper (Sapiro 2014c).

In addition to this control sample for the years 2010–2013, the French bureau du livre asked me to analyze a database of French titles in translation that they collected for the period 1990–2007. Unfortunately, this data, which mixed fiction and non-fiction, cannot be used as such in this paper because its principles of construction were unclear (they did not provide a list of the publishers solicited and of those who responded). However, this database, which includes 680 titles of scholarly books, was used for more specific analysis of certain publishers' lists, working on the assumption that those who replied provided exhaustive data about their lists, as well as a calculation of the number of pages (data which was not provided in the other data bases).

The qualitative data used here was gathered during two former studies. One, funded by the French Ministry of Culture, was conducted between 2009 and 2011, and focused on the obstacles against the translation of literary and scholarly works (Sapiro 2012). The second, funded by the Institut français, concerned principally translations from French into English (US and UK) and Spanish (Argentina) (Sapiro 2014c). The materials include interviews with 36 editors and publishers (26 in the United States, 13 in the United Kingdom), 15 foreign rights managers in French publishing houses, 6 literary agents, 2 government representatives, and 5 literary agents.⁷

Other qualitative materials come from an archival research I have carried out at the French Publishers Agency.⁸

Power Relations Between Languages and Culture

The first factor affecting translation, the *centrality of the language* in which the original book is written, is representative of the power relations structuring the book market: works written in central languages, that is to say English, French and German, are proportionally more often translated than others (Heilbron 1999). English is the hypercentral language: in the 1980s, 45 percent of translated books in the world were originally written in English and this percentage increased in the 1990s, reaching 59 percent, while Russian declined from 12.5 percent to 2.5 percent following the fall of the Communist regimes (Sapiro 2010). French and German maintained their central position in the era of globalization (about 10 percent of the books are translated from each of these languages).

In addition to its share in the flows of translations, the centrality of a language can be measured by the number of different categories of books translated from this language (Heilbron 1999): whereas very few books other than fiction are translated from peripheral languages, central and semi-peripheral languages “export” non-fiction as well. English accounted for 53 percent of 2950 translations of scholarly books from eleven languages into French between 1985 and 2002, followed by German (25 percent), Italian (11 percent), Spanish (4 percent), Russian (3 percent), the share of all other languages included in the database (Dutch, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Swedish) being smaller than 1.5 percent (Sapiro and Popa 2008). However, this distribution displays some significant variances from the overall flows of translations, indicating a relative autonomy of the market for translations of scholarly books: English appears to be less dominant, all the more so considering that these figures do not include flows of translation from the French; and the percentage of scholarly books appears to be smaller than the overall share of translations from English into French during the same period, which is close to two thirds, whereas German and Italian are overrepresented in this domain (more than twofold for both languages).⁹

The centrality of the language into which a work is translated also enhances its chances of being translated into other languages: editors

interested in translating a work under copyright usually want to know in which languages translation rights have been acquired and the fact that they were sold in other countries usually impacts their decision favorably; for this reason, intermediaries often emphasize this information while promoting the book, which is what I observed in the French Publishers Agency's archives and what a foreign rights manager in a large French trade publishing house explained in an interview. This is especially true with English, although for scholarly books, the existence of an English translation can also be an obstacle, as academics have the habit of reading in English.

Because English reaches a larger international audience and holds a central position in the world market of translation, scholars from peripheral countries who seek recognition often choose to write (or at least to publish directly) in a central language, most often English. For instance, the renowned Slovenian thinker Slavoj Žižek's international career started with the publication of his first book in English, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, in 1989. This trend reinforces the domination of the English language in the global field of social sciences.

However, like in the case of literary genres (Sapiro 2008), the relative share of different categories of non-fiction books (documentaries, political essays, scientific books, scholarly essays, dictionaries, practical books...) varies across languages and countries. If we focus on scholarly books, some countries appear to be dominant in the circulation of ideas. More than 85 percent of the titles translated from English into French between 2003 and 2013 were originally published in the United States (55 percent) and the United Kingdom (30 percent) (and 6 percent are collections, compiled by French publishers, of articles or works mostly by American or British authors).

Disciplines are also unevenly represented across countries. Comparing the circulation of books per discipline reveals another factor impacting translation of scholarly books: *the symbolic capital of a discipline in a national tradition*. For example, in the above-mentioned survey on flows of translations of scholarly books from eleven languages into French between 1985 and 2002, we found that English was the most translated language in all disciplines except philosophy, where German came first (Sapiro and Popa 2008). Philosophy accounts for almost half of the

translations from German during this period, *vs* 16 percent of translations from English. German philosophy is endowed with a great amount of symbolic capital, as its publication in France by general trade publishers attests (in the 1980s, the prestigious publisher Gallimard published the complete works of Heidegger), whereas American philosophy was barely recognized in this country until the 1990s. Since the 1990s, more and more classical authors of analytic and pragmatic philosophy have been translated. For instance, most of John Dewey's works were translated after 2000; until then, he was best known in France for his work on education, apart from one specialist, Gérard Deledalle, who did not succeed in establishing him as a major philosopher (Pudal 2004, 2012). Between 2003 and 2013, according to our sample of 715 titles extracted from the bibliographical data base Electre, philosophy is the second most translated discipline from English into French (21 percent of the titles in translation), just after history (24 percent). Philosophy and history are also the leading disciplines among books translated from French into English (each around one quarter if we exclude the non-academic essays and biographies, one fifth if we include them), contemporary French philosophy still benefits from a good reputation despite the relative decline of enthusiasm for French theory in the U.S. (Sapiro 2014b). There were approximately the same number of translations in sociology, about 50 titles, which account for 13 percent of the translations from French into English if we exclude the non-academic essays, and 7 percent of the translations from English into French. The relatively higher share of sociology in the circulation from France to the Anglo-American world results from the symbolic capital accumulated by French sociology since the role played by the Durkheimian school in the birth of the discipline at the end of the nineteenth century (Heilbron 2015), and especially since the international consecration of Pierre Bourdieu (see below). In France, American sociology started to arouse interest in the post-war period; the pace of translations accelerated in the 1970s, and even more so in the 1990s (Chenu 2001). By the same token, albeit more recently, American scholars have accumulated symbolic capital in gender studies, for which Judith Butler is the leading figure. Although it took one decade to introduce her in France, she is now a well-known author.

Note however that the symbolic capital of a discipline in a national tradition is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to guarantee the circulation of works in this tradition: it also depends of the interest for this area in the field of reception. For example, as a rights manager in a well-established French scholarly publishing house remarked in an interview (November 4th, 2010), psychoanalysis sells well in Latin America as well as in England, but not in the Netherlands. She recalled that a publisher she met at the Frankfurt book fair told her: “there is no psychoanalysis in the Netherlands; we are in the neuro-sciences,” so she had to pack up her catalogue.

International Symbolic Capital and Other Properties of the Author

The *international symbolic capital of the author* can be related to the two former factors, but acts as an independent variable, as it is encapsulated in the name of the author, meaning that most of his/her works will be translated. It can also be in many cases relatively independent from the content of the book itself.

This is typical of “classic” authors. Authors having achieved the status of classics are endowed with a great amount of symbolic capital. Classic works by Descartes, Voltaire, Diderot, and Montesquieu are more successful than contemporary titles. In 1989, Cambridge University Press published for instance the first integral translation of Montesquieu’s *The Spirit of Laws*, and it sold very well in the United States, notably because of Montesquieu’s role in framing of the American constitution.¹⁰ Dead authors are sometimes (re)discovered and immediately construed as classics. Such is the case for Henry David Thoreau (6 (re)translations into French since 1993), in the context of a growing interest since the 1990s for American thinkers in France and of concern for ecology. By the same token, four titles by Lysander Spooner were released for the first time in French since 1991. Most of the 22 titles by classic authors (re)translated from English into French between 2003 and 2013 were American (Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Douglass, White Dickson, William James,

Thomas Paine, Lysander Spooner, Henry Thoreau), there were only five titles by British seventeen-eighteen-nineteenth century authors (David Hume, William Bradford, Edwin Chadwick, Francis Hutchinson, and Mary Wollstonecraft), and one by Karl Marx.

While seventeen-eighteen-nineteenth century authors accounted for only 3 percent of the titles translated from English into French during this period, twentieth century authors who died before the end of the century represented 16 percent. Some of these authors are in the process of becoming classics, thanks to these translations: besides the above mentioned case of Dewey, another paradigmatic example is the integration of John Rawls into the French philosophical canon in the 1990s (Hauchecorne 2012; 5 titles translated into French between 1987 and 2002). Edward Saïd has also become a reference during this period (Brahimi and Fordant 2017; 4 of his titles were (re)translated after his death in 2003). American sociologists also came to the fore during these years: while Erving Goffman had been in translation since the 1960s in Bourdieu's series "le sens commun" at Éditions de Minuit, two books by Robert Park came out for the first time in French in 2007 and 2008, and one by the sociologist of science Joseph Ben-David. However, these authors were already well-known among sociologists who read them in English, in contrast to black sociologist W. E. B. DuBois, whose name was introduced in France for the first time during this period.

Representative of this classicization process are the authors identified with what has been coined "French theory," including Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault among others (Cusset 2003; Dumont 2017; Lamont 1987; Sapiro and Dumont 2016). At some point in their international career, these authors gained sufficient visibility and transnational symbolic capital to allow this variable to produce a "Matthew effect": the more they are translated, the more they are translated, as we observed in the case of Bourdieu (see Fig. 3.1). Bourdieu's books have been translated since the 1970s in several languages and recognized in several domains, anthropology, sociology of education, sociology of culture, but his international consecration can be dated back to the end of the 1980s, after the translation of his seminal book *Distinction* in English with Harvard University Press (Sapiro 2014a). This book, which enjoyed a wide reception, (and was reprinted eight times between its release as a

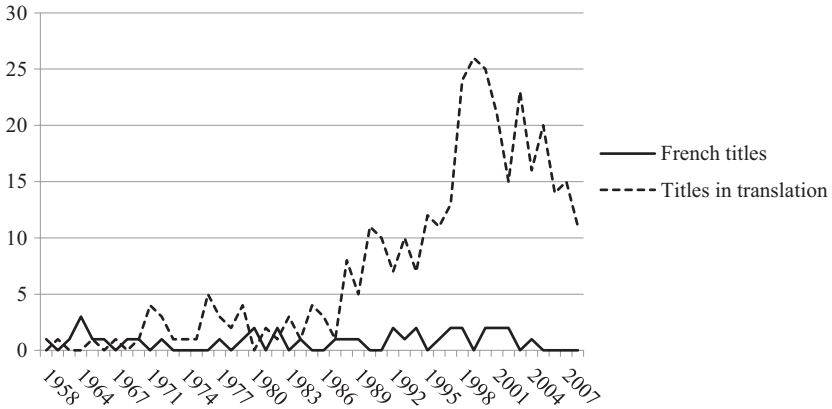


Fig. 3.1 Number of translations of Bourdieu's books in the world per year: a Matthew effect

paperback in 1987 and 1996) helped unify these different domains and made Bourdieu appear to be a social theorist rather than a specialist.¹¹ As a result, Bourdieu's work was translated into more languages and in more countries (Sapiro and Bustamante 2009), and his previous books in translation became long-sellers, as for instance *Outline of a Theory of Practice* released in 1977 by Cambridge UP.¹²

Like Bourdieu, who achieved the status of a classic author after his death in 2002 (5 titles in translation between 2002 and 2012), the authors identified with “French theory” and with structuralism continue to be translated into English, despite a certain loss of interest for French theory. Foucault's *Introduction to Kant's anthropology* came out in English with MIT Press one year after its first publication with Vrin in 2007. Derrida, who died in 2004, had at least 8 titles in translation between 2002 and 2012, and The University of Chicago Press started publishing his seminars, contrary to the tendency to buy the rights only for one (shorter) book (McCoy 2014).

Some living authors are also endowed with a large amount of symbolic capital. Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous, for instance, are regularly translated into English. New authors have joined their ranks: Alain Badiou, Jean-Luc Nancy, and Jacques Rancière are among the most translated living French authors during the period. One editor we interviewed

first claimed that, “[...] there is definitely the sense that we are in a post-theory age, you know, French theory is not the center of things now” and then swiftly corrected himself acknowledging the continued popularity of these authors, “Although, I guess, didn’t Columbia just publish another Rancière translation?” (July 28, 2012).

Indeed, the large majority of scholarly translations concern books by living authors. It was the case of 80 percent of the 715 titles in our sample of translations from English into French released between 2003 and 2013. Sixty-one out of the four hundred and seventy-seven living scholars had at least 2 translated books, indicating an interest in the author and not only in a specific book (they account for 28 percent of all titles, the concentration ratio being low: 1.2). The most translated is Slavoj Žižek (13 titles), who is more of a prolific and provocative essayist than a recognized scholar. He is followed by Judith Butler (7) and Noam Chomsky (6), both famous for being public intellectuals. Zygmunt Bauman and Richard Sennett, two prolific social theorists, have 5 titles each. Among authors having 2–4 titles in translation who have become references in French academia, in various disciplines, one can cite Martha Nussbaum, Stanley Cavell and Hilary Putnam in philosophy, James Scott in political science, Amartya Sen in economy, Arjun Appadurai, Jack Goody, Mahmood Mamdani, Joan Scott, and Ann Stoler in anthropology, Frederick Cooper in history, Saskia Sassen in sociology, Fredric Jameson and Gyatri Spivak in literary studies.

For living scholars, it is more difficult to accumulate international symbolic capital than to achieve national recognition, especially in central countries. As this editor of an important American University press explained in an interview:

for a lot of really worthy books, books written by an American scholar, say, if they’d been written by an American scholar, they might do very well over here if they had a reputation, but when you have a French or German author who doesn’t really have a platform and whose references and basic frame of reference is not American, even with a really attractive topic, it’s going to find a much more limited market here. [...] There are very few French authors who are known over here. So it’s a matter of building an audience for them. (Interview conducted on August 10th, 2012)

Accumulation of international symbolic capital depends in large part on the other social properties of the author, that impact her chance to be translated: gender, education (holding a PhD from a prestigious University or school), country of residence (central *vs* peripheral in the global field of the SSH), institutional affiliation (elite institutions such as Oxbridge or the Ivy League), international social capital in the academic and intellectual fields.

Regarding gender, books authored by men seem to have a clear advantage over those authored by women: the latter account for only 17 percent of the titles in translation from English into French, and 15 percent from French into English, the US being more open to female authors (17 percent) than the UK (11 percent). This percentage is much lower than in the domain of literary fiction, where one quarter of the books translated from French in the United States in the 1990s were authored by women, a share that rose to one third among contemporary (living) authors, whereas among scholarly books, this percentage rose only to 20 percent of the titles by translated authors who were alive until 2003, 22 percent in the US (Sapiro 2015). These results would of course need to be compared to the gender ratio in the original language, data that is unfortunately not available. However, considering the fact that women account for 27–45 percent of the university professors in France in the social sciences and the humanities, it seems plausible to consider that they are underrepresented in the international circulation of scholarly books, like at the level of full professorship (Sapiro et al. [forthcoming](#)). The distribution of the gender ratio also varies across disciplines, in translation like in academic positions: whereas female authors are underrepresented in economics and legal studies, they are overrepresented in psychoanalysis – the most translated French author in this area being Julia Kristeva –, and of course in gender studies, the only area where they are more translated than men, with leading figures such as H  l  ne Cixous for the French and Judith Butler for the Americans. Judith Butler is the most translated among the nine female philosophers whose books came out in French between 2003 and 2013, with 6 titles (after a collection of essays in 2002), followed by Martha Nussbaum since 2008 (4 titles); Hannah Arendt is the only dead female philosopher in translation. By the same token, it is significant that the only Anglo-American female scholar

in legal studies translated into French is the feminist Catharine MacKinnon, and it took almost two decades until *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (1987) was available in French: it was released in 2005 by the feminist publisher Éditions Des Femmes, who also published in 2007 a translation of *Only Words* (1993). It took as long for the leading figure of subaltern studies, Gyatri Spivak to be translated into French: 4 titles have been released since 2006 (on Spivak's reception in France, see Brisson [Forthcoming](#)).

Evidence of the correlation between translation and the prestige of the institutional affiliation can be provided by the data base on the 424 books that won a grant from the French government to be translated from French into English between 2002 and 2012 (meaning that they had a contract with a British or American publisher): one book out of five was written by professors from Parisian universities, about one out of ten by professors at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales or at the École pratiques des hautes études (two prestigious graduate schools for the social sciences and the humanities), and a same proportion by researchers at the CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, or National Center for scientific research). We have not compiled data concerning the education of the authors, but this variable is correlated to their institutional position (prestigious institution select their faculty according to their training and achievements), as is their international recognition. Most of the internationally recognized French thinkers were trained at the École normale supérieure, a State-run elite school. Barthes, Bourdieu, Derrida, and Lévi-Strauss held chairs at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, a graduate school specializing in the social sciences and the humanities. The same is true of the most recognized American scholars (for instance, Rawls earned his PhD from Princeton and held a position at Harvard), including the leading theorists of post-colonial and subaltern studies coming from peripheral countries: Edward Saïd earned his PhD from Harvard, Gyatri Spivak from Cornell, and both taught at Columbia University.

Given the fact that the publishing and academic fields and networks are entangled, especially in countries where scholarly books are mainly published by academic presses, like the United States, the author's *international social capital* also impacts the chances of being translated. As

foreign rights manager in a large trade publishing house based in France said in an interview: “I often have young authors saying ‘I want to publish in English!’ But they have no contact there! After all, it may be because they are too young... I don’t know... They are at the very beginning of their career.” (March 13th, 2013, my translation).

However, one can consider that the international social capital of an author is not independent of his/her symbolic capital, that it is to say her recognition by peers abroad, as this sort of capital is accumulated through invitations to conferences, lectures, visiting professorships and scholarships. For instance, Bourdieu’s *Inheritors* was proposed to the University of Chicago Press by Aristide Zolberg at the beginning of the 1970s: Zolberg met Bourdieu in Paris at the end of the 1960s, after he heard about Bourdieu’s work in Africa from Remy Clignet, a sociologist of education, and they spent one year together at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton in 1972.¹³ It took seven years for the book to be published, mainly because of problems with the translation.

An author’s chances of getting his/her work translated thus vary according to his/her ability to accumulate international symbolic capital. However, it also depends on properties of the book itself.

Properties of the Book

The book itself is of course at the core of the decision to translate when an author’s symbolic capital is not sufficient in and of itself. Besides the language (see above), at least four main factors are important: two of them have to do with content, two with form.

First, the *topic* of the book will be considered from the standpoint of the interest it is likely to arouse in the country of reception. This interest is related on the one hand to the publisher’s specialization, which includes disciplines, currents, and specific topics (Sapiro 2014b), and on the other, intellectual fashions (such as gastronomy, which was a trend in American publishing in the 1990s, or more recently, emotions), topics related to social and/or economic concerns, and/or to political events (such as globalization, financial crisis, disability, animals, or the interest in religion and more specifically in Islam since September 11), collective memory

and commemorations (the interest in World War II was high until the years 2000 and has declined since then; in 2017, the topic of revolutions is on the editorial agenda because of the centenary of the Bolshevik revolution). As person in charge with rights in a scholarly publishing house recalled in an interview:

Then, there is the news, it can play as well. Because of the news, in certain cases, for instance in the US after September 11, the interest of the US, of the Americans, of the University Press, was entirely concentrated on terrorism, Maghreb countries, countries with which they were at war with, Afghanistan, and so on. (Interview conducted in 2010; my translation)

The second factor is the *approach*. Broadly speaking, theoretical texts tend to circulate more easily than empirical works, as attested by the worldwide success of what was labelled “French theory.” The wide success of Pascale Casanova’s *World Republic of Letters*, published in 2004 by Harvard UP, illustrates how works proposing an analytical model can become reference books (in her case, without holding any academic position). However, some empirical works can become paradigmatic when illustrating an original approach or renewing our worldview on a topic. Comparative works also have a better chance of being translated, especially when they use quantitative data (without the mathematical aspect taking over the narrative), as Thomas Piketty’s *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*.

Indeed, the third component is the *style of the writing*: readability, accessibility to an audience that goes beyond specialists is taken in consideration, especially for empirical works (this condition doesn’t play in the same manner for theoretical works, Heidegger or Derrida are not expected to be easily readable). An editor from Oxford UP thus emphasized the different writing traditions, a “very different sense of how to narrate non-fiction:”

You know, the Continental method has been traditionally structural. You know, a sort of breakdown of the topic. They have a sort of pseudo-scientific, *encyclopédiste* kind of style. Of doing it. Which is fine, and interesting, and valuable, and important. And there’s great works. But it’s not narrative, whereas the Anglo-American school of history in particular, and

social sciences in general – sociology – use narrative. Which is why it translates better to a kind of the general audience, to what we call the trade audience. So, just examples - I would love to buy more French history. Great historians, but they just simply don't write in the format that I could use. I can publish those books, but even if they're highly accessible, well-done, brilliant pieces of work, they're considered academic, automatically, just because of the way they're done. So that's the difficult part. (Interview conducted in July 2010)

In France, the concern to reach a non-academic audience is also present among editors working in trade publishing houses. Éric Vigne, an editor who runs a prestigious series of social sciences at Gallimard, sometimes works with the authors on the order of the chapters or essays collected, and on the title, even when it comes to renowned authors such as Habermas, whose book *Faktizität und Geltung* was renamed in French *Droit et démocratie* (in English: *Between Facts and norms. Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*).¹⁴

Lastly, the *length of the book* is an important factor. Although the norm for scholarly books varies from place to place (between 200 and 400 pages in the Anglo-American publishing field, between 300 and 600 in the French field), the constraints on translations are more strict because of the translation costs. Thus, two thirds of 680 scholarly books translated from French into English between 1990 and 2007 were 100–300 pages long, and only 14 percent exceeded 400 pages (BLF database). The time span between the publication of the original and the translation of these sizable books tends also to be much longer, even when it comes to authors endowed with great symbolic capital like Bourdieu, meaning that the decision to translate them was taken long after they were first released (Sapiro and Bustamante 2009). There are, of course, exceptions like Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984, 640 pages) or Piketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2014, 704 pages) both published by Harvard UP, two works which immediately became reference books. Another exception is Philippe Descola's *Beyond nature and culture* (488 pages), released in 2013 by the University of Chicago Press, whose theoretical ambition and inscription in a Levi-Straussian heritage, along with his prestigious position at the Collège de France, convinced the editors.

The Symbolic Capital of the Publisher

The symbolic capital of Bourdieu and Piketty's publisher, Harvard UP, certainly contributed to the wide reception of the book within and outside of the academic field, in the United States and all over the world (Sapiro 2014b). Whereas the reputation of the publisher of the translation contributes to its reception, the *original publisher's symbolic capital* impacts the chances of a book by an unknown author being translated, especially when there is no literary agent acting as an intermediary. For instance, a survey on the translations of literary works from the French in the United States between 1990 and 2003 revealed a high concentration around one prestigious publisher, Gallimard, which accounted for 29 percent of the titles translated; Le Seuil follows far behind (7 percent) (Sapiro 2010, 2015). However, the symbolic capital of publishers also varies according to the category of books or areas of specialization. For scholarly books, the power relation between Gallimard and Le Seuil is reversed: it was Le Seuil that had the highest number of translation contracts in English between 2002 and 2012, accounting for 16 percent of the titles in translation, and it was followed by Galilée (11 percent), a very small publishing house whose ranking is due to the symbolic capital of its main author, Derrida, Gallimard arriving only third (7 percent), closely followed by Fayard (6.8 percent) and Presses universitaires de France (PUF 6.4 percent). The 13 publishers who were awarded a translation subsidy for at least 9 translations into English between 2002 and 2012 account for three quarters of the overall number of titles listed in the CNL selection (the ratio between the 424 titles and 82 publishers being rather concentrated: 5.1; see Table 3.1).

It is also worth noting that PUF and Odile Jacob were the only scholarly publishers with more than 9 titles in translation during the period, an expression of the unequal power relations of large trade publishers and scholarly publishers on the world market of translation, even in a specific niche as the SSH. This situation is due to the fact that general trade publishers invest in the SSH in France like in other continental European countries (Germany, Italy, Spain) or in Latin American countries (Argentina; see Sorá et al. 2014), contrary to the Anglo-American trade

publishers (with the exception of some British small radical publishers who invest in scholarly books, especially in translation, in order to enhance their symbolic capital, a phenomenon which can be observed in France as well; Frisani 2014; Noël 2012). There were also two publishers specializing in higher education (La Découverte and Payot).

The order was slightly but not significantly different in our control sample for 2010–2013: Gallimard arrived second after Le Seuil, just before Galilée, followed by PUF, Grasset, Fayard, Flammarion and La Découverte (Albin Michel had only 4 titles). On the other hand, the lower ratio of 3.2 (270 titles for 84 publishers) attests to a greater dispersion, probably meaning a concentration of the subsidies on the bigger and more established players in the field, who are also better organized in submitting applications (Table 3.1).

Conversely, academic publishers are those who “export” the most from English into French, and especially those endowed with significant symbolic capital. Thus the British publishers who had the highest number of translations of scholarly books into French from 2003 to 2013 (8 titles or more) are Cambridge UP and Oxford UP, followed by a radical publisher, Verso Books, and then by Polity Press, who specializes in the social

Table 3.1 Most translated French publishers into English (2002–2012)

Original publisher	Number of translations
Seuil	66
Galilée	48
Gallimard	30
Fayard	29
PUF	27
Flammarion	18
Odile Jacob	17
La Découverte	17
Payot et Rivages	14
Albin Michel	14
Armand Colin	10
Grasset	10
Minuit	9
Other publishers (n = 69)	115
Total	424

Source: List of books awarded a translation subsidy from the Centre national du livre for being translated into English (2002–2012)

sciences, and Allen Lane (the hardback imprint of Penguin Books for serious non-fiction). The American ones are mostly university presses: Harvard UP, Princeton UP, Yale UP, Columbia UP, The University of Chicago Press, The University of California Press, and two publishers specializing in non-fiction and more specifically in the social sciences and the humanities: Basic Books (now part of the Hachette group) and W.W. Norton. These 14 publishers account for one third of the registered titles, attesting to a more scattered editorial landscape than the French one. The ratio here is indeed twofold smaller than for French translations of English titles: 2.8 (715 titles for 257 publishers), but this dispersion should be relativized considering that the books originate from 12 countries, 55 percent from the US and 30 percent from the UK; however, it also reflects the more decentralized configuration of the American sub-field of academic publishing thanks to the university presses (the fact that most publishers in the CNL data base are French is certainly a bias resulting from its being a national funding institution, but the predominance of French over other French-speaking countries is attested by the fact that all the 20 publishers who had 3 titles or more translated into English between 2010 and 2013, accounting for 70 percent of all translations, were French – like most of those who had only one or two titles in translation) (Table 3.2).

The picture is a little different if we look at the fields of reception. Publishers that export the most are not those who import the most. Though in both lists we find some of the big names, like Le Seuil and Gallimard on the French side, Princeton UP and Harvard UP on the other, they import less than they export (one half or even one third), thus confirming the structure of uneven exchanges depending on power relations based on symbolic capital, the most extreme example being Oxford UP and Cambridge UP (only 2 translation projects each on the CNL selection¹⁵). Other presses play a more significant role in the importation. Polity Press is the leader in the introduction of French thought in the Anglo-American world, followed by Stanford UP, the University of Chicago Press, and Fordham University, which came to play such a role thanks to the editor Helen Tartar who joined this press after having been dismissed from Stanford UP which was no longer interested in translations.

Table 3.2 Most translated Anglo-American publishers into French (2003–2013)

Original publisher	Number of translations
Cambridge University Press	32
Oxford University Press	30
Harvard University Press (including Belknap)	27
Princeton University Press	27
Verso	23
Yale University Press	16
Routledge	15
Norton	15
Basic Books	14
Polity Press	10
Columbia University Press	9
University of Chicago Press	9
Allen Lane	8
University of California Press	8
Unpublished collections	71
Other publishers (n = 243)	401
Total	715

Source: Electre data base, recoded by Madeline Bedecarré and Gisèle Sapiro

The ratio on the French side is 2.9 (244 publishers for 715 titles). Sixteen publishers have released at least 10 titles, accounting for only one third of the overall number of titles. On the Anglo-American side, the ratio indicates a more concentrated editorial landscape, with 4.2 (100 publishers for 424 titles), the 12 who committed to 10 titles or more during the period accounting altogether for 60 percent of the overall number of titles granted aid from the CNL. This high concentration may be a bias of the selection process, as already said, the established presses being more used to apply for this kind of aids and more likely to obtain them, due to the symbolic capital they are endowed with. The control sample for 2010–2013 is indeed a little less concentrated (3.5). However, the 9 publishers who have translated more than 10 titles from French during these four years account for 50 percent of the translations. Polity Press comes still first with 33 titles (12 percent), followed by Columbia UP (18 titles; 6.6 percent), Verso (16 titles; 5.9 percent) and Fordham (15 titles; 5.5 percent), The University of Chicago Press (12 titles; 4.4 percent), Harvard UP (11 titles; 4 percent), Stanford

UP, Univocal Publishing and Seagull Books (10 titles; 3.7 percent). It is noteworthy that a newcomer, the Indian publisher Seagull Books, has taken over the role of importer of French thought in the Anglo-American world, as older ones such as Cornell UP (only 2 translations during these years) are no longer investing in this area (but Princeton UP still has 9 French titles on its list).

The French publishing field has also been renewed by newcomers in the niche of scholarly translation: small radical publishers such as Amsterdam and Agone started specializing in this area, Amsterdam focuses mostly on English, being ahead of the large trade publishers Gallimard, Le Seuil, Flammarion and Fayard. One can also observe the role played by older scholarly publishers such as Les Belles Lettres, PUF, Payot or Vrin, and by publishers specializing in higher education (La Découverte, De Boeck, Armand Colin) (Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

Table 3.3 French publishers who released at least 10 English SSH titles in translation between 2003 and 2013

Foreign publisher	Number of titles in translation
Les Belles Lettres	23
Amsterdam	20
PUF	20
Payot	19
La Découverte	18
Gallimard	17
Seuil	17
Flammarion	17
L'Harmattan	16
De Boeck	14
Agone	11
Climats	11
Odile Jacob	11
Vrin	11
Fayard	10
Armand Colin	10
Other publishers	470
Total	715

Source: Electre data base, recoded by Madeline Bedecarré and Gisèle Sapiro

Table 3.4 Anglo-American Publishers who acquired the translation rights of at least 10 French SSH titles between 2002 and 2012

Foreign publisher	Number of titles
Polity Press	70
Stanford UP	29
The University of Chicago Press	25
Fordham UP	22
Columbia UP	21
Verso	18
Princeton UP	15
Edinburgh UP	14
Inner Traditions	13
State University of New York Press	12
Cornell UP	10
Harvard UP	10
Other publishers (n = 88)	165
Total	424

Source: List of books awarded a translation subsidy from the Centre national du livre for being translated into English (2002–2012)

Networks

As previously mentioned, the translation of scholarly books depends on both the academic and publishing fields. Consequently, we need to identify the agents and networks who participate in this circulation: editors, persons in charge with foreign rights, literary agents, academics, research institutions.

The agents of the *publishing field* include first and foremost the editors. Some editors have direct contacts and relationships with their foreign counterparts and exchange information at book fairs or by phone, email, and so on, forming a *transnational editorial network*. These networks rely in large part on the symbolic and social capital of the publishers. For instance, The University of Chicago Press bought more than 3 titles from Le Seuil, Gallimard and Fayard between 1990 and 2007. Sometimes, these networks are mediated by authors: for instance, during the same period, Stanford UP released 24 titles by Derrida purchased from Galilée; similarly, 11 of the 15 titles by Kristeva translated with Columbia UP were originally published by Fayard; and Cornell UP bought three titles by Gérard Genette from Le Seuil. But these regular connections also

favor the circulation of other titles: for example, Columbia UP acquired at least 6 other titles from Fayard and Cornell UP 4 other ones from Le Seuil during the same period. The exchanges between nonacademic publishers are of course not limited to non-fiction, and include for the most part fiction. For instance, the New Press, a non-profit publisher founded in 1990 by André Schiffrin, former editor at Pantheon Books who was born in France and had many connections in the French publishing field, bought 2 titles by the historian Philippe Burrin, 5 by the writer Tahar Ben Jelloun, and an autobiographical novel by Irène Némirovsky's daughter, Elizabeth Gille, from Le Seuil. But because of the more clear-cut separation between the subfield of academic publishing and the trade sector in the Anglo-American world, these diversified exchanges are less common than between continental European publishers.

The exchanges between publishers are relayed not only by editors, but even more by the foreign rights managers, who send catalogues, write the "pitch", undertake the prospection, meet in book fairs, carry out the negotiations and follow the translation process (Seiler-Juilleret 2014). They often form their own networks and have their own reputation and credit. As a person in charge with foreign rights in an established scholarly publishing house said in an interview (November 4, 2010): "The personal relationships with the different players, this is indeed very important. And it's true that most of the work is there, I think. It's there that it can be the most useful" (my translation). Moreover, exchanges are based on elective affinities and the persons in charge with selling rights are aware of this principle, as this quote from an interview of one of them who works for a large French trade publisher proves: "We are trying to develop mailing [lists], families of foreign publishers in fact, since I've observed that, in fact, some publishers look very closely at what other publishers do, generally one per country, which has a list quite close to their own, or it is friendships, bosses..." (September 11, 2007). Although they are supposed to represent the publisher's entire list, these people often focus on the most successful titles, which will bring more profit, thus reinforcing the concentration around a few names and books, to the detriment of other authors. However, some of them develop specific strategies for the books they want to promote because they personally find them good: for instance, the same person told us she sent an email

about a book on the Middle-Ages that was about to come out (usually she would have waited for its publication) and got 7 offers before it was released; the book was translated into 5 languages and was at the time of the interview being considered by an American publisher.

Literary agents, who represent authors, have a smaller presence in the sector of scholarly books, as mentioned above. However, they have some scholars on their list, such as Jared Diamond, an evolutionary biologist, anthropologist and geographer, author of popular science books, who sells very well. Literary agents are indeed more interested in books that target a large non-academic audience, such as David Bellos' book on translation, *Is that a fish in your ear?*, which was promoted by a British Agency, Janklow & Nesbit, and was very successful.

Some (partly) State-funded agencies at times also play a role in this circulation, such as the French Publishers Agency (FPA). The FPA selects a list of books from French publishers, conducts the prospecting for these titles, acts as an intermediary in the negotiation of contracts between the two publishers, controls the publication deadline for the translation once the contract is signed, and monitors the books' sales. More than half of their list is non-fiction. The FPA thus sold the rights of 7.5 percent of French scholarly books which appeared in English translation in 2010 (3 titles).

In many cases, the circulation of scholarly books also involves agents and networks from the *academic field*. Scholars may recommend a book for translation to a publisher, either because they know the author (social capital) or because they find it important for the field of reception, as shown earlier in the example of Bourdieu and Aristide Zolberg.

In scholarly publishing, academic and publishing networks are more or less entangled. Academics often act as editors of series. As is the case with publishers, the series editor's symbolic capital is transferred to the authors and books s/he publishes. In France, in the 1960s, several SSH series were launched by trade publishers, who appointed renowned scholars such as Pierre Bourdieu (Minuit), Pierre Nora (Gallimard), Paul Ricoeur (Seuil), Tzvetan Todorov and Gérard Genette (Seuil) as editors. For some of these series, translation served as a way of accumulating symbolic capital. For instance, in Bourdieu's series "Le sens commun" at Éditions de Minuit, half of the 63 titles published between its

start in 1966 and 1978 were translations (32), 15 from English, 12 from German, 4 from Ancient Greek, and 1 from Russian. Academic publishers usually have scholars on their boards and ask academic experts to write reviews of the books they consider for translation. They also frequently gauge the familiarity of scholars from the university they are associated with each author before making a decision about translating his or her work.

As a result, publishing translations of SSH books is a process in which editorial and academic logics are entangled. Note that academic logics do not always play in favor of importing foreign works, they can, in some cases, be an impediment. An example of this is analytic and pragmatic philosophy, which mainstream French philosophers were reluctant to introduce in France before the 1990s, when the United States became hegemonic in the transnational field of the SSH (Pudal 2004, 2012). A small publishing house, Éditions de l'Éclat, played a significant role in introducing this philosophical current in France, alongside with its few French representatives.

Besides their (partial) involvement in the selection process, academics play a role in the promotion of translated books by writing prefaces or blurbs and critical reviews (7 percent of the 2950 books translated into French from 11 languages from 1990 to 2002 included a preface by a commentator). This paratext corresponds to the operations of marking and interpretation that Bourdieu (1999) describes as crucial in the reception process, after the operation of selection. While it contributes to increasing the symbolic capital of unknown authors in the reception field (for instance, the established philosopher Vincent Descombes wrote the preface for G. E. M. Anscombe's *Intention*, published in French by Gallimard in 2002), when it comes to established or classical authors, these operations are conversely a means for the importers to accumulate symbolic capital themselves.

The role of academic institutions usually consists in funding and will thus be examined in the next section. Research centers can also play a role by forming transnational networks: take for instance, the CERI (Centre de recherches internationales) at Sciences Po which runs an English language book series with Palgrave.

Funding

Funding has come to play a major role in the circulation of works in translation, especially in the case of scholarly books which are costly to translate and do not sell many copies (they are typical of what Bourdieu defines as the field of small-scale circulation; Bourdieu 2008). As editors in an American University Press describe:

You know, a great problem, [...] is at the same time that we very much want to be international and non-parochial and make foreign publications available to the Anglophone world, there are hurdles with translations, and the hurdles are financial ones...most signally paying for the translations themselves, and to pay for a good translation *costs*, but there's also the acquisition of rights from the original publisher, so very often the criteria that we'll use for doing a translation are more demanding than the criteria that we'll use for a book that we originate on our own, that is, you know, we can imagine doing an original monograph that has fairly limited sales, but the bar will be set higher for a translation, so it needs to be a book that we'll expect to have a greater impact than books that we originate on our own. (Interview conducted on July 25th, 2012)

The financial aspect is really important, and we can make these books work with more modest sales if we can get the translation costs covered. Otherwise, a work in translation essentially starts with a negative subsidy. (Interview conducted on August 10th, 2012)

There are four main sources of support: government funding; financial support from international bodies; private foundations; or academic resources. This funding is unequally distributed and constitutes what we can call the “economic capital” of a translation project.

State Subsidies Many countries support the exportation of their national production, but it is more often the case for literature than for scholarly books.¹⁶ Some countries like France, Germany (the Goethe-Institute) and Italy have funding policies for the exportation of scholarly books in translation.¹⁷ In France, there is a public funding policy for upmarket

books (literature and SSH) in trade publishing, which includes support for books in translation from foreign languages into French and from French into other languages. This policy developed partly within the French Ministry of Culture, in the form of aids allocated to publishers by the Centre national du livre, and partly within the French ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the *Programme d'aide à la publication* which was implemented in the 1990s. For instance, as previously mentioned, according to the BLF database, one out of five of the 270 French titles (44) published in English translation between 2010 and 2013 received a subsidy from the CNL, and 11 garnered grants from the PAP (3 of which were also supported by the CNL, although in principle aids cannot be combined). In addition to the financial support for translation, the Institut français, a public agency that works for both ministries, helps foreign publishers buy the translation rights for a selection of French titles. The funding for translations from French to other languages covers somewhere between 30 and 40 percent of the translation costs (by the Centre national du livre or by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs), or part of the acquisition rights (by the Institut français). Another source of financial support for translations – into English only – is the book series « French voices » which offers grants to encourage translation projects (Sapiro 2014c).

While some countries (such as Tunisia) implemented programs for the translation of classic texts, France is one of the rare countries that supports the translation of contemporary foreign works into French, including the SSH. Some countries, like the United States, fund translations of scholarly books if they serve political purposes in a soft power strategy: for instance, the US State Department has supported translations of classics of liberalism in Eastern European countries under the Communist regimes, as well as in Arab countries.

International Bodies In the 1950s UNESCO launched a large-scale project in order to foster the translation of “representative works” not only in literature but also in philosophy and science, based on the recommendations of experts from many countries.¹⁸ This program which, among

other things, favored the opening of the Western book market to non-Western cultures, was abandoned in the era of globalization, and there are no contemporary equivalents. However, translation costs can be covered in the framework of research projects funded by the European Commission. In addition, the European Union has implemented a translation policy for literary works within the program Creative Europe Culture, but contrary to the former Culture program, this program is no longer open to scholarly non-fiction.

Private Foundations Some private foundations provide financial support for scholarly translations, such as the Fritz Thyssen Foundation (Germany), whose aim is to support science and research at universities and research institutions. The Volkswagen Foundation also supports translations of “outstanding German academic books and papers.”

Academic Resources Many translations are funded by universities or research institutions (such as the National Centre for Scientific Research – CNRS – in France, research centers, the new Excellence Laboratories, or the Segretariato Europeo per le Pubblicazioni Scientifiche in Italy¹⁹) as well as research agencies (the National Agency for Research, or ANR, in France), but access to this kind of support is unequal across institutions, depending on their resources and their own specific policies. Since the institutions endowed with the most symbolic capital are usually those who also have the most important means and resources, economic capital tends here to reinforce symbolic capital.

Conclusion

All these factors come together to increase the chances for a book to be translated, and favor concentration on those holding different assets. Typically, as we saw, the chances of being translated is unevenly distributed across languages, countries, disciplines, individuals, books and publishers. It grows if the book is written in a central language, in a recognized disciplinary tradition, if the topic, content and style of the book are

attractive enough to get attention from foreign publishers, and if the book is not too long, if it is authored by an academic endowed with national and international symbolic capital, and/or coming from and/or affiliated with a prestigious institution, and/or having already accumulated some international social capital, and if it is released by a publishing house with a well-established reputation. These factors also increase the chances of obtaining subventions for the translation project, which in turn reinforces the probability that the translation will be undertaken, though, like having signed a contract, it is not a sufficient condition.

Intermediaries play a major role in this circulation. Academic and editorial networks were distinguished for the sake of analysis, but in the subfield of academic publishing, these networks are entangled. While the logics of the publishing field prevail in the operation of selection and transfer, academic networks are instrumental in the reception and appropriation of translated works, although some scholars, like Žižek, who target a wider audience, benefit from media attention, but are dismissed as essayists in the academic field. Rarer are the cases of scholars who, like Bourdieu, Foucault, or, in a different way Piketty, reach a large public while maintaining high academic standards (on Piketty, see Brissaud and Chahsiche 2017). In the present conjuncture of fragmentation of the academic field due to specialization on one hand, and accrued economic constraints on the global market for translations on the other, the position of scholarly publishing in this market is increasingly fragile, and it tends to concentrate more and more on these successful and productive “*brand names*”. Consequently, one can say that the current trend of the globalized publishing field does not favor the intensification and diversification of intellectual exchanges, if not hinder them.

Notes

1. Thanks to Pascal Fouché and the Electre team for giving us free access to this database. Using the filter of genre (“*travaux universitaires ou d’érudition*”, “*SHS*”), the data was extracted and checked by Camille Joseph, it was recoded and completed by Ioana Popa and Gisèle Sapiro.

2. Literary criticism was not included as a category, because it was difficult to distinguish from non-academic criticism. For a more qualitative approach, see Cusset (2003), Dumont (2017), and, including quantitative data about some authors, Sapiro and Dumont (2016).
3. In addition to the genre, three Dewey categories were selected in the database: 100 – Philosophie, psychologie; 300 – Sciences sociales; 900 – Histoire.
4. The data was extracted by H el ene Seiler, checked, recoded and completed by Madeline Bedecarr e and Gis ele Sapiro, exploited statistically by H el ene Seiler and Gis ele Sapiro, as part of the Interco-SSH project (FP7).
5. I can give an example from my personal experience: my own book, *La Guerre des  crivains (1940–1943)*, was first under contract with Verso and won a 12,000 euros subsidy, but Verso did not go forward with the translation. After several years, the publisher broke the contract and the book came out with Duke University Press, without applying for any subventions.
6. The second variable was collected and entered by Camelia Runceanu.
7. The interviews were conducted partly by myself for the three countries and partly by Jill McCoy for the US, Marcella Frisani for the UK, H el ene Seiler for France.
8. Thanks to Lucinda Karter for authorizing me to consult these archives.
9. These percentages concern only the 11 languages for which data was extracted, meaning that they are overestimated. However, for the reasons mentioned above, the flows of translation of scholarly books from other languages are very limited.
10. Interview with Richard Fischer, editorial director of Cambridge University Press, March 7th 2012.
11. Interview with Craig Calhoun, January 3rd 2009.
12. Interview cited with Richard Fischer.
13. Interview with Aristide and Vera Zolberg, June 19th 2009 (Sapiro and Bustamante 2009).
14. Interview with  ric Vigne, July 9, 2010.
15. There was only one SSH title acquired by Oxford UP USA between 1990 and 2007, *La D cision* by professor at Coll ge de France Alain Berthoz, originally published by Odile Jacob, the 6 others being classical works, three of them literary (Voltaire, Mallarm e, Jules Verne), and one philosophical (Descartes' *Discours de la m thode*).

16. For instance, the Dutch Fund of Letters finances translations from Dutch of both fiction and non-fiction, but very rarely scholarly books.
17. In Italy, the Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale gives incentives and prizes (Premi per la traduzione) for translations of very recently published books inserted in wider programs, e.g. book series or special events on publishers' requests. The German Research Fund in collaboration with the Thyssen Foundation started the Program "Humanities International" (Geisteswissenschaften International) in 2008, which funds translations from German into English with the aim to support original publications in German. The budget amounts to 600 thousand Euro per annum.
18. UNESCO Archives.
19. The Segretariato Europeo per le Pubblicazioni Scientifiche (SEPS) is a non-governmental organization created in 1989, which brings Italian universities together. Authors can ask for funds for translation when they have a contract with a foreign publisher, a selection is made through an external expert review and a final decision by the inner committee of the SEPS. The Dutch Academy of Sciences used to have a fund for translating articles, but it served its purpose, i.e. helping scholars switch to English, and it no longer exists.

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4

What “Internationalization” Means in the Social Sciences. A Comparison of the International Political Science and Sociology Associations

Thibaud Boncourt

Introduction

The second half of the twentieth century was a crucial period for the development of the social sciences. Commonly described as the “second institutionalization” of those disciplines, this phase saw the creation and growth of multiple social science university departments, professional associations, scientific journals and book series. The development of this infrastructure came together with the structuring of scientific communities that were governed by specific intellectual standards and professional norms. In sum, what used to be weakly structured areas of knowledge rapidly acquired solid institutional, social and intellectual foundations.

These sudden and impressive changes have been the subject of a growing scholarly interest. A considerable number of studies have sought to identify key processes in the development of the social sciences, and to understand their causes, forms, and effects. Scholars have

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*, Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_4

focused on the autonomization of disciplines (their increasing intellectual and institutional distance from neighboring areas of knowledge and non-scientific social fields), their professionalization (the development of a disciplinary infrastructure made of professional associations and norms), their intellectual structuration (the rise and diffusion of their key paradigms, methods, and ideas), their internationalization (the development of internationally recognized scientific standards and structures), their segmentation (the internal specialization of the social sciences and the rise of subdisciplines that it entailed), and their relevance and impact (the extent to which they proved valuable to political actors, public policies, media commentaries, etc.). These analytical objectives have been achieved through the study of various objects, ranging from key paradigms – such as behavioralism (Farr 1995; Hauptmann 2012) to academic institutions – such as the London School of Economics and Political Science, the French Sciences Po, or the Columbia Department of Sociology (Favre 1989; Abbott 1999; Scot 2011), professional organizations – such as the American Political Science Association and the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology (Gunnell 2006; Moscovici and Markova 2006), and scientific journals (Boncourt 2007; Gingras and Heilbron 2009).

The purpose of this chapter is to contribute to these efforts. It does so by comparing the development of two international social science associations, both created in 1949 and now well established in their respective discipline: the International Political Science Association (IPSA) and the International Sociological Association (ISA). The added value of the chapter lies in this comparative perspective: while most of the existing literature has focused on single disciplines, this chapter seeks to capture processes common to different social sciences, and to identify disciplinary specificities. The chapter deliberately follows an inductive approach: rather than defining *a priori* hypotheses, it studies the history of the two associations in order to compare aspects of the autonomization (1), professionalization (2), and internationalization (3) of political science and sociology from the 1950s onwards. In a final discussion, the chapter reflects on how these findings challenge our understanding of the post-war transnational development of the social sciences (4). It notably argues that the internationalization of these disciplines should not be accounted

for as a single mechanism driving them all in the same direction (e.g. that of an “Americanization”) but, rather, as a plural process that takes different forms and shapes sciences in different ways depending on disciplinary, social, and political contexts.

The chapter uses three types of sources. Data were gathered from the archives of IPSA and UNESCO as well as from private archives (Appendix: Table 4.6). Oral accounts of the history of IPSA were also collected through interviews with some of the actors and witnesses to its development (Appendix: Table 4.7). Data on the case of ISA came from the ISA secretariat, the ISA website, the UNESCO archives, and secondary sources. It notably relies on Jennifer Platt’s work on the history of the association (Platt 1998).

Scientific Associations Without Sciences

The history of IPSA and ISA constitutes a good observation point for autonomization processes. The struggle of both associations, in their early years, for autonomy *vis-à-vis* political actors (section “[The Entanglement Between Science and Politics](#)”) and other disciplines (section “[Claiming Jurisdiction over Uncertain Areas of Knowledge](#)”) is revealing of the tensions that mar and hamper the development of emerging disciplines as, in Abbott’s words, they lay jurisdictional claims over specific areas of knowledge (Abbott 1988).

The Entanglement Between Science and Politics

Like other international social science associations – such as the International Economic Association, the International Union of Psychological Science, and the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences – IPSA and ISA were founded at the end of the 1940s. Their creation can be considered surprising, as both disciplines were weakly structured at the time and did not appear to provide solid grounds for transnational development. Political studies were little developed at the organizational level: over the first half of the twentieth century, professional

associations had been created only in the United States, Canada, Finland, India, and China, and there were no transnational interactions between these entities (Trent and Coakley 2000; Boncourt 2009). The discipline was also weakly institutionalized in the university system: in most countries, the study of politics had few autonomous chairs, and was subordinate to other more established academic disciplines such as law, history and philosophy (Stein 1995). The situation was similar in sociology, as autonomous professional associations existed in only eight countries: Belgium, Brazil, China, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United States. Sociology also had little institutional autonomy and “many countries then had few or no sociologists, or even social scientists, clearly distinct from members of other disciplines” (Platt 1998). However, some measure of international connection existed, as was embodied by the International Institute of Sociology, a learned society founded in 1893 (see section “[Claiming Jurisdiction over Uncertain Areas of Knowledge](#)”).

The impetus for the unlikely creation of transnational social science organizations came in both cases from an external actor, rather than from scientists themselves. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), created after the Second World War with a view of contributing to the strengthening of international peace through cultural actions, played a key role in this process (Maurel 2010). UNESCO saw the stimulation of the development of the social sciences as an important aspect of its mission. This rested on the assumption that “cultivating the science of human relations” would “increase international understanding”, strengthen “civilization”, help establish a “peaceful world order” and, therefore, “benefit mankind” (UNESCO 1947, 1949a; Angell 1950). UNESCO’s view was that the building up of connections between social scientists around the world would diminish the weight of existing “national traditions” and favor the rise of universal social scientific knowledge which would, in turn, have a positive influence on international politics:

It is not certain whether one can speak of political science *per se*, or whether one should not speak, rather, of British, French, American, Italian, Spanish, etc., political science, in view of the substantial differences of approach, methods of analysis and terminology. These differences, often combined

with a regrettable lack of information on what has been achieved in other countries, result at times in the development of an “ethnocentric” attitude on the part of national groups of political scientists. This attitude is hardly conducive to mutual understanding among political scientists. (...)

If this process of integration of “national” political science into political science took place, those who are trained, or in any way influenced, by political scientists might better understand each other above and beyond national differences and barriers. Is it, then, valid to assume that the scientific study of politics is likely to contribute, in itself, to welfare and peace within and between nations? (UNESCO 1948, emphasis added)

These principles led UNESCO to sponsor the organization of international gatherings in all social science disciplines. These gatherings, which will be discussed in greater detail below, paved the way for the creation of international social science associations, including IPSA and ISA. Both of these associations took the shape of a federation of national associations and explicitly endorsed UNESCO’s objectives:

The ISA wishes to cooperate with UNESCO and the United Nations by mobilizing the talent and resources of the sociologists of the world in order to find a solution to the problems with which these organizations are concerned and to whose solution sociology can contribute. (UNESCO 1949c)

The Social Science Department of UNESCO (SSD) and international social science organizations were strongly connected. Several facts illustrate the depth of this connection in the 1950s and early 1960s. Both IPSA and ISA relied heavily, if not exclusively, on UNESCO funding and conducted several studies at its request. Some echoed UNESCO’s objective of assessing the state of the social sciences in the world and encouraging their transnational development, with ISA and IPSA both surveying the development of teaching practices in their respective discipline (e.g. Robson 1952). Other studies resonated with UNESCO’s interest in promoting international peace and development: ISA thus supervised studies on “international tensions”, “peaceful cooperation”, “the access of women to education”, “the positive contribution of immigrants” and “the role of the middle classes in development in the Mediterranean area”

(Platt 1998), while IPSA coordinated studies on “the role of minorities in international relations”, “the minimum conditions for an effective and permanent union of states” and “the political role of women” (Meynaud 1950b; AFSP 1952). These research themes occupied an important share of both associations’ congresses. In addition to these intellectual links, social connections can also be observed between UNESCO and international social science organizations. IPSA and ISA congresses and executive committee meetings were thus regularly attended by UNESCO envoys. In the case of ISA, some UNESCO staff even became more directly involved in the running of the association as two of its presidents and one of its secretaries were or had been involved in UNESCO or SSD activities (Platt 1998).

The depth of these connections soon generated tensions. As associations became institutionalized, they also developed their own organizational and intellectual agenda, distinct from that of UNESCO, and gradually grew frustrated with UNESCO’s mingling with scientific affairs. A reluctance to see IPSA “pledged” to UNESCO had already been expressed at the Association’s founding conference, leading to skepticism about the idea of locating its seat in Paris, where UNESCO was also based (UNESCO 1949d). In later years, internal correspondence showed the growing exacerbation of IPSA political scientists with the “sheer ignorance” of SSD staff, with IPSA secretary Jean Meynaud stating that relations with UNESCO were “one of the most delicate and irritating part” of his function (Meynaud 1954, 1955). Meynaud thus reacted with annoyance to UNESCO interventions, notably when they entailed epistemological prescriptions:

I’d like to make one very friendly criticism. You kindly forwarded your proposals for a document drawn up for the natural sciences department. I read the document without deriving any benefit from it, and I was sorry for the time I wasted on it. At the present stage, the needs and problems of the social sciences are completely novel and specific to them. People in the hard sciences tend to attribute universal value to their arguments and contributions. For once, I’d like the department of social sciences to stop encouraging this extremely futile tendency and leave it to us to decide what suits the disciplines we are responsible for. (Meynaud 1952, translation)

These tensions are emblematic of the ambiguous character of the relationship between emerging disciplines and the political field in the 1950s. While political contexts and actors were instrumental in providing the impetus for the postwar development of the social sciences, they also clashed with common representations of science as a value-free and objective endeavor, to be carried out by neutral specialists. Affirming the scientific character of studies of things social and political implied biting the hand that fed and claiming an autonomous agenda, in spite of an obvious financial dependency. Such struggles for autonomy *vis-à-vis* politics paralleled rivalries with neighboring disciplines.

Claiming Jurisdiction over Uncertain Areas of Knowledge

The new associations were not created in a scientific vacuum. As they emerged, they claimed jurisdiction over areas of knowledge and activity that were already covered by more established disciplines and professional associations. The foundation of ISA and IPSA thus triggered debates and faced resistances.

These difficulties were especially acute in the case of IPSA, as political studies then had fewer institutional and intellectual autonomy than sociology. In the 1940s, there was no widespread agreement on the idea that political issues should be analyzed with a distinctive intellectual apparatus. Debates over whether political activities should be a subject for scientific studies were vivid. While they took, as seen above, different shapes in each specific national context (e.g. Collini et al. 1983; Damme 1987), they resulted in a similar situation in most countries: studies of things political were seen as best carried out by scholars of law, history, or philosophy, using these disciplines' own approaches (Barents 1961; Grant 2010; Blondiaux and Gaiiti 2011).

This situation resulted in uncertainties for participants to the founding meeting of IPSA, who seemed to be unsure of what exactly they were creating. Disagreements were made explicit by a discussion of the extent to which the prospective association differed from the International Institute of Administrative Sciences (IIAS), which was already operating

in Brussels. Some participants expressed their doubts that there was any real demarcation line between the respective fields of research of the two organizations and argued that this implied close cooperation between IIAS and IPSA and even a joint secretariat, while others defended the idea that the two organizations covered different intellectual grounds and should be clearly distinguished:

[French delegate] Professor [Maurice] Duverger thought that [...] it would be fatal to the future of political science to establish over-close relations with an Institute of Administrative Sciences. Such an institute is mainly concerned with administrative technique, that is to say, with problems of method, output and practice. The aim of the present Association differs in that it proposes to define sociological laws. Such a difference is the same as that between medicine, which is an art, and biology, which is a science, the latter enabling progress to be made in the former. [...]

[Swiss delegate] Professor [Marcel] Bridel thought that, if it was necessary to establish categories, it was also undeniable that problems of political science and administration were closely related. If administrative practice included remedies for the errors of democratic power, it also included dangers for democracy [...]. He therefore considered the administrative problem mainly as a political problem and, although it was advisable for political scientists to envisage problems on a higher plane, they should also be familiar with administrative techniques. It was therefore good that the present Organization should maintain close contacts with the IIAS. (UNESCO 1949d)

The fact that participants eventually opted for a clear separation between IPSA and IIAS (notably by establishing the former in Paris rather than Brussels) did not put an end to issues of disciplinary autonomy. In a world where very few scholars were formally labeled as “political scientists”, the newly founded IPSA experienced difficulties in identifying and recruiting relevant potential members. The Association’s secretariat thus resorted to a strategy of treading and poaching on other disciplines, as it tentatively reached out to academics from neighboring academic fields as well as to politicians:

1. In your country, is there a National Association or simply groups representing specialists in political science? I would like to make it clear that

the term should be understood rather broadly and, in principle, should be considered to apply to professors of Public Law and Government as well. In the event that such a group exists, would it be possible for you to send me its address and the name of the people in charge?

2. Is it possible to obtain a list of the specialists in political science and public law in your country? (Meynaud 1950a)

Participants to the international meetings preparatory to the founding of ISA were not faced with similar difficulties. With sociology comparatively more recognized as a legitimate object of study than political science, resistances to the setting up of a new association came mostly from within the discipline, and remained relatively mild. One organization, the International Institute of Sociology (IIS), already claimed to serve ISA's purpose, as it had been set up in 1893 with a view of developing international connections in sociology, and had organized international conferences in the first half on the twentieth century. The relatively small scale of IIS, with its membership limited to a few individuals elected by their peers, and the fact that some of its members had had close connections with authoritarian regimes¹ allowed the founders of ISA to overlook it, claiming that "no effective international organization of sociologists at present exist[ed]" (UNESCO 1949b). While this did not go without tensions and triggered rivalries between the two associations between 1950 and 1953, ISA's quick growth meant that it effectively operated on a different scale than IIS, and a form of 'friendly cooperation' was agreed in subsequent years (Platt 1998).

However more established than political science, sociology was still a loosely defined field. Participants to ISA preparatory meetings saw sociology as a heterogeneous body of knowledge, with the label referring to different intellectual contents in different countries:

1. Sociological study, teaching and research are variously developed in the different countries of the world.
2. Sociology as an academic discipline evidences widely varying content in different countries of the world and even among various centers in the same country.
3. Public recognition, financial support and understanding of the scientific character and practical implications of sociology differ widely from country to country. (UNESCO 1949b)

The lack of agreement over disciplinary perimeters meant that ISA and IPSA were in the dark about the knowledge that they were meant to promote and the scholars that they should gather. This led both associations to engage in a form of stocktaking and definitional activity. By publishing, from the early 1950s, classified and updated bibliographical information about what they defined as their discipline (through, respectively, the *International Political Science Abstracts* and the journal *Current Sociology*), IPSA and ISA contributed to defining the boundaries of their field and claiming jurisdiction over certain areas of knowledge (Table 4.1).

These processes reveal the extent to which, in both cases, organizational interests (becoming independent from a mother organization and neighboring disciplinary associations; recruiting members; claiming jurisdiction over a specific domain) served the autonomization of disciplines (developing a scientific agenda distinct from political ones; defining clear boundaries with related fields). Founding such associations meant creating new social roles (Lagroye 2012) whose holders (officers and members of IPSA and ISA) had an objective interest in strengthening their new disciplinary label, in order to reinforce their organization and their own position and prestige. As individual, organization, and disciplinary interests merged, associations created before their disciplines played a key role in the emergence of the new sciences.

Table 4.1 Themes covered by organized bibliographies

Current sociology	International political science abstracts
I/ Introductory Généralités	I/ Political science: methods and theories
II/ General sociology	II/ Political ideas and thinkers
III/ Institutions and groups	III/ Political and administrative institutions
IV/ Social interaction and intergroup relations	IV/ Political life: public opinion, attitudes, parties, forces, groups, and elections
V/ Social control	V/ International relations
VI/ Communication	VI/ National and regional studies
VII/ Social development and change	
VIII/ Sociology of primitive and underdeveloped peoples	
IX/ Social surveys	
X/ Social pathology	
XI/ Applied sociology	

The Strained Professionalization of Disciplines

The study of the subsequent history of ISA and IPSA provides information about the way in which these associations, and their respective disciplines, became increasingly structured and professionalized. The comparison reveals striking common points in the pace and form of their development.

These similarities are, first, tangible at the membership level. As seen above, the social scientists who became officers in the new associations had an interest in strengthening them, and they immediately set out to contact social scientists in various countries to encourage the creation of national associations that could then become members of ISA and IPSA. These actions bore fruit in both disciplines: eleven national associations were founded and joined ISA between 1950 and 1953; in the same time frame, ten affiliates were created and joined IPSA. As collective membership kept growing steadily throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the number of participants to world congresses also increased (Fig. 4.1). From the

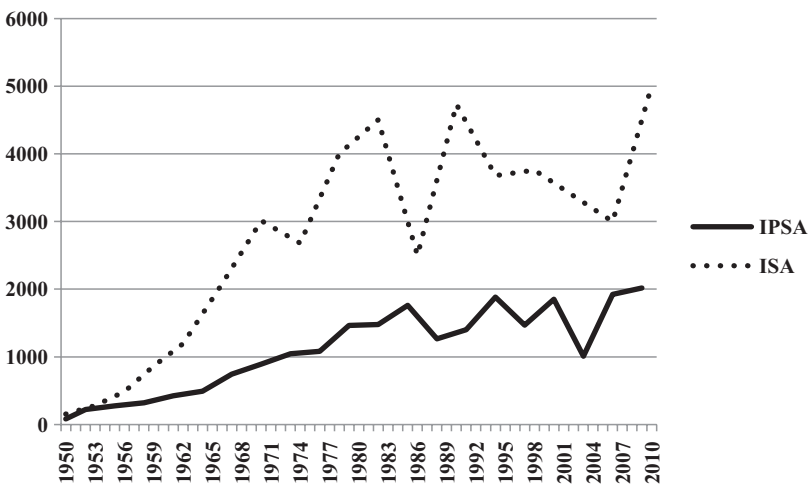


Fig. 4.1 Individual participation in World Congresses (1950–2012) (Source: realized by the author on the basis of data gathered from Platt 1998; Boncourt 2009, the IPSA and ISA websites, as well as personal communication with the secretariats of both associations)

1970s, individual membership (a category to which we will return *infra*) also rose dramatically, so that ISA and IPSA could soon claim a certain representativeness of their respective discipline (Fig. 4.2).²

In addition to growing at a relatively comparable pace, ISA and IPSA diversified their activities in a very similar way. While they essentially focused on the organization of world congresses in their early years, both associations set out to publish journals, fund specialized “research committees”, and award prizes at a later stage (Table 4.2).

The rise in associations’ membership and the diversification of their activities were the consequences of three parallel processes. They were a product of the *growth of the political science and sociology communities, and of the increasing legitimacy of IPSA and ISA* within those fields. The striking similarities between the pace and shape of the development of the two associations also resulted from the *emergence of a transnational field of the social sciences*: with disciplinary boundaries relatively porous, some scholars circulated between ISA and IPSA and imported practices with them. Stein Rokkan is an obvious example of this. A long term

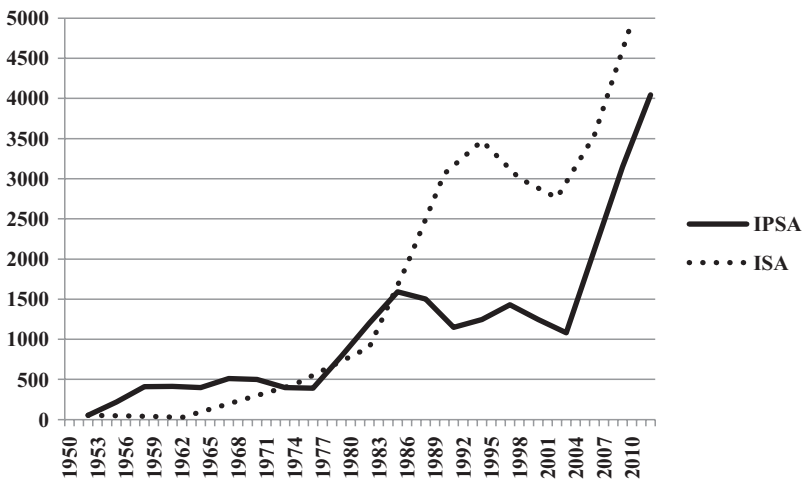


Fig. 4.2 Individual membership of associations (1950–2012) (Source: realized by the author on the basis of data gathered from Platt 1998; Boncourt 2009, the IPSA and ISA websites, as well as personal communication with the secretariats of both associations)

Table 4.2 ISA and IPSA's launch of new activities

	ISA		IPSA	
World congress	First world congress	1950	1950	First world congress
Bibliography	<i>Current sociology</i>	1952	1951	<i>IPS abstracts</i>
Specialized groups	Research committees	1962	1964	Research committees
Newsletter	<i>ISA Bulletin</i>	1971	1977	<i>Participation</i>
Journal	<i>International sociology</i>	1986	1980	<i>Internat. Pol. Sci. Review</i>
Prize	Competition for young sociologists	1987	1982	Stein Rokkan Award

member of the governing bodies of ISA, Rokkan could have become its president in 1970 had he not been elected president of IPSA beforehand. In this capacity, he played a key role in importing the concept of research committees into IPSA – the RC he himself founded, the RC on political sociology, being the first to be recognized by both associations. Similarly Raymond Aron, who played an instrumental role in the creation of IPSA (Boncourt 2009) was later an EC member (1962–1966) and a Vice President of ISA (1966–1970). The fact that associations had been founded under the same UNESCO umbrella acted as further incentives for isomorphism. Lastly, the parallel growth of ISA and IPSA was a consequence of the *increasing stabilization of scientific norms and standards* in sociology and political science. As disciplines became more autonomous, scientific concepts, methods, and agendas distinct from those of neighboring disciplines were developed and triggered the emergence of increasingly specialized journals, prizes, *et cetera*. The creation of research committees (RCs) is particularly significant in this regard: while the associations under study were initially mostly preoccupied with setting the boundaries of their field and creating a transnational community of relevant scholars, aspirations to develop long-term scientific agendas led to the institutionalization of research groups specialized in particular topics and able to organize a substantial share of world congress sessions. RCs were first introduced in 1959 (ISA) and 1964 (IPSA), and quickly grew in size (the largest of them counting hundreds of members), autonomy (some RCs publish their own journals, such as the *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology*), and numbers (in 2014, IPSA and ISA had respectively 51 and 52 RCs).

This story could be told as that of disciplines following a smooth (and, from a normative point of view, desirable and unavoidable) path to increasing professionalization. While there is truth in the claim that both associations, and their respective disciplines, became increasingly professionalized during the second half of the twentieth century, such a narrative would obscure the fact that this professionalization was a strained process.

Part of this strain was of an organizational nature. As they grew in size, both associations had trouble adapting their structures to the demands they faced. Secretariats that had for a long time been run by amateurs were soon faced with the task of organizing world congresses for thousands of individual participants and managing several publications. This strain also had financial aspects as the growth of associations coincided with a decrease of UNESCO subventions: following the withdrawal of the United States (1984) and the United Kingdom (1985) from UNESCO, the latter lost 25 percent of its budget and its priorities shifted to other domains (Bustamante 2014). Thus, in spite of their growing size and importance, IPSA and ISA offered a paradoxical image of fragile entities in the late 1970s,³ and had to reform their structures. Changes included the development of individual membership and the creation of journals in order to gain new financial resources (membership dues, journal subscriptions), and a strengthening of administrative structures. After being run for more than thirty years by a part-time secretary general, ISA established a proper secretariat led by a professional administrator (1987), and later added a part-time scientific secretary to the staff (1996) (Platt 1998). IPSA followed the same road some years later: by striking a partnership with Montreal International, a private-public body whose mandate is to attract foreign direct investments and international organizations to the Quebec capital, the Association established its seat in Montreal in return for significant funding that allowed for the creation of several administrative positions.

While these changes resulted in both associations becoming increasingly viable from a financial point of view, they did not solve all issues associated with professionalization. As the number of participants to world congresses grew, the nature of these gatherings changed. Informality

gave way to more formal rules, and junior participants criticized the "old boy networks" that dominated previous gatherings, while more senior scholars regretted the progressive disappearance of "congresses between friends". The decision-making process of associations also came under fire. As RCs became increasingly important in the organization of IPSA and ISA's activities, some of their members criticized the dominance of representatives of national associations in the decision-making bodies of associations. When calling for more representation of RCs within these bodies, they described the system in place as "premised on Cold War politics" (Platt 1998) and out of sync with the evolutions of disciplines. These critics, however, faced strong resistances that stemmed from political stances. Within ISA, national associations from Soviet bloc countries resisted the growing representation of RCs, as it meant the end of geographical balance in the structures of ISA and effectively took matters out of national political control. By contrast, the American Sociological Association (ASA) repeatedly pushed for an increasing representation of individuals in ISA governing bodies. The latter view gradually prevailed and led to a more important representation of RCs in ISA and IPSA's structure, with the current system a combination of national association and RC based modes of representation.

These tensions are symptomatic of the change in scientific training that came with the professionalization of disciplines: as new scientific norms, theories, and methods took hold, younger generations were socialized to conceptions of their disciplines and their roles as scientists different from those of their predecessors.⁴ Different dispositions towards science and disciplines coexisted within emerging disciplinary fields and triggered generational disagreements, which were all the more heated that they involved organizational path dependency mechanisms (with ISA and IPSA having institutionalized a particular conception of their discipline in their decision making procedures) and the social interests of the scholars involved (who could be reluctant to see their position threatened, or keen to move up relevant hierarchies). Professionalization thus created the conditions for the emergence of new social roles, which in turn fuelled struggles over the nature and purpose of science and specific disciplines.

Different Forms of Scientific Internationalism: From Hegemony to Pluralism

The comparative study of ISA and IPSA also provides insights into the understanding of processes of scientific internationalization. As seen above, the assumption underlying the creation of both associations was that internationalization was an essential part of the path that social knowledge must walk in order to become truly scientific. While this view was first expressed by UNESCO, it was also endorsed by social scientists themselves, who set the “exchange of information” and intellectual convergence across national boundaries as one of the key objectives for ISA and IPSA (UNESCO 1949c).

This line of reasoning acted as a rationale for undertaking stocktaking and boundary defining activities, notably through the creation of *Current Sociology* and the *International Political Science Abstracts* (see section “[Scientific Associations Without Sciences](#)”). It also led both associations to try to cover a wide regional perimeter. Their secretary generals sought to encourage the creation of national associations in multiple countries, with mixed success. This resulted in both associations’ membership revolving mostly around Western Europe in their early years. Originally founded by the American, French, Indian and Canadian associations, IPSA soon admitted as members several European countries such as the United Kingdom, Sweden (1950), Austria, Greece, Belgium (1951), Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia (1952), Holland (1953), Norway (1956), Spain (1958), Switzerland (1959), and Denmark (1961). Only one of these early members was from Eastern Europe (the Polish association, which joined in 1950), and it was only in the mid-1960s that other associations from the same area joined: Czechoslovakia (1964), Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania (1968). As sociology was more widely institutionalized to begin with, ISA could quickly rely on a more diversified membership (including, for example, Brazil, China and Japan) though the majority of its collective members were European.

This European emphasis had bearing on both associations’ structures and activities. Their first executive committees were predominantly Western European, with 46% of the first ISA EC and 50% of the first

IPSA EC based in Western Europe. This was linked to the fact that the first officers of both associations had put the emphasis on efficiency and sought to choose EC members who were geographically close to each other and able to convene EC meetings on a regular basis. In line with this idea, both secretariats remained located in Europe for a long time, respectively in Paris (1949–1955 and 1960–1967) and Brussels (1955–1960 and 1967–1976) in the case of IPSA, and in Oslo (1950–1953), London (1953–1959), Louvain (1959–1962), Geneva (1962–1967) and Milan (1967–1974) in the case of ISA. Correlatively, the first non-Western European congresses of both associations were only held in 1962 (ISA) and 1973 (IPSA). Even then, congresses were held in North America, and it was not before the 1970s that congresses were organized in non-Western countries (ISA in 1970 in Varna, IPSA in 1979 in Moscow). Internationalization, in those years, thus appeared to be vastly synonymous with the building of transnational connections within Western Europe and between Western Europe and North America. As evidenced elsewhere (Boncourt 2015), this resulted in the diffusion of American concepts and methods in Western Europe, in a process that could be described as hegemonic (L’Estoile 2008). This process is closely related to the context of the intellectual Cold War: in the same way that the Marshall Plan strengthened economic connections between Western Europe and the United States, American funding agencies and philanthropic foundations worked to make the two continents converge intellectually (Gemelli 1998; Tournès 2011).

However, this emphasis on Western Europe, transatlantic connections, and transnational convergence changed from the 1970s onwards. For the first time, in the early 1970s, the proportion of Western European members of both associations’ ECs fell below 40%, signaling a tendency towards gradual decline (Tables 4.3 and 4.4). Both associations’ secretariats also moved to non-European countries, respectively to Ottawa (1976–1988) and Montreal (2000–...) in the case of IPSA, and to Montreal (1974–1982) in the case of ISA. World congresses were held for the first time in North America in the 1960s and 1970s, in Eastern Europe in the 1970s, in Latin America in the 1980s, in Asia in the 1980s and 1990s, and in Africa in the 2000s (Table 4.5). As will be detailed further below, a much larger number of countries is now represented in both

Table 4.3 Geographical location of executive committee members – ISA (percentages)

	1950	1953	1956	1959	1962	1966	1970	1974	1978
Africa	9	9	9	0	0	0	7	13	6
Asia	18	27	18	9	9	18	13	13	18
Eastern Europe	9	0	9	9	18	18	20	20	24
Western Europe	46	46	46	64	55	46	33	40	24
Latin America	9	9	9	9	9	9	7	0	12
North America	9	9	9	9	9	9	20	13	18
Oceania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N	11	11	11	11	11	11	15	15	17

	1982	1986	1990	1994	1998	2002	2006	Total
Africa	6	6	0	5	9	4	9	6
Asia	12	18	12	10	9	21	17	15
Eastern Europe	9	6	18	5	9	8	9	12
Western Europe	56	47	53	48	41	38	26	43
Latin America	6	6	6	10	9	8	13	8
North America	12	18	12	19	18	17	22	15
Oceania	0	0	0	5	5	4	4	2
N	17	17	17	21	22	24	23	254

Source: Author's calculations on the basis of data gathered in ISA and IPSA archives

associations and their collective and individual memberships are much more evenly spread at the geographical level than they used to be (Figs. 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5). Linguistic changes have also occurred: while English has undoubtedly gained currency as a social scientific lingua franca, measures have been taken to preserve the importance of other languages. French-speaking associations have been created with the support of ISA (the Association des Sociologues de Langue Française, founded in 1958) and IPSA (the Congrès International des Associations Francophones de Science Politique, created in 2005), and Spanish has become recognized as a 'working' language by both associations following congresses in the Spanish-speaking world in the 1980s and 1990s. The reluctance to go beyond the boundaries of the Western world thus progressively made way for a more pluralistic kind of internationalization which emphasized the values of national diversity instead of insisting on the necessity to soften national specificities in order to become truly scientific.

Several explanations could be put forward to make sense of this shift from a hegemonic to a more pluralistic kind of internationalization. The

Table 4.4 Geographical location of executive committee members – IPSA (percentages)

	1950	1952	1955	1958	1961	1964	1967	1970	1973	1976	1979
Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	6	6	11	0
Asia	17	15	13	13	7	20	13	17	17	17	22
Eastern Europe	8	0	7	7	13	13	13	11	17	17	11
Western Europe	50	54	53	60	53	47	47	44	39	39	39
Latin America	8	8	7	7	7	7	0	6	6	6	11
North America	17	23	20	13	20	13	20	17	17	11	17
Oceania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N	12	13	15	15	15	15	15	18	18	18	18

	1982	1985	1988	1991	1994	1997	2000	2003	2006	Total
Africa	6	0	0	6	6	6	6	6	6	4
Asia	22	22	22	17	22	17	28	24	11	18
Eastern Europe	6	6	11	11	11	11	6	6	17	10
Western Europe	50	56	39	33	39	44	39	41	33	44
Latin America	11	6	11	17	6	6	6	12	17	8
North America	6	11	17	17	17	17	17	12	11	15
Oceania	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
N	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	17	18	333

Source: Author’s calculations on the basis of data gathered in ISA and IPSA archives

first would be the enduring impact of UNESCO’s emphasis on geographical balance, in spite of its weakening hold on organizations’ structures (see section “[The Strained Professionalization of Disciplines](#)”). A second line of explanation would put the emphasis on the changes in the shape of international politics over the last half century: with the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of the United States from UNESCO structures, political pressures for Americanization have had less prominence and counter-hegemonic currents have gained currency (Keim 2011). A third type of explanation would insist on the development of other international social science associations and the emergence of a competitive transnational social science field: with the rise of other organizations that explicitly focused on importing American standards into Europe (such as the European consortiums for political and sociological research – see Boncourt 2016), internationalization gatherings such as IPSA and

Table 4.5 Geographical location of World Congresses

	IPSA	ISA
1950s	Zurich	Zürich
	The Hague	Liège
	Stockholm	Amsterdam
	Rome	Milan-Stresa
1960s	Paris	Washington
	Geneva	Evian
	Brussels	
1970s	Munich	Varna
	Montreal	Toronto
	Edinburgh	Uppsala
	Moscow	
1980s	RIO DE JANEIRO	MEXICO
	Paris	<i>New Delhi</i>
	Washington	
1990s	BUENOS AIRES	Madrid
	Berlin	Bielefeld
	<i>Seoul</i>	Montreal
2000s	Quebec	<i>Brisbane</i>
	Durban	Durban
	<i>Fukuoka</i>	
	SANTIAGO	
2010s	Madrid	Gothenburg
	Montreal	<i>Yokohama</i>
	Poznan	
	<i>Brisbane</i>	Toronto

North America	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	<i>Asia and Oceania</i>	LATIN AMERICA	<i>Africa</i>
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Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of data gathered in ISA and IPSA archives. The 2016 IPSA congress was originally scheduled to take place in Istanbul, before security concerns led to its relocation in Poznan, Poland

ISA were driven to redefine their role to highlight their specific added value. In this perspective, the shift from hegemonic to pluralistic approaches would be part of a game of inter-organizational ‘distinction’ (Bourdieu 1979) in an increasingly dense and competitive field.

In spite of these many common points between IPSA and ISA, there are clear differences to be noted in the shape of their internationalization. Recent figures show that ISA has more countries represented in its membership (Fig. 4.3), and puts less emphasis on Western Europe and more on Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania than IPSA (Figs. 4.4 and 4.5).

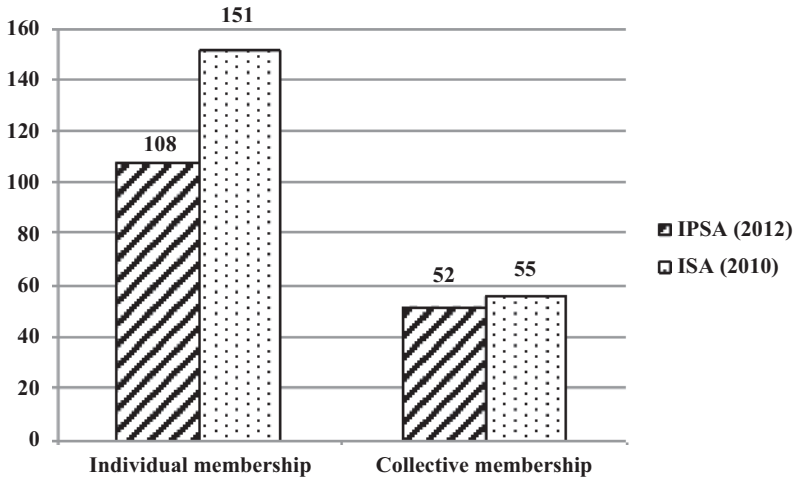


Fig. 4.3 Number of countries represented in each association (Source: Realized by the author on the basis of data communicated by the IPSA and ISA secretariats)

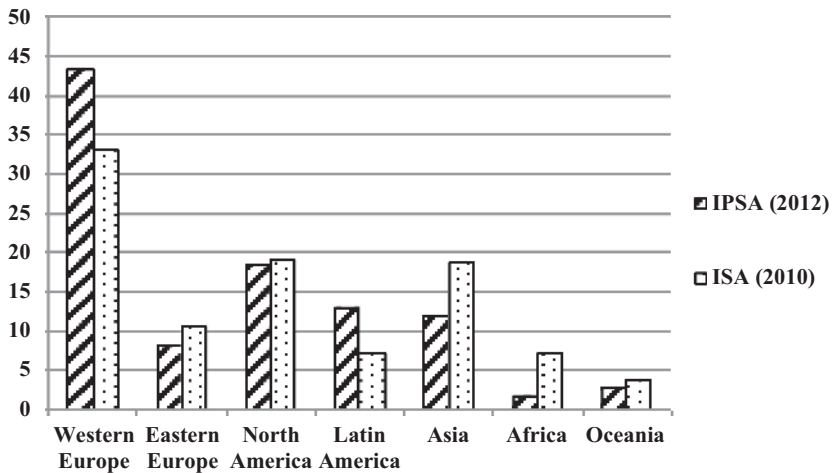


Fig. 4.4 Individual membership: breakdown by continent (percentages) (Source: Realized by the author on the basis of data communicated by the IPSA and ISA secretariats)

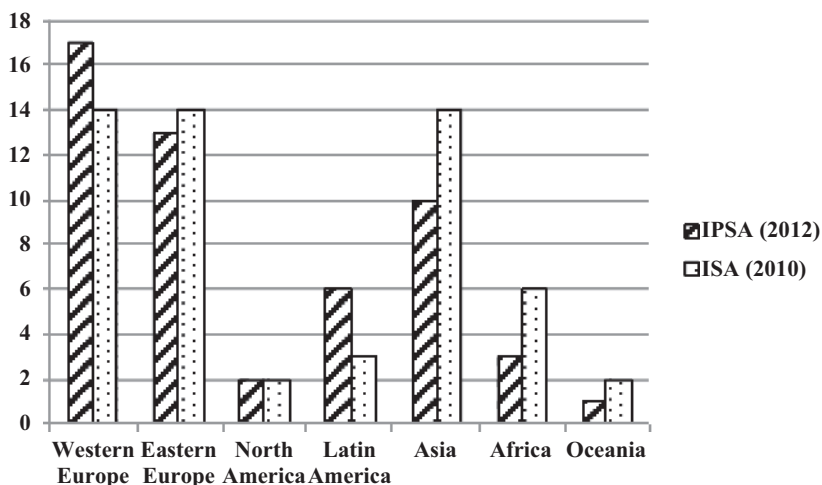


Fig. 4.5 Collective membership: breakdown by continent (percentages) (Source: Realized by the author on the basis of data communicated by the IPSA and ISA secretariats)

Again, three hypotheses could be put forward to explain these differences. One would highlight the differences in the development of both disciplines and argue that sociology is institutionalized in more countries than political science. Another would put the emphasis on the international structure of the discipline and argue that international political science is more dominated by Western intellectual standards than international sociology. A third could develop the same type of analysis while remaining centered on associations, by arguing that IPSA has closer connections to the Western world than ISA. While the reality is probably to be found at the intersection of these three tentative hypotheses, the empirical data is lacking to decide which might have more explanatory power.

Final Remarks: Roles, Fields, and Internationalization

The particular focus of this chapter – a comparison of the structures and activities of two international associations over more than a half century – inevitably provides a biased picture of the history of disciplines. It hides

several aspects of disciplinary development (such as the emergence and diffusion of ideas, the creation of university departments, the development of informal networks, etc.), and probably exaggerates the importance of professional associations in the history of disciplines. Nevertheless, this comparative analysis of ISA and IPSA has yielded three original results.

1. While rises in the number of departments, professional associations, scientific journals, *et cetera*, are classically taken as indicators of the growing intellectual development of disciplines, this chapter has shown that the creation of these structures may be as much a *cause* as a consequence of the emergence of sciences. When ISA, and particularly IPSA were created, sociology and especially political science did not exist as clearly identified and autonomous bodies of knowledge (Blondiaux and Gaiiti 2011). The two associations, however, played a key role in the development of their respective discipline. Their foundation created, or participated to the creation of, new social roles (those of officers and members of these associations and, to a certain extent, those of “political scientist” and “sociologist”), whose holders had an objective interest in mobilizing themselves for the autonomy and strength of both their organization and disciplinary label. As disciplines became increasingly structured by a growing diversity of organizations, institutions, and ideas, (the conceptions of) these roles became more diversified and fuelled struggles that, in turn, shaped disciplinary development. Borrowing the concept of “role” from the sociology of institutions (Lagroye 2012) for analyzing scientific dynamics thus yields promising results, and allows us to capture the dynamics of emerging disciplinary fields without resorting to teleological accounts of their history (Collini et al. 1983; Collini 1988). Disciplinary development is best captured as a strained and conflicted process than as a smooth path towards ever growing autonomy and professionalism.
2. The recent history of the social sciences has been dominated by studies of single disciplines. While this has allowed the literature to provide valuable insights into the relative autonomization of the social sciences, it has also obscured the fact that connections between these disciplines exist. This chapter has shown that the circulation of schol-

ars and ideas, and the imitation of best practices across disciplinary associations, has led to organizations and disciplines developing along similar lines. This suggests that, in the same way that transnational approaches are challenging dominant national representations of the history of the social sciences (Adcock et al. 2007; Guilhot 2014), so should transdisciplinary studies provide narratives different from dominant monodisciplinary accounts (Gingras and Heilbron 2015). There is virtue, from this perspective, in approaching global social sciences in a relational way, as a field shaped by interactions, circulations, and struggles both within and between disciplines (Bourdieu 1997; Heilbron 2014).

3. Scientific internationalization is often described as a convergence process, either through the incremental creolization of national scientific cultures (Rodríguez Medina 2014) or the hegemonic Americanization of disciplines (Keim 2011). This chapter has challenged these narratives by showing that, depending on the time periods, disciplines, and even organizations under study, internationalization may take different forms. What constitutes a legitimate form of internationalization is itself an object of struggle between scientists, scientific organizations, and actors external to the scientific field such as UNESCO, philanthropic foundations, and, more generally, funding agencies (Boncourt 2016). From this perspective, internationalization should be not be thought of as a context that shapes sciences but, rather, as a process that, irrespective of its structuring effects, is itself produced by struggles involving scientists and other social actors.

Appendix

Table 4.6 Archives

Archives	Place	Date	Files
Serge Hurtig (personal archives)	Centre d'Histoire de Sciences Po	03.2008	Section 1, Box 18 Section 1, Box 20 Section 2
UNESCO	UNESCO	12.2008	UNESDOC
IPSA	Concordia University	10.2008	Box 1
D.N. Chester (personal archives)	Nuffield College	06.2009	Box 121 Box 131, Folder 2

Table 4.7 Interviews

Name	Functions	Date
Serge Hurtig	Secretary General of IPSA 1960–1967 Editor of the <i>International Political Science Abstracts</i> 1963–2012	17.03.08
John Trent	Secretary General of IPSA 1976–1988	13.11.08

Notes

1. Corrado Gini, a prominent member of the Italian section of IIS, was thus “perhaps unwittingly, a spokesman of fascism”, as he “propounded an evolutionary conception of biological, demographic, cultural and social change that openly lent support to the regime” (Losito and Segre 1992: 50).
2. This graph takes into account membership figures only for congress years, as more precise data could not be gathered in the case of the ISA. In the case of IPSA, yearly data shows that the association experiences significant drops in its membership during non-congress years. As pointed out by Platt (1998), this is also the case for ISA and a number of other international social science associations.
3. This fragility was made visible by the fact that both associations were left on the verge of bankruptcy by difficult congresses, organized respectively in Uppsala for ISA (in 1978) and in Moscow for IPSA (in 1979).
4. This evolution could be described as an “autonomization”, as younger generations claimed to produce a science more autonomous from politics and neutral than their predecessors. This would, however, obscure the fact that this conception of scientific rationality was itself a product of the specific political climate of the Cold War (Solovey 2012; Erickson et al. 2013).

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Part II

Transnational Regionalization



5

Unity and Fragmentation in the Social Sciences in Latin America

Gustavo Sorá and Alejandro Blanco

Introduction

One of the goals of the Interco-SSH project was to study the emergence of a European research area. For the Argentine team, this inspired reflection on the experience of regionalization of SSH in Latin America. In the “Old Continent”, *European* associations and journals began to appear in the 1960s as transnational collaboration increased. These were the first of several indicators that a regional space for SSH was being configured, a process that accelerated during the 1980s, especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall (see Heilbron, Boncourt and Timans in this volume). In Latin America, regionalization was an integration experience that began in the 1950s and was interrupted by the

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*, Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_5

repression that SSH suffered in the last cycle of military dictatorships. In this chapter we analyse the regionalization cycle of SSH in Latin America to contribute to an understanding of the effects and meanings of this type of transnational structure in the development and autonomy of SSH in different regions across the globe. Where and when does science regionalization emerge? Under what conditions is regionalization possible? Beyond the policies that seek to foster such transnational integration, we will see that regionalization depends on specific cultural processes and socio-political constraints.

The movement of science institutionalization observed in this chapter resulted from the support and initiative of the supranational entities created during the second half of the twentieth century (UNESCO, Organization of American States, UN), of certain national governments, especially those of developmental orientation, of the leading Latin American state universities, and of American philanthropic foundations, mainly Ford and Rockefeller. During this same period, other academic disciplines were being modernized and international funding was also on the rise in other continents, especially Europe. Regionalization, however, was most prominently manifested in Latin America, as evidenced by professional organizations, regional teaching centres, and by research projects, journals and book series on Latin America.

This significant and long-lasting development was contingent on a deep-rooted belief that Latin America constituted a unit and that understanding this unit was necessary to then make sense of each nation or sub-region. International conditions after 1945 encouraged integration among university and scientific communities, furthering ideals that date back to turn-of-the-century modernism. This was inspired by the writings among others¹ of Uruguayan José E. Rodó (1871–1917) and of Cuban José Martí (1853–1895) against the Monroe Doctrine.² As these ideas gained currency, the notion of Latin American unity was no longer based on the shared and lasting aftereffects of colonization and on Spanish and Portuguese as common languages, but instead on the search for independence in the face of the political and cultural domination of the United States and Western Europe. During the first half of the twentieth century, such ideals formed the basis for political movements of different

sorts across the region, many of which had anti-imperialist tendencies. Americanism promoted a common framework for the alliance of Latin American intellectuals, to stand up to imperialism and cultural domination. This cultural position was especially triumphant during and after World War II, a period when Europe was perceived as decadent. It was time to show Latin America as a “civilization”, a singular cultural experience, a space with its own unique social integration, not merely a product of European colonization. As this chapter will show, (Latin) Americanism was already paving the way for regional scientific collaboration. After 1945, the institutionalization of SSH made social scientists into a new kind of cultural specialists, replacing modern essayists as *the* authorities on the social, cultural and political issues of nation and region. During the period examined here, it is no coincidence that the Latin Americanist trend within the social sciences centred on politics after the Cuban Revolution and throughout the Cold War. For this very reason, the social sciences were the target of attacks and repression during the cycle of Latin American dictatorships, a cycle which resulted in the fragmentation of these projects and ideals. By imposing openness to the “global market”, the neoliberal policies of the 1990s and 2010s also contributed (and still contribute) to the disarticulation of Latin Americanism. In this study we interpret the process of regionalization in the social sciences in Latin America, noting the characteristics of this unification and tracing its timeline between 1950 and 1980. Although there are mentions of the fragmentation and current state of the transnational frameworks in different SSH disciplines, a complete interpretation of this topic is outside the scope of this work.³

This chapter starts by examining a series of selected indicators of regional institutionalisation: professional organisations, education and research institutions, journals, intellectual production and scientific conferences. Our analysis then expands to the field of publishing, which provides different insights into the relationship between the social sciences, politics and the broader market of symbolic goods. Academia and publishing represent two separate fields of symbolic production, with their own timelines, experts and structures. Trends in publishing are not merely reflections of what happens at universities and similarly, universities do not respond to the needs of publishing. As we shall see, ambitious SSH

book series were produced before the institutionalization of disciplines like sociology, psychology or anthropology, laying the groundwork for the development of scientific cultures.

Regionalization of the Social Sciences and Emergence of Latin America as a Research Topic

A specific cycle and environment are associated with the regionalization of the social sciences in Latin America. Certain countries in the region—and especially major cities like Buenos Aires, Mexico City and São Paulo—were poles of attraction for the new “Latin American social sciences.” By the mid-1950s these three cities boasted the region’s largest and most dynamic universities with renowned research and degree programs, intellectual leaders and influential institutions. The two most important social sciences publishers in the region, Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE) and Siglo XXI, also had their main offices in Mexico City. Farther south, the first regional centre for research in the social sciences opened in Rio de Janeiro and, later, two innovative graduate-level programs were instituted there, one in anthropology at the National Museum (Museu Nacional/1968) and the other in political science at the Rio de Janeiro University Research Institute (Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, or IUPERJ/1969). Yet the regionalization or “Latin Americanization” of the social sciences was most patent in Santiago, Chile, the headquarter of many international organizations associated with the social sciences, such as the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL) and the Latin American and Caribbean Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES). Unexpectedly, the Chilean capital thus became the most transnational and intellectually intense city in the region, a vital destination for any aspiring social scientist in Latin America (Garcia Jr. 2010).

To characterise the process of regionalisation of the SSH in Latin America, the following sections present: the most influential agents and the social capital they brought to bear in this process; the main regional

institutions; the first “Latin American” SSH journals; certain research projects that established Latin America as a topic of study.

Agents

Although all starting dates are arbitrary to some degree, we could say that the founding in 1948 of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), a U.N. institution headquartered in Santiago, was decisive for this regional development of the social sciences. Under the intellectual guidance and leadership of the Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch, who took charge of the institution in 1950, CEPAL soon boasted theoretical and doctrinal sway in terms of both the question of development and the very conception of the social sciences. In “El desarrollo económico de América Latina y algunos de sus principales problemas” (“The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems,” 1949), an essay that Albert Hirschman (1980) called a “Latin American manifesto” and which would be used as an outline for CEPAL’s program, Raúl Prebisch encouraged Latin American countries to abandon the “points of view of the great centres of world economy.” Latin America, in Prebisch’s view, needed to adopt a solid industrialization policy in order to overcome the stagnation that countries of the region were experiencing as a result of “a long-term decline in terms of trade.” Prebisch’s message was welcomed by both intellectual elites across the continent as well as the political groups in power in different countries in the region that made developmentalism state policy during this period.

Soon after joining CEPAL, Prebisch brought in a small group of young researchers from different countries. The majority were economists but there were a few sociologists as well (Hodara 1987; Garcia 1998). Most were under 30 years old and almost all had studied at US and European universities. Raúl Prebisch, who was nearing 50, was the only renowned Latin American among them. CEPAL’s unique emphasis on the importance of social and institutional factors in the process of economic and social development contributed to an intellectual alliance between economists and sociologists. Such an alliance, indeed, would more broadly

characterize academic production during this period.⁴ In this regard, the issue of economic development fostered common themes and programs of study in the social sciences across the continent. This, in turn, created political and intellectual expectations for a plan to modernize society and invest in science.

The aim of regional integration was unquestionably present at the beginning of the period, when in 1950 the first generation of sociology academics in the region—those who later became known as “chair sociologists”—founded the Latin American Association of Sociology (Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología, or ALAS), the world’s first regional association of sociology (Blanco 2005).⁵ However, the development of ALAS stalled due to the “amateur” nature of this generation of sociologists, mostly lawyers by profession, accustomed to channelling their intellectual concerns in the traditional genres of political essays and the history of ideas. In addition, the universities where they worked did not yet provide opportunities for a more effective professionalization of intellectual endeavours. In this regard, it was the next generation of social scientists to undertake the construction of a regional perspective in the social sciences when, in the mid-1950s, its members began to occupy important posts at the preminent institutions in the social sciences. Trained in the “scientific” methods of social research (fieldwork, extended use of statistics, case studies, comparative method, etc.) and guided by social reform ideals (state modernization, cultural integration, etc.), this was the generation that built the leading regional institutions both for education and for research and for its dissemination. In addition, it promoted an agenda for debate on Latin America’s situation—social stratification and mobility, authoritarianism, economic development and modernization—that would draw attention to the social sciences and make them a source of hope for the public.⁶

Europeans as Agents

Latin Americans were not the only agents involved in this process: Europeans like Gino Germani, José Medina Echavarría, Peter Heintz, Johan Galtung, Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Juan Marsal all played

fundamental roles the in building institutions and implementing research programs guided by the aim for “discovering Latin America” as a research theme and topic.

Born in Italy, Gino Germani (1911–1979) came to Argentina in 1934 after serving a four-year jail term for antifascist activities during the rule of Benito Mussolini. In Rome, Germani had studied economics and in Argentina, he graduated from the School of Philosophy and Literature at the Universidad de Buenos Aires. In 1955 Germani founded the Department of Sociology and the Sociology Institute at the Universidad de Buenos Aires and oversaw both entities until 1965. The Spaniard José Medina Echavarría (1903–1977), who had studied law and philosophy, served as an advisor to the Spanish Congress under the Republic and as a governmental business advisor in Warsaw. After the defeat of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War in 1939, Medina moved first to Mexico and later to Santiago, Chile. In addition to promoting intellectual renewal in the social sciences, Germani and Medina Echavarría were true institution builders. They were highly influential where the social sciences became a discipline and were later consolidated across Latin America, including publishing houses and journals, undergraduate and graduate programs, and regional centres for education and research. The Swiss sociologist Peter Heintz (1920–1983) and the Norwegian Johan Galtung (1930–) came to Santiago as UNESCO experts (Abarzúa Cutroni 2016). They played a decisive role in starting the first regional study centre, the Latin American School of the Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, or FLACSO). Heintz, who studied sociology in Köln with René König, ran the Latin American School of Sociology (Escuela Latinoamericana de Sociología, or ELAS) at FLACSO from 1960 to 1965. Before teaching at FLACSO, Galtung, a sociologist as well as a mathematician and a student of Paul Lazarsfeld, had taught social research methodology at Columbia University. The Catalanian Juan Marsal (1928–1979) came to Argentina in 1954. From 1959 to 1964, Marsal studied sociology with Germani and then received a grant from the National Scientific Research Council (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas, or CONICET) to study at Princeton University, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1965. Upon returning to Argentina, he headed the Social Research Institute (Instituto de

Investigaciones Sociales) at Torcuato Di Tella Institute and edited the *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología*. Soon after the persecution of Jews began in Germany, the young Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1932–2016) fled Germany with his family. After seeking refuge in several countries (Italy, Switzerland, Holland, USA), the Stavenhagens finally settled in Mexico in 1940. Stavenhagen graduated from high school there before attending the University of Chicago (1951). In 1958, Stavenhagen received a master's degree in social anthropology from Mexico's National School of Anthropology and History (Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia) and in 1965 he earned a Ph.D. in sociology at the Université de Paris. Between 1956 and 1976, he taught at UNAM's National School of Political and Social Sciences (Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, or ENCPyS), and from 1962 to 1964, he was the secretary general at the Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences (Centro Latinoamericano de Pesquisas em Ciências Sociais, or CLAPCS) in Rio de Janeiro and director of the journal *América Latina*.

Latin-Americans as Agents

A changed social and political context favoured the rise of a new class of cultural producers. Between 1930 and 1960, most of the countries of Latin America experienced profound changes in both their social structures and economic and political systems. Industrialization policy, the main aim of which was import substitution in response to the 1929 crisis, altered the distribution and social morphology of the Latin American population. The process of urbanization led to an imbalance between rural and urban life and the rise of new political movements that channelled the demands of these emerging groups (Peronism, Vargasism, etc.). These changes can also be seen in universities, where the student population rose considerably. Between 1950 and 1960, university enrolment in Argentina rose from 82,500 to 180,000; Brazil experienced a similar increase (from 51,000 to 95,700) as did Mexico, from 35,200 to 77,000. In some countries, this altered the balance, hierarchy and power relations between the different schools and disciplines on individual university campuses. Yet, in addition to size, the social composition of the university

population was also altered as a growing number of women, Jews and children of immigrants enrolled, especially in the emerging disciplines of the social sciences. The social and ethnic origins (working-class, first- or second-generation immigrants) of certain leaders of this new generation of Latin American social scientists, were indicative of this demographic shift in the university population (Blanco and Jackson 2015).

Some of the Latin-Americans who played decisive roles in the regional institutionalization of the SSH, were Florestán Fernandes, Pablo González Casanova, Orlando Fals Borda and Eduardo Hamuy. Their disposition to innovate was partly the result of their social origins together with close contact with foreign agents and institutions. For example, Florestán Fernandes (São Paulo 1920–1995) was the son of a housemaid and he studied at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Ciência Política and at the Universidade de São Paulo (USP) with the German anthropologist Herbert Baldus. His institutional professionalization began in 1954, when he succeeded Roger Bastide in the Sociology I chair at the USP. The Mexican sociologist Pablo González Casanova (Toluca 1922) received his Ph.D. at the Université de Paris-Sorbonne, under the guidance of Fernand Braudel. From 1957 to 1965, he directed the School of Political and Social Sciences, at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. The Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda (Barranquilla 1925–2008), who founded Colombia's first degree program in sociology in Bogota in 1959, earned his master's degree in sociology at the University of Minnesota and his Ph.D. in Latin American sociology at the University of Florida. Although he did not complete his Ph.D. studies, the Chilean sociologist Eduardo Hamuy, who introduced empirical sociology in his country, studied in the United States, taking classes on social research methodology at Columbia University, teaching and conducting research as a visiting professor at the City College of New York and working as a research assistant at the University of Wisconsin.

Institutions

The initiatives, the alliances and the efforts of this new generation of social scientists culminated in 1957 with an intergovernmental congress

that brought together government officials and science policy experts from 19 Latin American countries. The congress representatives voted to found two centres, one for teaching and the other for research: the Latin American School of the Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Santiago and the Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences (CLAPCS) in Rio de Janeiro. The Chilean economist and Christian democratic politician Gustavo Lagos Matus (Santiago de Chile, 1924–2003) was the first FLACSO director and Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto (Salvador de Bahia, 1920–2002) was the first head of CLAPCS.

FLACSO's mission was to train experts in the social sciences at the graduate level, a mission that national universities were not prepared to undertake due to lack of qualified staff. In this regard, the new institution was conceived of as interdisciplinary (sociology, economics, public administration and political science) and during the period analysed here, two regional instruction programs were launched, the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS) and the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration (Escuela Latinoamericana de Ciencia Política y Administración Pública, or ELACP) (Franco 2007; Beigel 2009).

ELAS, which opened its doors in 1958, became a powerful international centre. It became practically mandatory for ambitious graduate students in the social sciences to go there. Providing grants to around twenty students each year, the new school played an important role in shaping the intellectual capital of the social sciences in Latin America. From 1957 until 1973, when Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship sent a great number of academics and researchers into exile, ten cohorts of Latin American social scientists (174 men and 73 women) graduated from Latin American School of Sociology. The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration opened its doors in 1966 and four cohorts (46 men and 10 women) had graduated by 1973 (Franco 2007) (Table 5.1).

Finally, the Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences (CLAPCS) opened the same year as FLACSO, as part of the Brazilian Institute of Education, Science and Culture (Instituto Brasileiro de Educação, Ciência e Cultura, or IBECC) in Rio de Janeiro, headed by Luiz de Aguiar Costa Pinto until 1965. Since that year, it has been directed by Stavenhagen and subsequently by Manuel Diégues Jr. From the beginning, CLAPCS promoted comparative research and, between

Table 5.1 FLACSO as a training center for a Latin-American SSH elite

Country	Graduates at ELAS (1957–1973)	Graduates at ELACP (1966–1973)
Chile	69	23
Argentina	54	12
Brazil	29	9
Mexico	21	–
Peru	16	2
Colombia	11	2
Uruguay	10	–
Bolivia	5	–
Venezuela	5	–
El Salvador	5	–
Guatemala	4	1
Ecuador	4	–
Cuba	3	–
Haiti	3	2
Panamá	3	–
Paraguay	2	1
Other countries	3	–

1957 and 1970, it hosted 37 research projects, including the Centre's own projects as well as others initiated at the request of, or in collaboration with, other institutions.

Journals

Regional development can also be seen in the periodicals published during this period. Although the first national journals in the social sciences, such as the Brazilian *Sociologia* (USP-1939), the Mexican *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* (UNAM-1930) and the Argentine *Boletín del Instituto de Sociología* (UBA-1942), made their own attempt at regional integration by appointing social scientists from different Latin American countries to their editorial boards, it was not until the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s when two major journals hinted at the need for regional integration in their very names: *América Latina* and *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología*. First published by CLAPCS in Rio de Janeiro in 1958, *América Latina* was a quarterly publication. By 1976 it had published 251 articles (113 in Spanish, 76 in Portuguese, 45 in

English and 13 in French) by some of the most renowned and up-and-coming figures in sociology both in Latin America and internationally. Although most of the articles focus exclusively on country-specific issues, a good number (45 of 251 articles) address Latin America as a whole with an additional 11 offering comparative studies of two or more countries (Lippi de Oliveira 1995). Published by the Centro de Sociología Comparada (Centre of Comparative Sociology, or CSC) at the Torcuato Di Tella Institute, the *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* was launched in 1965 (it was published from 1965 to 1971 and then again from 1974 to 1975). A total of 95 articles were published in its 22 issues, in addition to 37 research notes, 81 reviews and 38 informational pieces. Almost a third of the articles published were about Latin America.

At the Torcuato di Tella institute, the Centre of Comparative Sociology (CSC) merits special mention. Founded in Buenos Aires by Gino Germani in 1964 with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, its research agenda mainly focused on demographic and social changes in Latin America. CSC researchers conducted numerous investigations on the social and political milieu in the region. The focus included the migration, urbanization and mobilization of new urban groups, the guidelines for change in social stratification, education and economic development. Working with a large network of institutions abroad, the centre was international right from the start. The seminar that the CSC organized in 1964 is indicative of the broad regional and international cooperation it fostered. Sponsored by the Social Sciences Research Council (USA) and UNESCO, the seminar on the discrepancies in the process of economic and social development in different countries of Latin America brought together 50 scientists from 18 countries (28 from Latin America, 11 from Europe and 10 from the United States).

Research Projects

The regional development of the social sciences made Latin America a topic of study in the social sciences, but it also fostered a new standard for intellectual production and collective scientific research between different institutions in the regions and works co-authored by European and US

social researchers and a new work style, i.e., comparative research. The collective study on the union structure of two Chilean industries located in the cities of Lota and Huachipato is a cogent example of this international collaboration. The research was conducted between 1956 and 1958 by the Institute of Sociological Research at the Universidad de Chile in collaboration with the Centre d'Études Sociologiques in Paris, directed at the time by Georges Friedmann. The study, published in French in 1966⁷ and in Spanish the following year, was a collaborative effort involving French, Chilean and Argentine researchers (Alain Touraine, Jean Daniel Reynaud, Lucien Brams, Hernán Godoy, Torcuato Di Tella and Enzo Faletto). A similar study, the first of its kind, was conducted in 1958 and entitled "Estratificación y movilidad social en cuatro ciudades latinoamericanas (Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Montevideo y Rio de Janeiro)" ["Stratification and Social Mobility in Four Latin American Cities"]. With funding from UNESCO, this research was conducted by the Latin American Centre for Research in the Social Sciences (CLAPCS), FLACSO and the Institute of Sociology at the Universidad de Buenos Aires and supervised by Gino Germani (Argentina), Issac Ganón (Uruguay), Eduardo Hamuy (Chile) and T.P. Accioly Borges (Brazil).⁸

Comparative research as the epitome of this new work style can be seen in "El desarrollo social de América Latina en la posguerra" ("Social Development of Latin America During the Post-War Period" 1963), a CEPAL report written by José Medina Echavarría and co-authored by Enzo Faletto and Luis Ratinoff; in *Consideraciones sociológicas sobre el desarrollo económico en América latina* (Sociological Consideration on Economic Development in Latin America 1964), also by José Medina Echavarría, as well as the most important works by Gino Germani, including *Política y sociedad en una época de transición* (Politics and Society in Times of Transition 1962); *Sociología de la modernización. Estudios teóricos, metodológicos y aplicados a América Latina* (The Sociology of Modernization: Theoretical and Methodological Studies Applied to the Latin American Case 1969), and *Urbanización, desarrollo y modernización. Un enfoque histórico y comparativo* (Urbanization, Development and Modernization: A Historical and Comparative Approach 1976). Another example of this genre includes the pioneering studies in the field

of the sociology of culture and intellectuals in Latin America compiled by the Catalan sociologist Juan Marsal in *Cambio social en América Latina. Crítica de algunas interpretaciones dominantes en las ciencias sociales* (Social Change in Latin America: A Critique of Some Predominant Interpretations in the Social Sciences, 1967), in *El intelectual latinoamericano* (The Latin American Intellectual 1970) and in J. Marsal (ed.) *Los intelectuales políticos* (Political Intellectuals 1971). Others that deserve mention include *Elites y desarrollo en América Latina* (Elites in Latin America 1967), edited by Seymour Martin Lipset (USA) and Aldo Solari (Uruguay) and *Dependencia y desarrollo en América Latina* (Dependency and Development in Latin America 1969), by Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto.

A brief overview of the last work cited provides insight into the regional aspect of intellectual production in the social sciences during this period. First, the book was co-authored by the Brazilian Henrique Cardoso and the Chilean Faletto. Both had been students at two of the most innovative institutions in the social sciences in the region, Cardoso at the unofficial “School of Sociology” at the Universidade de São Paulo headed by Florestan Fernandes and Faletto at the Latin American School of Sociology at FLACSO, headed by José Medina Echavarría. Their work was a best seller in Latin America and one of the main exports of the region’s social sciences (with translations into Italian in 1971, German in 1976, French in 1978 and English in 1979). Its main arguments took shape during the “Thursday meetings” of a group of researchers at ILPES, in Santiago, Chile, which trained experts in planning and development and whose Social Planning Division was directed by José Medina Echavarría (Franco 2007). The first draft of the book began circulating as a work in progress in 1967 and two years later, the publishing house Siglo XXI released it across Latin America.

The Strategic Role of Book Publishing

In previous studies, we have shown the strategic role of book publishers in the configuration of transnational intellectual communities in Latin America (Sorá 2017). Books are, indeed, *a posteriori* evidence of the vital-

ity of intellectual communities. Yet publishing houses are also workplaces, sites for socializing and putting together academic projects, especially in times in which agents of modernization are excluded from their “natural” workplaces (universities) for political reasons. Among the publishing houses that participated in the construction of a “common market” for the social and human sciences, two Mexican publishers, Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE) and Siglo XXI, were undoubtedly the most important.

Until the 1930s, most books read in Latin America were predominantly published by Spanish (i.e. Labor), French (i.e. Hachette) and US (i.e. Jackson Inc.) publishers. In those years, and in response to the international financial crisis, the Universidad de México opened the first School of Economics in the country but was unable to put together a degree program because of the lack of relevant bibliography in Spanish. Daniel Cosío Villegas (1898–1976), a mentor of modern economics, approached the prestigious Spanish publishing house Espasa & Calpe to discuss a book series of the most important works in the discipline for the new school in Mexico. The philosopher Ortega y Gasset, the leading authority at the Madrid-based publisher at the time, minced no words in his response to the proposal: “The day Latin Americans decide what Spain publishes, the culture in all Spanish speaking countries will be reduced to a banquet for Negroes” (Cosío Villegas 1986, 146). Cosío Villegas was absolutely furious at the Spaniard’s response, and Mexican economists realized their only option was to start their own publishing house. Banks and state institutions contributed to a trust whose capital was used to found FCE in September 1934.

By 1938, publishing in Spain had all but ceased due to the Civil War, creating a fertile terrain for Spanish publishers to “pursue the [Latin] American dream” in the dynamic capitals of the New World. Spaniards already settled in Buenos Aires joined recent exiles to start Losada, Emecé and Sudamericana, which published most of the literature Ibero-Americans would read in the following decades. President Lázaro Cárdenas implemented a government policy to bring Republican exiles to Mexico—a policy put into action by Cosío Villegas and the renowned essay writer and diplomat Alfonso Reyes.⁹ Upon arriving to Mexico, prestigious Spanish poets, philosophers, editors and social scientists like

Enrique Díez Canedo, José Ímaz, José Gaos and José Medina Echavarría were hired as FCE collaborators and welcomed at La Casa de España, a cultural centre later renamed El Colegio de México (1940) which eventually became the most renowned academic institution in the country. While the Spaniards at FCE were in favour of expanding the catalogue to encompass all the social sciences and humanities, Cosío Villegas and Alfonso Reyes “Latin Americanized” the selection of titles, launching the books series *Biblioteca Americana* (American Library) and *Tierra Firme* (Mainland). While *Biblioteca Americana* gathered works by the authors of the emancipation of Latin American countries, *Tierra Firme* hired the most renowned intellectuals in the region to write essays for a comprehensive encyclopaedia of Latin America. The goal was to present a sort of inventory of the continent’s common problems and the challenges to face (Sorá 2010).

The books series published in Mexico included excellent translations of both historic writings in the social sciences across the globe as well as some of the latest contemporary works. During José Medina Echavarría’s time directing the FCE sociology book series, he introduced Latin American readers to Spanish translations of influential works by authors such as Max Weber, Karl Manheinn, Ferdinand Tönnies, Thorstein Veblen, Vilfredo Pareto (Blanco 2009; Moya López 2013).¹⁰ Medina Echavarría’s knowledge of Germany’s tradition in sociology was the result of long stays there during the last years of the Weimar Republic. Gino Germani did similar work from Buenos Aires, where he edited the *Ciencia y Sociedad* (Science and Society) book series at the publishing house Abril and the *Biblioteca de Psicología Social y Sociología* (Social Psychology and Sociology Library) book series at Paidós. With Spanish language editions of works by Erich Fromm, George Mead, Karen Horney, Bronislaw Malinowski, Karl Popper, Talcott Parsons and Charles Wright Mills, Germani provided a new frame of reference for the social sciences in the region (Blanco 2006).

Although book publishing contributed to the institutionalization of the social sciences and humanities, it was its own differentiation process. This section will show how the development and expansion of the Latin American book market predated the social disciplines and also fostered their integration within a regional cultural arena. For this reason, it is

important to clarify certain aspects of the symbolic unification that the field of publishing supported through its experts and its actions, especially those associated with regional unity. The ideals associated with a common understanding and a symbolic connection across the continent took shape in Latin American publishing space; in the case of FCE, the First International Student Conference held in Mexico in 1921 as part of the centennial celebration of Mexico's independence was critical to the new publishing house's main objectives. As we will see, the (Latin) Americanism fostered during the conference was the result of the friendships and alliances formed by the student leaders in attendance. Representatives from 25 countries, mainly from the Americas and Europe, attended the event. The Argentine delegation attracted plenty of attention due to the international coverage of student protests for university reform in 1918. The Argentines had fought for student participation in university administration, abolition of the existing chair system, support for new competitive-based university positions, freedom from imperialism, etc. At the conference in Mexico, participants forged many long-term alliances. The event was coordinated by Cosío Villegas, president of Mexico's Student Federation at that time. One of the Argentine delegates was Arnaldo Orfila Reynal (1897–1998), who promoted Mexican culture among Argentina's avant-garde intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s after his return to Argentina. When FCE began its international expansion by opening its first branch abroad in Buenos Aires in 1945, Cosío Villegas chose Orfila Reynal as its director.

Although Cosío Villegas's career had much in common with those of the so-called "chair sociologists" (studies in law, political/diplomatic positions, cultural commissions, etc.), his ever-precarious position within the governing elite of Mexico forced him to reinvent himself on several occasions, illustrating the transformations underway in the social sciences in Latin America. In the mid-1920s, Cosío Villegas studied economics at the University of Wisconsin and in 1929 he joined Gonzalo Robles, Emigdio González Adame, Jesús Silva Herzog and other "missionaries" of state modernization and culture in Mexico in lobbying for a degree program in economics. In 1948, he reoriented his scholarly interests towards history. With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, Cosío Villegas moved to New York and spent three years working on a history of Modern

Mexico. Upon his departure, a “natural” candidate for the post—Orfila Reynal—took his place as the FCE director. With a doctorate in chemistry from Universidad de La Plata, Orfila was an Argentine militant socialist and founder of the Universidad Popular Alejandro Korn.

By the end of the 1940s, FCE’s catalogue in the humanities and social sciences had brought the publisher enormous prestige. Orfila brought to Mexico the Argentine tradition of “cheap editions”, creating two books series, *Breviarios* (Epitomes) and “Popular.” The foreigner Orfila “Mexicanized” the catalogue, creating *Letras de México* (Mexican Literature), a book series that released the contemporary canon of national authors like Octavio Paz, Juan Rulfo and Carlos Fuentes. Towards the end of the 1950s, as part of his growing commitment to the cause of the Cuban Revolution, Orfila began editing political works on the Third World.

Under Orfila Reynal, FCE continued to expand across the continent and beyond, opening a branch in Santiago (1954), Lima (1961) and Madrid (1963). This was part of Cosío Villegas’s strategy to join the “American extremes,” and slowly gain a foothold in Spanish publishing from the Americas. However, in 1964, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) administration lurched to the right when Gustavo Díaz Ordaz—an undercover CIA agent—was sworn in as Mexico’s president. A conservative intellectual group now had the backing it needed to remove the “communist foreigner” (Orfila Reynal) from his post at the head of one of the most important publishers in Latin America. The dismissal was justified by the publication of two books: Spanish language versions of *Listen Yankee* by C. Wright Mills and *The Children of Sánchez* by Oscar Lewis.

This battle, fought on the front of the Cultural Cold War, produced a schism in the history of Mexican culture (Sorá 2011). When he was relieved of his post in October 1965, Orfila Reynal received the support of “an army of 500 intellectuals,” according to testimonials from the time. After a series of fundraising events, the allied intellectuals raised around three hundred thousand dollars and proposed that Orfila start a new publishing house that would continue the intellectual and scholarly renovation and political emancipation that he had begun as the head of FCE. After all, Orfila was the most renowned publisher among important

colleagues across the globe like Alfred Knopf, François Maspero, Gaston Gallimard and Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. The publishing house that was born as a result of these efforts was Siglo XXI. From the start, illustrious Latin American writers like Julio Cortázar, Carlos Pellicer, Alejo Carpentier, Carlos Fuentes, Miguel Ángel Asturias and Mario Vargas Llosa expressed their support for the initiative, even offering to cede the rights to their works to Orfila's new publishing house. However, Orfila decided that instead of reediting works of literature, Siglo XXI would focus on contemporary social and political issues. Thus the Siglo XXI catalogue moved away from literature and history, the two genres that had been considered critical in essays about specific countries within Latin America and the continent as a whole. The words of Carlos Monsiváis summarize the main focus of the Siglo XXI catalogue:

Initially, Siglo XXI was the publishing house that presented some of the most overarching trends in the period known for the Cuban Revolution, new Latin American thought, the "Boom," the awe inspired by dependence theory, the downfall of guerrilla warfare across the continent, the emergence of liberation theory, the new methods for community education, Marxist revisionism. Siglo XXI published Pablo González Casanova, Paulo Freire, Poulantzas, Lacan, Marta Harnecker, the Central American revolutionaries, the Marxist classics, Argentine sociology (...) For a decade, leftist groups and parties, Christian base communities, students of the social sciences, revolutionary nationalists and all those dismayed by poverty and exploitation sought out Siglo XXI to become informed, to create a horizon of revolutionary expectations, to define and redefine the meaning of their actions. (Monsiváis 1993: 35)

In all of the cultural enclaves where Spanish is spoken, Siglo XXI was the top publisher of cutting-edge works in the social sciences, politics and literature, at least from 1965 to 1975. Due to both its unique start-up capital and the triangular division of work between Mexico City, Madrid and Buenos Aires, the publishing house held sway across Ibero-America. Siglo XXI waged what was perhaps the last battle to establish a common continental culture among readers from Latin America. Argentina's military dictatorship led the first attack against such a project. A week after

the coup d'état on March 24, 1976, a group of marines raided the branch of Siglo XXI in Buenos Aires and caused damage that would prove irreparable to the publisher's project.

Fragmentation

Starting in the second half of the 1960s, the growing political instability that would eventually culminate in military coups in almost every country in the region had stalled the regional development of the social sciences in Latin America—albeit to varying degrees in each country—and the accumulation of intellectual capital that had accompanied it. After dictators seized power in Uruguay and Chile in 1973, and in Argentina in 1976, many departments and degree programs in sociology, anthropology and psychology closed. Professors were forced into exile and social research gradually shifted to the private sphere (Trindade 2007).

Brazil, where a dictatorship came to power in 1964, was a very different story. Since the SSH were seen as useful for development policies, the institutionalisation of the social sciences was not inhibited in any way under military rule in that country: on the contrary, those disciplines expanded at both undergraduate and graduate levels (Garcia 2009). In this regard, and despite political persecution—mainly targeted at the group headed by Florestan Fernandes at the USP—the social sciences were consolidated at university level through the creation of new programs of studies like those in anthropology at Museu Nacional (1968) and at UNICAMP (Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1971); the political science program at IUPERJ (1969); and the sociology programs at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (1967) and Universidade de Brasília, among others (Ortiz 1990). Something similar occurred in Mexico, where new undergraduate and graduate programs helped the social sciences to expand at different universities and research institutes.

In any case, the broader consequence of this fragmentation process, which was exacerbated in the countries with the most violent and destructive dictatorships, was a clear alteration of the institutional development of the social sciences, where research and production of social knowledge passed from public universities to independent private institutions. In

this new context, the Latin American Social Sciences Council (Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, or CLACSO), founded in 1967, played a major role in maintaining the “Latin American agenda” for social sciences in the region. By 1989, 113 public and private research centres (some university-affiliated) from 21 countries had joined CLACSO.

As a transnational institution that served as a mediator and channel for funding from different US and European foundations, CLACSO had the resources needed for education and research in the social sciences to continue, even in the face of adverse conditions within specific countries, through different grants and degree programs at the graduate level. This institution was also responsible for keeping Latin America at the top of the agenda of the social sciences in Latin America, as attested by numerous works published over the years by Siglo XXI. Most of these works detailed the results of symposiums organized by CLACSO.

However, during the years of dictatorship in the Southern Cone,¹¹ the debate gradually shifted from economic development to the question of the transition to democracy and the possibilities for constructing a democratic political culture. A milestone on this new agenda was the regional conference on “Social Conditions for Democracy” organized by CLACSO in San Jose, Costa Rica, in 1978. In the mid-1980s, as part of the transitions to democracies, stability gradually came to characterize national universities and more full-time teaching positions became available as well. This brought social research back to universities to the detriment of private research centers, many of which were forced to close. Since then, although a certain regional focus has remained on the social sciences at both the institutional and intellectual level over the past two decades; its intensity has decreased considerably.

Conclusions

Our analysis of the extent of regionalization in the social sciences in Latin America reveals how cities like Santiago, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City were well positioned at a certain point in time to become international poles of excellence. It was a period marked by

the Spanish Civil War, a World War and the Cold War, economic dependence, the ebb and flow of funding for research and university education, and dictatorships. The cycle of regionalization in the social sciences examined here reveals that scientific autonomy depends on both accumulating certain resources and on overcoming obstacles of all sorts.

The continental integration of SSH is not a natural fact or a necessary historical development. It could not have been achieved through state policies alone. In Latin America it was instead a long-term cultural development that required a transnational framework of social relations and shared beliefs between the producers of ideas that made regional integration a priority. Our study shows that the regionalization of any sphere of cultural production emerges as a strategy for practices and models of thought in critical contexts of symbolic and political domination. In other words, regionalization occurs when countries in a cultural area lack conditions (as in the case of Latin American countries) or lose strength (as in the case of the main science producing countries of Western Europe) to compete with the hegemonic centres for the production of universal knowledge, like the United States in the Global Age.

At the end of the nineteenth century, (Latin) Americanism emerged as an intellectual movement to combat the Monroe Doctrine. It transformed over the course of the twentieth century to combat other forms of cultural domination like the Spanish monopoly on book publishing. Cultural producers in the different countries of Latin America had joined forced prior to the national-regional institutionalisation of the social sciences. The CEPAL “manifesto” made the argument for a research program that would explain the global causes of economic backwardness, social inequality and barriers to development as part of a world systems theory. In the late 1960s, dependence theory expanded this program of knowledge globally. These and other theories developed in the Global South made politics a primary issue. The social sciences and the humanities established models of thought that in many cases laid the groundwork for the national liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s. For this reason, SSH agents were subject to persecution by those who violently defended the Western order in the context of the Cold War. Once democracy was restored in the 1980s, regional integration in Latin America promoted political institutions such as

Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR). Yet on the cultural level, no similar integration occurred in the period here examined. As an ideological framework, globalization seems to depend on the dismantling of previously valid transnational identification principles, like Americanism. Today, social sciences professionals are likely to communicate with each other and travel to neighbouring countries more often than in the past. But *Latin America* is no longer a global issue or a significant object of knowledge. This may be a sign that the world is becoming more hierarchical and asymmetrical or that the struggles for the definition of science and its meaning have shifted to other regions like East Asia. This shift indicates that social scientists in Latin America will need to think critically about their possibilities to become dynamically involved in the challenges posed by contemporary structures for the production of universal knowledge. Perhaps it is the right moment to stimulate new forms of regional collaboration, as our European colleagues are trying.

Notes

1. The first draft of José Martí's essay "Nuestra América" (Our America) was published on January 10, 1891 in the *New York Illustrated Magazine*. The first edition of *Ariel* by José Enrique Rodó was published in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1900, by Imprenta Dornaleche y Reyes.
2. The Monroe Doctrine refers to the policy of foreign relations that the United States defined from the 1820s to prevent the nations of the New World from being again the object of European colonization. Despite the multiple colonialist interventions of England, France, and Spain over Latin America throughout the nineteenth century, the Monroe Doctrine was actually applied after the triumph of the USA against Spain for the possession of Cuba (1898). This revealed the imperialist character of the phrase that synthesized that doctrine "America for the Americans." At the political level, almost all Latin American states succumbed to American political hegemony. But from the cultural point of view, the words of José Martí were taken up again, and an anti-imperialist intellectual tradition was founded, which among other things disputed the very use of the term *América*.

3. On the current state of internationalization of SSH in Argentina, see other Interco-SSH project publications like Beigel and Sorá 2018, Blanco and Wilkis in this volume.
4. A comparative study of five sociology journals, including three from Latin America: *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, *América latina* and *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología*, one from the United States *American Sociological Review* and one European journal *Revue Française de Sociologie*, revealed that the Latin American journals had something in common that others lacked: an ongoing dialogue with the fields of economics and social history (Herrera 1970).
5. Paradoxically, this “Latin American” professional association was both planned and founded outside the region, more specifically in Zurich during the first World Congress of Sociology organized by the International Sociological Association (ISA).
6. Ironically, the “regional” (“Latin American”) identity and the alliance among the members of this new generation of social scientists both came together in the United States during the Inter-American Conference on Research and Training in Sociology held in Palo Alto, California and organized by the *Social Science Research Council*.
7. Torcuato Di Tella, Lucien Brams, Jean-Daniel Reynaud, Alain Touraine. 1966. *Huachipato et Lota: Étude sur la conscience ouvrière dans deux entreprises chiliennes*. Paris: CNRS.
8. Afrânio Garcia (2005) has provided a thorough summary of the 25-year period in which Santiago was a hub for national and international production in the social sciences, describing how those involved experienced the city as “a school of Latin American thought.”
9. Mexico was the first country to officially recognize the Spanish Republic and ever since the administration of Álvaro Obregón (1920–24), the government had systematically forged international alliances with anti-imperialist factions.
10. The 1944 Spanish translation of Max Weber’s *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (*Economía y Sociedad*) merits special mention. Translated by a team headed by Medina Echavarría, the first edition in Spanish was released 24 years before the English language version (1968. *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. New York: Bedminster Press) and 27 years before it appeared in French (1971. *Économie et société*, Paris: Plon, translation supervised by Jacques Chavy and Éric de Dampierre).
11. The countries located in the southernmost area of the Americas: Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay.

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6

The European Research Area in the Social and Human Sciences: Between National Closure and American Hegemony

Johan Heilbron, Thibaud Boncourt, and Rob Timans

Introduction

With the expansion of European nation-states scholarly practices were gradually incorporated in national institutions, academies and other learned societies, and from the late eighteenth century onwards in reformed or newly founded research universities. This historic transition from a European wide network of ecclesiastical to national institutions of higher learning was apparent, among others, in the shift from Latin to

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_6

national languages. From around 1800 teaching and publishing were done in the vernacular, while Latin mainly survived for ceremonial purposes.

Rather than producing a confinement of scholarship within the borders of nation-states, the establishment of national systems of higher education provided the basis for new arrangements of transnational collaboration and exchange. Certain national languages replaced Latin in acquiring the status of a *lingua franca* (French, later German, and later still English), and the development of international scholarly organizations offered an institutional framework for transnational exchange. Two phases can be distinguished in the historical development of international scholarly organizations (Jeanpierre and Boncourt 2015). During the first phase, from the mid-nineteenth century until the inter-war period, such organizations emerged in all major fields. The process was related to the more general flourishing of international organizations, which were seen as a new phase in the relations among the more advanced nation states (Crawford et al. 1993; Drori et al. 2003; Feuerhahn and Rabault-Feuerhahn 2010; Rasmussen 1990; Schofer 1999). Actual exchange across national borders, however, was restricted to small numbers of scholars and remained relatively infrequent. International organizations were more important for purposes of information sharing, diffusion and intellectual diplomacy than for effective transnational collaboration (Heilbron et al. 2008).

During the second phase, from the end of the Second World War to the present, new international scholarly organizations were initiated, in particular by UNESCO (see Boncourt in this book). Profiting from the growth of national academic systems as well as from increasing international mobility, these new international associations enabled more regular transnational flows of people and ideas, while at the same time including a widening range of countries and regions. The globalizing scope of international organizations was stimulated by decolonization, the rise of newly industrializing countries, and, after 1989, by the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

The long tradition of internationalism that was carried by international organizations and the recent forms of more global patterns of circulation have obscured the fact that since the 1990s *transnational*

regionalization has perhaps become the more important mode of cross-border exchange (Heilbron 2014b; UNESCO 2010). Transnational regional structures have emerged in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America; North America is the main exception. Located between national systems of higher learning and global arrangements, these transnational regional structures include research councils like the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLASCO, founded in 1967), the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC, 1973), the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA, 1973), and the Arab Council for the Social Sciences (ACSS, founded in 2008). While transnational regional initiatives have developed in most parts of the world, Europe currently probably represents the most advanced case of this process.

In this chapter we will analyze the emerging European research area in the social sciences and humanities (SSH). We will do so mostly on the basis of new evidence that has been collected and analyzed in the framework of the European project INTERCO-SSH. First, we will provide a historical outline of the formation of a European research area in the SSH, and identify the conditions that made this process possible. Second, we will analyze the current structure of SSH in the European research area, and indicate the main obstacles for European research initiatives.

How and Why European SSH Emerged

The Structuring of European SSH

From the mid-1960s, and especially between 1970 and 2000, European integration in the social sciences and humanities has been developing at a fast pace. This is visible at three interconnected levels: the level of institutions, transnational collaboration, and scientific orientation.

European SSH have become denser at the *institutional* level. Several European research oriented institutions, such as associations, journals, databases, research institutes, *et cetera*, emerged from the 1960s onwards. While systematic data is not available for all types of institutions, two indicators may be singled out to illustrate this process. The growth is,

first, tangible in the development of European professional associations in virtually all of the social sciences (Boncourt 2016, 2017). While these disciplines had been, thus far, mainly structured by national and global associations, continental organizations gradually appeared. This occurred at different dates in different sciences, with the late 1980s and early 1990s witnessing most of the creations of new associations (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). These changes were not necessarily limited to the birth of one European association per discipline, as up to two such groupings could coexist in a given social science at a given time.¹ To these general disciplinary associations should be added sub-disciplinary organizations, such as the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology (EAESP, created

Table 6.1 Creation of main European Social Science Disciplinary Associations

	Political science	Sociology	Economics	Anthropology	Psychology
1970–1979	ECPR (1970)				
1980–1989			EEA (1984)	EASA (1989)	EFPA (1981)
1990–1999		ECSR (1991)			
	EpsNet (1996)	ESA (1992)			
2000–2009					
2010–2016	EPSA (2010)				

Source: Boncourt (2016)

Table 6.2 Names and acronyms of European Social Science Associations

Acronym	Name
EASA	European Association of Social Anthropologists
ECPR	European Consortium for Political Research
ECSR	European Consortium for Sociological Research
EEA	European Economic Association
EFPA	European Federation of Psychological Associations
EPSA	European Political Science Association
EpsNet	European Political Science Network
ESA	European Sociological Association

Source: Boncourt (2016)

While EFPA is a European disciplinary association, it is slightly different from the others as its members are national associations rather than individuals or academic institutions.

in 1966), the European Association of Environmental and Resource Economists (EAERE, 1990) or the European International Studies Association (EISA, 2013), to give a few examples among many.

The creation of European associations is not limited to the most established academic disciplines and sub-disciplines. Rather, some organizations focus on more recently formed domains, which have gradually become equally established as university departments. Most of these newer fields, often called ‘studies’ (e.g. gender studies, communication studies, cultural studies, European studies, etc.), emerged after 1968, in opposition to the traditional academic division of labor and in alliances with groups outside of the academy. In these domains, the object of research took priority over academic and disciplinary approaches. Thus, the second half of the twentieth century witnessed the creation of the Women’s International Studies Europe (WISE, 1990), the European Association for the Study of Science and Technology (EASST, 1994), the European Association for the Study of Religions (EASR, 2000), and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA, 2005), among others.

A third category of associations is more specialized and focuses on academically less well established topics than classical disciplines and ‘studies’. They concern particular ‘areas’ (American studies, Eastern and Central European studies, Turkish Studies, etc.) or particular themes (security and crime, public health, etc.). Their ranks include, for example, the European Association for American Studies (EAAS, founded in 1954), the European Association for Chinese Studies (EACS, 1975), and the European Society of Criminology (ESC, 2000).

The second indicator of institutionalization at the European level is the development of “European” journals, which has unfolded in a pattern quite similar to that of European associations (Heilbron et al. 2017b). The second half of the twentieth century has witnessed a general growth in the number of SSH journals published in the old continent, to the point that such periodicals now probably outnumber those produced in North America (Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014). More specifically, journals that use the adjective ‘European’ in their title or subtitle have been growing in number since the 1960s, and at a particularly spectacular rate after the mid-1980s (Fig. 6.1). Between 1960 and 1985, on average

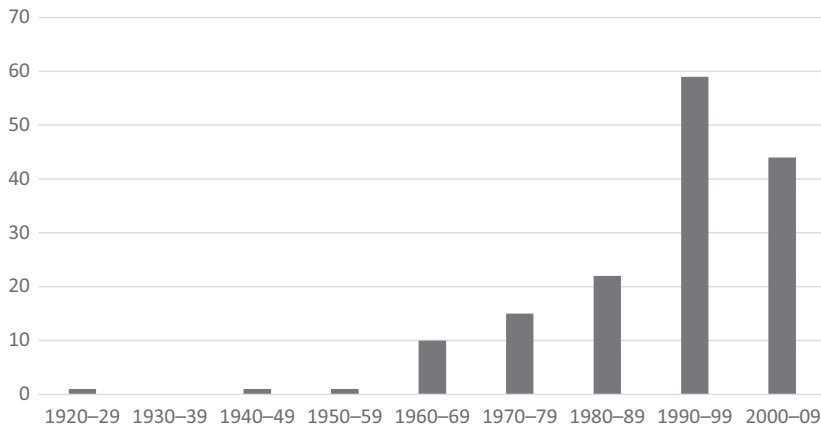


Fig. 6.1 Number of newly created 'European' journals in the SSH (1920–2010) (Source: Heilbron et al. 2017b)

five to six European SSH journals were created during every five-year period (i.e. about one per year), albeit with no clear trend. Journal creation accelerated during the second half of the 1980s, when 17 journals were created (1985–89), reaching a peak in the 1990s with 34 (1990–94) and 26 new journals (1995–99). Although the creation rate of European SSH journals slowed down after 2000, it remained well above the level of the first phase (1960–1985), oscillating between 16 (2000–2004 and 2010–2014) and 26 new journals (2005–2009) (Fig. 6.2).

Just like associations, these new European journals may be classified into different categories (Table 6.3). Most of them ($n = 93$) pertain to the most established SSH disciplines (philosophy, history, literature, economics, political science, anthropology, sociology, psychology, geography, demography), and to their most important research specializations and sub-disciplines (e.g., within economics: finance and banking, comparative economics, agricultural economics, etc.). The most prominent of these disciplinary journals are published by European associations. Another category of European periodicals ($n = 31$) focuses on 'studies', while thematic journals are also substantially represented ($n = 34$), with education, management, Europe, and planning and urban studies as the most important contingents.

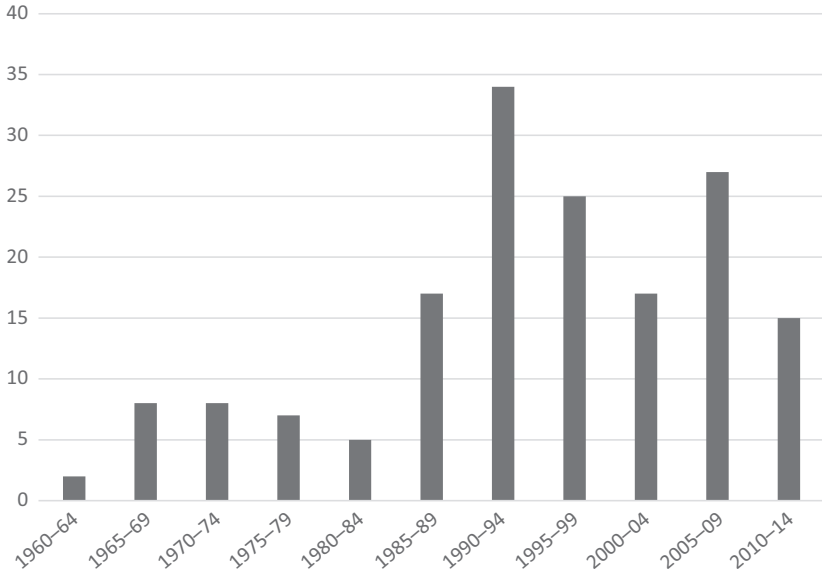


Fig. 6.2 Number of newly created 'European' journals in the SSH (1960–2010) (Source: Heilbron et al. 2017b)

A last category, distinct from those observed in the case of associations, is that of multi-disciplinary journals. These explicitly combine different academic perspectives, not for extra-academic purposes, whether political or professional (as in most transdisciplinary 'studies'), but to go beyond the academic division of labor and foster scientifically innovative perspectives. Pierre Bourdieu's *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* (1975) is a good example, just as the older interdisciplinary historical journal *Annales* (1929) or the more recent *Politix* (1988) and *Genèses* (1990) to name only some French examples. But despite the prominence of 'interdisciplinarity' in science policy and scholarly discourse remarkably few European journals belong to this multidisciplinary category ($n = 7$).²

The development of this transnational infrastructure of associations and journals was accompanied by increasing transnational *collaboration*. The proportion of transnationally coauthored articles by European scholars has been growing at a fast pace since the 1980s, in a pattern relatively parallel to those of European associations and journals. The growth of

Table 6.3 Newly created European SSH journals, by category

	Disciplinary journals (classical)	Multi-disciplinary journals	Studies and new disciplines	Thematic journals	Total
1960–64	2	0	0	0	2
1965–69	4	0	2	2	8
1970–74	5	0	1	2	8
1975–79	3	0	2	2	7
1980–84	1	0	4	0	5
1985–89	9	2	4	2	17
1990–94	21	0	7	6	34
1995–99	13	2	4	6	25
2000–04	13	0	0	4	17
2005–09	13	3	4	7	27
2010–14	9	0	3	3	15
Total	93	7	31	34	165

Source: Heilbron et al. (2017b)

transnational collaboration has been significantly stronger in Europe than in the United States (US). According to data from the Web of Science (WoS) scholars in France, Germany and Britain published around 40% of their 2014 articles in transnational co-authorship, against only 22% of scholars based in the US (Heilbron and Gingras in this volume).

There are, lastly, elements that suggest that some measure of European SSH integration has also occurred at the level of *scientific orientations and practices*. Although these processes are more difficult to objectify, studies of the origins of European associations and journals have shown that many of them were founded by transnational groups of scholars united by common intellectual ambitions. The founders of the European Consortium for Political Research advocated the diffusion of behavioralism and statistical methods in Europe, opposing older juridical, philosophical and normative perspectives, and explicitly promoting the example of American political science. The creators of the European Association of Social Anthropology and its journal *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, on the other hand, shared a commitment to a “European tradition of anthropology” based, among others, on the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, and opposing culturalist and postmodernist perspectives, which were seen as more specifically North American (Boncourt 2016).

While these trans-European convergences were fueled by transatlantic exchanges (see section “[How SSH Europeanization Came About](#)”) and the broader transnational circulation of references, among others through translations (see Sapiro, in this volume), they suggest a relative blurring of national intellectual boundaries and the shaping of a transnational European field. They also recall one of the central issues at stake, namely whether the SSH in Europe differ, or should differ, from the predominant style and approaches of their American counterparts. The question of the specificity of European thought with regard to American ideas has been a subject of debates in many disciplines. Philosophy and political theory have seen the rise of a controversy about the analytical, Anglo-American tradition, which in the course of the twentieth century would have arisen in opposition to a “continental” European style of philosophy (Glendinning 2006; Prado 2003; Cassin 2014). Economics has been the subject of a debate since the financial crisis about whether the discipline should not, especially in Europe, break away from the neo-classical mainstream and embrace an alternative “complexity approach” (Rosser et al. 2010). In sociology the *Handbook of European Sociology* (2014) has tried to “tease out the distinctively European features of the themes it explores and examines” (Koniordos and Kyrtis 2014: 1, see also Fleck and Hoenig 2014). While such debates point to the existence of divisions within the European SSH, they show that a European field of the SSH is not restricted to institutional issues, but that the content and style of the European tradition(s) is a critical dimension of the debate.

How SSH Europeanization Came About

While explanations for the development of the sciences have traditionally distinguished between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors, the ‘new sociology of ideas’ (Bourdieu 2004; Camic and Gross 2001; Camic et al. 2011) has rejected this dichotomy. In this section we will follow this approach by portraying the emergence of a European research area in the SSH as an inseparably political and academic process. This process can be accounted for sociologically by analyzing how academic entrepreneurs have mobilized their network to profit from growing funding opportunities coming

first mainly from American philanthropic foundations in the context of the Cold War, then increasingly from extending European research policies in the context of deepening European integration.

The influence of the Cold War on the worldwide development of SSH has been well documented (Solovey and Cravens 2012). This specific context fueled the institutionalization of the social sciences, triggered the development of new fields (e.g. “future studies” – see Tolon 2012), the rise of particular paradigms (chiefly behavioralism – see Amadae 2003; Boncourt 2015; Hauptmann 2012, 2016), and the diffusion of a conception of agency based on the rational actor and formal modelling, as in game theory (Erickson et al. 2013). This influence was channeled by American funding agencies, and particularly philanthropic foundations (chiefly the Ford Foundation, and to a lesser extent the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation), who provided funds to develop “what they saw as a newly powerful, practically useful social science” (Hauptmann 2012: 185). While these efforts were initially directed at American academia, agencies and foundations shifted their attention to Europe in the late 1950s and 1960s, as the building of transatlantic connections in the SSH was perceived as one of the ways through which the battle of ideas with the USSR could be fought (Gemelli 1998). Agencies and foundations thus funded schemes that allowed European scholars to hold short-term fellowships in American universities and fueled the transatlantic diffusion of ideas (Boncourt 2015).

The most active foundation, the Ford Foundation, also sponsored the creation of European-wide SSH ventures – chiefly research centers, professional associations and, correlatively, scientific journals – with a view of stimulating the structuring of European SSH in close connection to transatlantic networks. In practical terms, the Foundation sent envoys on tours to Europe, with the objective of identifying scholars and initiatives coherent with this agenda. This came at a key time for a field of European SSH whose structure was then rapidly evolving. In connection to the development of mass higher education, many new academic institutions were then being set up, leading to the rise of a new generation of academic entrepreneurs. For these entrepreneurs, meeting the Ford Foundation’s agenda was a way to gather financial support and international capital, and thereby to strengthen their institutions at the material

and symbolic levels, notably in relation to older and more established universities. For many of them, who had spent time in American universities through the fellowship schemes mentioned above, this was also a way to promote in Europe paradigms and methods that they had been directly in contact with while in the US. These entrepreneurs therefore mobilized themselves and their networks to seize these new opportunities, in negotiations that involved academic, scientific, and political considerations.

Several European initiatives benefited from this “Politics-Patronage-Social Science Nexus” (Solovey 2013). One of the earlier ones was the Centre de Sociologie Européenne (1960) and the journal *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (1960), both created by Raymond Aron. A cosmopolitan French liberal, professor of sociology at the Sorbonne and a prominent member of Cold War organizations like the Congress for Cultural Freedom (1950–1970), Aron advocated a historical and comparative sociology in the tradition of Max Weber. The Centre and the journal he created reinforced his position in the field of French social science with regard to his two rivals: the social theorist Georges Gurwitsch and the protagonist of empirical and quantitative sociology Jean Stoetzel (Joly 2012; Heilbron 2015). In line with its domestic action, Ford also sponsored the creation of European professional associations (and, correlatively, journals) specifically concerned with promoting on the old continent a behavioralism inspired by American developments. The European Association of Experimental Social Psychology (EAESP, created in 1966, initiator of the *European Journal of Social Psychology*) was thus created in order to contribute to the diffusion of a blend of psychology that insisted on the importance of group dynamics over internal individual properties. It also helped its founding director Serge Moscovici in legitimizing his own institution, the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE) in a field dominated by the Sorbonne (Moscovici and Markova 2006). The European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR, created in 1970, initiator of the *European Journal of Political Research*) was founded with a view of stimulating the circulation of behavioralism and statistical methods in European political science. Simultaneously, it helped the newly founded University of Essex – the seat of the Consortium – to gain weight in a British national field where Oxford,

Cambridge, and the London School of Economics and Political Science had long been dominant (Boncourt 2015). Scientific, academic, and political agenda converged to stimulate the development of a European SSH infrastructure.

This configuration, however, did not last. The early 1970s saw US philanthropic foundations shift their attention to other areas of the world. This withdrawal of American funding opportunities did not put a stop to SSH Europeanization, as properly European institutions took over. An early manifestation of this shift is the creation, in 1976, of the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence, Italy. Driven by the belief that the SSH had a role to play in legitimizing European integration, European institutions took the initiative of setting up a transnational European research institute focused solely on these disciplines – economics, history, law, and the political and social sciences. The first of its kind, the EUI gathered professors and doctoral students from all member countries of the European Communities (Boncourt and Calligaro 2017).

In the early years of European collaboration the founding members of the European Union (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands) had supported joint research initiatives such as the European Laboratory for Particle Physics (CERN, 1954) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM, 1957), but not until the 1980s was a systematic European science policy implemented (Bach-Hoenig 2017; Guzzetti 1995; Heilbron et al. 2017a; Hoenig 2017; Kastrinos 2010; Schögler and König 2017). Against the background of the deepest economic recession since the Second World War and in the face of mounting international competition, European research and development funding became concentrated in multi-annual ‘Framework Programmes’. The first was launched in 1984, the seventh and last Framework Programme ran during the years 2007–2013; they were replaced by the Horizon 2020 programme (see Fig. 6.3). Research funds increased from 640 million Euros in 1984 to 10 billion Euros per year in the seventh framework programme (2007–2013). This growth is larger than the general increase in financial means available to the European Union. In 1970, the research budget accounted for 1.8% of total EU expenditures, whereas the latest

Cultural norm													'Scientific excellence'				
Social institution													European Research Council				
Geopolitical strategy													European Research Area: Lisbon Strategy				
	'Industrial competition'						'Transnat. cooperation'						'Economic competition'				
	Joint research initiatives: Euratom												Research framework programmes		Horizon 2020		
Timeline	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020		
EU members	EU6			EU9			EU12			EU15		EU25		EU28			

Fig. 6.3 Main phases of the history of European Research Policy (Source: Bach-Hoenig 2017)

figures (2011, 2012) and the first years of Horizon 2020 represent between 6% and 7% of the European budget (Schögler and König 2017).

The objective of the Framework Programmes was to strengthen the scientific and technological bases of the European economy and to improve its competitiveness. In their thematic structure, the Framework Programmes reflected the policy objectives of the European Union as a whole. The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 slightly broadened the programme, but it was only with the Lisbon Agenda of 2000 that research officially became a European priority. Europe, as was famously declared by the government leaders assembled in Lisbon, was to be transformed into the “most competitive knowledge economy” in the world. The route mapped out for science was parallel to that laid down for education. Just as the Bologna Process of 1999 aimed at creating a single European Higher Education Area (EHEA), research policy now set out to establish a European Research Area (ERA). One of the most tangible consequences of the new policy was the establishment of the European Research Council (2007). As the equivalent of the American National Science Foundation, it funds research in all disciplines, independent of policy objectives, with “scientific excellence” as the only criterion (Bach-Hoenig 2017; Wedlin and Nedeva 2015). As such, it represents a significant complement to the policy-oriented research of the Framework Programmes.

In the initial Framework Programmes there were hardly any provisions for the social sciences and humanities. The first fully-fledged research programme in this domain was introduced in the Fourth Framework Programme (1994–1998) and this was continued in subsequent framework programmes (Heilbron 2014a; Kastrinos 2010; Kuhn and Remøe 2005; Schögler and König 2017). Because every Framework Programme project had to include researchers from a minimum number of European countries, they functioned not only as tools for allocating funds, but also as a stimulus for furthering transnational collaboration. Although only between 1% and 2% of the Framework Programmes’ funds went to the social and human sciences, the size and significance of these programmes were considerable. The three Framework Programmes between 1994 and 2006 funded some 580 SSH projects. They ran for about three years, had an average of ten partners, and could include well over a hundred individual participants. The output of these projects has been estimated at

between five to ten thousand books and 20,000 to 32,000 journal articles. These figures do not include the largest output category, the grey literature of preprints, research reports, working papers and the like (Heilbron 2014a).

The key-roles played by philanthropic foundations and the EU do not, however, tell the whole story. Though this situation is exceptional, some national governments also intervened in sponsoring European SSH initiatives. The Austrian government was thus instrumental in providing funds for organizing in 1989 the founding meeting of the European Sociology Association (ESA, creator of the journal *European Societies*). While the rationales behind this involvement could not be traced, it is safe to assume that, like universities, national governments draw a form of prestige from sponsoring such international ventures (Boncourt 2016).

The same argument can be applied to the particular case of European central banks in sponsoring European initiatives in economics. Starting in the 1960s, the growing independence of central banks from national governments allowed them to set up funds financed by non-remitted profits. A considerable part of these funds have been used to finance research institutes and associations, establish prizes and organize academic conferences, seminar series and workshops. The prime example in this respect is probably the Swedish Riksbank, which founded a scientific research foundation and established an off-balance sheet fund earmarked to provide the yearly 'Nobel prize' for economics (Offer and Söderberg 2016: 97; 102). European central banks were also important financial contributors to the founding of the European Economic Association (EEA) in 1984 (Boncourt 2017). Fifteen European central banks, as well as the European Central Bank (ECB) and the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), were 'institutional members' of the European Economic Association (EEA) in 2016.

Central banks also financially support, and participate in, international economic research networks. An example of a European research network co-funded by central banks is the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR). The CEPR was founded in 1983 to reduce the comparative disadvantage Europe was seen to have in applied economic research compared to the US. According to Richard Portes, the Centre's founder and first director, it was inspired by the model of the American

National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), and “was established (...) to apply this model, with an international orientation and emphasis on the dissemination of research results to a non-specialist, policy-oriented audience” (Portes 1987: 1334). Among its current members are 23 European central banks, as well as the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), the European Central Bank (ECB) and four more non-European central banks.

The fulcrum of the interest central banks have taken in these initiatives are their research departments. Almost all central banks in Europe currently have a research department (Eijffinger et al. 2002) which, among other things, is a means to increase the credibility and reputation of the bank (Eijffinger et al. 2002: 366). A strong research department also serves to legitimize a bank's policy proposals and to increase its status in the international network of central banks. This can be particularly important for Eurozone central banks in the current structure of the European Central Bank. An important part of the consecration of the output of the research departments of central banks takes place in the field of academic economics. Publishing in top academic journals and entertaining close ties with economists working in academia are viewed as important indicators of research quality and, thus, important for the scientific legitimacy of the bank and its policies. A 2004 report, which assessed the quality of research at the ECB by looking at the impact factor of journals in which ECB staff published from 2000 to 2003, states that “for such economists [economists working at a central bank], competing in the world of academic research provides a natural market test of the quality of their models and methods.” (Goodfriend et al. 2004: 4). While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to delve deeper into this matter, it is safe to assume that seeking legitimation and prestige through close connections with the field of academic economics is an important motivation behind the sponsoring activities of central banks. Apart from this legitimizing function, these research initiatives may also have a political component. European central banks (as well as the BIS) have generally been sceptical of the Keynesian approach to economics that reserves an important role for fiscal policy to manage the business cycle. Central banks were early defenders of a monetarist stance, in favour of bank independence and a technocratic presentation of monetary policy, with a

focus on interest rates as policy instruments and price stability as a goal (see, e.g., Toniolo 2005: 288 for the case of the BIS). In that sense they competed with other policy institutes such as Ministries or economic planning agencies that were set up after the Second World War.

The Current Structure of SSH in the European Research Area

The Balance of Power in European SSH

While the SSH have become increasingly institutionalized at the European level, this form of integration has not erased inequalities between disciplinary and national fields. Rather, the European field of SSH is structured by hierarchies between disciplines, countries, and languages.

Like at the national level, the SSH do not enjoy the same level of representation, prestige, and power at the European level. This is, first, tangible in the fact that these disciplines are not equally Europeanized. While the social sciences have become increasingly structured by European associations and journals, the humanities are not similarly integrated. The Society of European Philosophy (1996) is largely a British association aiming to promote continental approaches within the Anglo-American philosophical world. Similarly, literary studies do not have a European wide disciplinary association. They are, rather, structured by a myriad of more specialized groupings, such as the European Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies (EACLALS), the European Association for the Study of Literature, Culture, and the Environment (EASLCE), the European Network for Comparative Literary Studies (ENCLS), *et cetera*.

The study of European research collaboration yields similar results. Transnational co-authorship is far less frequent in the humanities than it is in the social sciences and has progressed at a much slower pace. Scholarship in the humanities leads to more individual publications and is closer bound to national languages and national publication systems (Gingras and Heilbron 2009).

Differences between SSH disciplines also show at the level of funding, as they are not equally successful in obtaining research grants from the EU. While the SSH only receive small amounts of funding compared to the natural sciences, some of them still enjoy more success than others. Since the Framework Programmes were policy-oriented and thematically structured, there are no reliable data available by discipline. The thematic structure of the SSH programmes, however, clearly shows that the economic dimension has been dominant all along. This reflects the general aim of the European Commission to use the Framework Programmes to analyse and enhance the competitiveness of the European economy. It is only from the Fifth Framework Programme (1998–2002) that the SSH research themes come to include citizenship, a “European” society and a European public sphere. This enlarged the range of potential disciplines involved, as is indicated by the broader label “Social sciences and Humanities” (SSH), which has been used since 2004–2006, aside from older labels such as “socio-economic” or “social sciences” (Schögler and König 2017).

Funding by the European Research Council, which is based on “excellence” and independent from policy objectives, shows a certain predominance of economics as well, but the disciplinary distribution seems more even. Looking at subsidies attributed to individual researchers by the European Research Council, Barbara Bach-Hoenig shows that among the SSH, most grants are acquired by economics (3.6% of the total number of grants in all disciplines), history (3.1), psychology (2.4), and sociology (2.3). Consistent with the ERC’s insistence on excellence, applied or more professionally oriented domains such as education and media studies seldom receive funding (Bach-Hoenig 2017).

The European field of SSH is also strongly structured by geographical and linguistic hierarchies. Multiple evidence shows that the United Kingdom holds a dominant position. The degree to which countries participate in European research projects depends roughly on the size of their research system. Countries like the UK, Germany and France, which house the largest number of researchers and research institutes, profit most from European programmes. But among them the UK occupies a privileged position. Scholars who work in Britain – they need not have British nationality – have consistently coordinated the

largest number of projects funded by the European Framework programmes, and have been more often involved in such undertakings than scholars from any other country. Germany and France come in second and third place, before Italy and the Netherlands: of the 529 research projects funded by the three Frameworks Programmes (1994–2006), 110 were coordinated in the UK, 88 in Germany, 76 in France, 44 in Italy and 40 in the Netherlands (Kovács and Kutsar 2010: 107). Most of the project coordinators funded by the Seventh Framework Programme (2007–2013) were also based in UK institutions (50), followed by German (38), Italian and Dutch ones (both 29) (Schögler and König 2017).

The British advantage is even stronger for the grants from the European Research Council: between 2007 and 2011, the UK received 35.8% of ERC grants allocated to SSH, with the Netherlands (14.4%), France (12.9), Germany (10.8), and Italy (10.6) the only other countries above the 10% bar (Bach-Hoenig 2017).

This hierarchy is also visible in European associations' membership (Boncourt 2017), with the UK and Germany, typically counting among the best represented countries (Table 6.4).

In term of publishing, where its linguistic advantage is even more decisive, British dominance is striking. In networks of transnational co-authorship researchers from Britain are well ahead of their German and French colleagues (Heilbron and Gingras in this volume). Directly related to collaborative publishing ventures in English is the fact that the United Kingdom houses many more “international” publishers and scholarly

Table 6.4 Four most represented countries in the membership of European Associations (2013)

	ECPR (political science)	EPSA (political science)	ECSR (sociology)	ESA (sociology)	EASA (anthropology)
Germany	UK	US	Germany	UK	UK
UK	Germany	UK	Netherlands	Germany	Germany
US	US	Germany	UK	Italy	France
Italy	Italy	Suisse	Norway	Russia	Italy

Source: Boncourt (2017)

journals than any other European country. Out of the 161 SSH journals with the adjective ‘European’ in the title in 2015, 77 were published in the UK, followed at a distance by the US (20) and the Netherlands (16) (Heilbron et al. 2017b). Moreover, 25% of the chief editors of these journals were based in the UK, more than double the amount of the next largest country of origin, which is paradoxically the US (with 11% of all chief editors). The domination of the UK increases when the 22 European SSH journals with the highest impact factors in 8 disciplines are considered separately (Jantzen 2016). UK based chief editors make up 34% of all chief editors in this more selective group.

The competition for resources between disciplines and countries materializes at the level of research groups and networks. These are part of institutions for which – as seen above (section “[How SSH Europeanization Came About](#)”) – Europeanization is a resource of significant symbolic importance. With the development of EU project-based funding, it has also become key from a financial point of view, so that academic institutions have been active in encouraging their researchers to apply for such grants. Data show, however, that only a limited number of institutions participate in a great number of projects

Table 6.5 Participating institutions in SSH projects funded by FP7

Participating institution	FP7-SSH	Country
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven	24	Belgium
London School of Economics and Political Science	23	UK
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) ^a	19	France
Central European University	19	Hungary
Universiteit van Amsterdam	18	Netherlands
Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques	16	France
Universita Commerciale Luigi Bocconi	15	Italy
Université Libre de Bruxelles	15	Belgium
Universiteit Utrecht	15	Netherlands
Aarhus Universitet	14	Denmark

Source: Schögler and König (2017)

^aUnlike other institutions listed in this table, CNRS is not an individual academic institution but, rather, a body of full-time researchers based in different French research centers. Its performance in FP7 is, therefore, relatively low compared to that of individual universities mentioned here.

(Table 6.5). European resources tend to go to institutions already well established at the national level – thereby reinforcing existing hierarchies (Schögler and König 2017). This is especially tangible in the case of small national academic fields: the European policy of having a diversity of countries represented in EU-funded collective projects works in favor of the limited number of universities that have few competitors at the national level and are well connected internationally – such as Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium), Central European University (Hungary), etc.

The Significance and Limitations of European SSH

So far we have outlined the formation of a transnational field of the SSH in Europe, identifying the main factors that have made it possible, and indicating some of its structural features. In order to explore its functioning in a more precise manner two questions need to be addressed. The first pertains to the relationship between the European research area and the various national research systems on which it is built. The second concerns the position of the European field in the global constellation of the SSH.

The relationship between national research practices and the European field varies, as was briefly indicated, across disciplines and countries as well. The humanities are more strongly bound to national languages and contexts than the social sciences. European research institutions are undoubtedly quite significant for some (sub-)disciplines like linguistics and comparative literature, but far less for others (history of literature). Within the social sciences a similar differentiation holds between more formal and standardized disciplines like economics and psychology, which have a higher level of transnational collaboration and exchange, and a discipline like sociology (see Heilbron and Gingras in this book). But in virtually all of the social sciences successful participation in European ventures (obtaining grants, developing collaborative projects) has become an essential advantage in the national competition for positions and career advancement. This effect is stronger in smaller and more

internationally oriented countries like the Netherlands, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries. In larger countries like Germany, France and the UK, national criteria for excellence prevail more easily over European recognition. Comparative case-studies would be needed to analyze the interplay between the European and the national level in more detail.

But the relationship between the national and the European field cannot be properly understood without taking the more global context into account. Here as in other domains, the most important factor is the pre-eminent position of the US. Typically more than two-thirds of the extra-European co-authorships in Europe are with North American scholars. While intra-European co-authorships have increased significantly, the growth was only at the same rate as co-authorships with scholars from the US. In other words, while European collaboration has become more frequent and more extensive, this growth is only similar to the growth of collaboration between European and US scholars (Heilbron and Gingras in this volume).

The growth of European SSH associations also has to be assessed in relation to the US. Some of these associations, indeed, have American membership. Figure 6.4 illustrates this by classifying associations according to the share of Western members (that is, Western European and North American members together). The case of the European Political Science Association, the most Western and American association in the sample (with 96.5% of Western members, against only 1.3% of Eastern European members), thus contrasts sharply with that of European Sociological Association (67.7% of Western members against 27.7% of Eastern Europeans) (Boncourt 2017). This is, in part, due to the different intellectual agendas of these associations. The European Political Science Association was founded with the objective of importing a blend of American political science based on rational choice theorizing and sophisticated statistical methods into Europe, and therefore opened its doors to North American members; whereas preparations for founding the European Sociological Association were undertaken after the Fall of the Berlin Wall with the explicit aim to re-establish collaboration with colleagues from Eastern Europe. Europeanization was in some cases a strategy to import and emulate mainstream American approaches, in others to extend professional networks towards Eastern Europe. Organizational

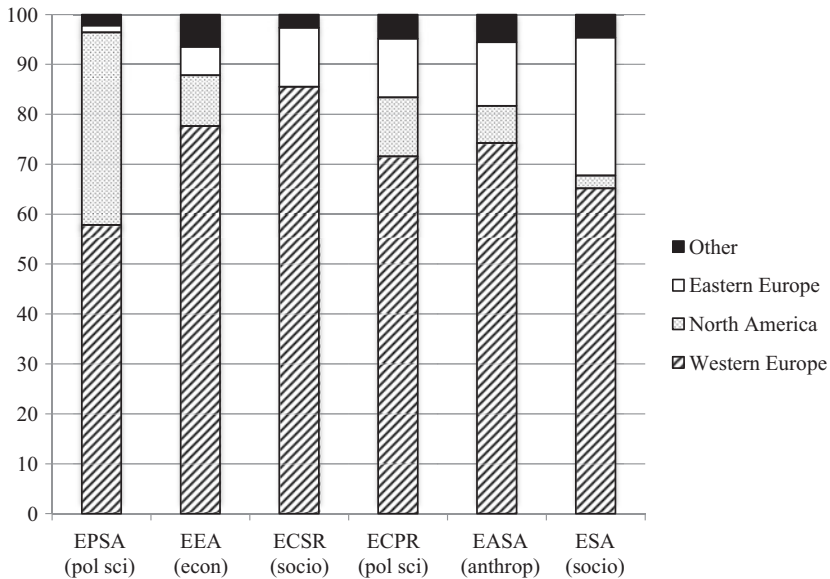


Fig. 6.4 Geographical breakdown of the membership of European Social Science Organizations (percentages) (Source: Boncourt 2017)

factors and constraints also played a key role in shaping Europeanization and, to a certain extent, detaching it from the European continent itself. The ECPR, which was originally focused on Europe, created a new category of “associate members”, open to non-European institutions, with a view of increasing its resources and becoming more significant on the global scientific stage. The label “European” thus regroups different forms of transnationalization, more or less centered on the European continent, in intellectual and geographical terms.

The continuing importance of the national framework and the pre-eminence of the US have made it difficult for the European level to become distinctively significant. Although transnational co-authorships have multiplied within Europe, citation data indicates that European collaboration is still relatively weak, both as compared to the supremacy of the US and with regard to the national level. In France, the most cited journals in virtually all disciplines are either American or French, with few exceptions to this bi-national reference pattern. Journals that call

themselves “international” or “European” are still few in number and are not prominent in the citation hierarchies. In disciplines like philosophy, history and law, there is in France not a single ‘European’ title among the 50 most cited journals. In sociology and anthropology there is one explicitly called European journal among the 50 most cited; in political science and economics there are two (Heilbron and Gingras in this book). Although the number of European journals has increased substantially, they still appear peripheral as compared to both the hegemony of the US and persisting national structures in the larger European countries.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the formation and growth of a European field in the SSH. This rise, driven by growing funding opportunities and the mobilization of academic entrepreneurs, is tangible at the level of institutions, transnational collaboration, and scientific practices and ideas. As all fields, however, European SSH is structured by power hierarchies, rivalries, and struggles that notably take place between disciplines, countries and academic groups and institutions as they vie for financial and symbolic resources.

The history of funding of European SSH has been marked by a shift from sponsoring the creation of new professional structures (such as European associations and journals) to the funding of temporary, project-based research networks. The largest part of European funding, the Framework Programmes, have been oriented towards policy objectives that were formulated in predominantly economic and technological terms. The most important recent change in funding structures has been the founding of the European Research Council (2007), which operates independently of policy aims and is defined in terms of scientific excellence only. Although both components have not been fundamentally affected by the financial crisis and its immediate aftermath; the effects of the current political crisis in Europe are far more difficult to assess.

Aside from funding bodies, European organizations have emerged at the level of research infrastructure, such as data bases (Kropp 2017), journals and associations. In order to properly assess their significance more

systematic and precise comparisons need to be made at least with the national level and the position of the US. In both senses the European field still seems to be relatively weak. European associations do not often have the same level of participation as their American counterparts. European journals, which have come into existence in all major fields, are still relatively few in number and rarely among the most cited journals. The most innovative journals, furthermore, are located on the national, not on the European level. In terms of transnational collaboration a strong intra-European growth was observed, but this has not been stronger than between Europe and the US.

No doubt the weakest part of the European field is the almost complete absence of teaching and research institutions at the European level. The European University Institute (EUI) in Florence has remained a rare exception. As compared to the US and emerging powers such as China, it is hard to imagine that the SSH in Europe can be competitive without permanent high-quality institutions on the European level.

Notes

1. While three European associations were effectively created in political science, EpsNet was absorbed by ECPR before the creation of EPSA (Boncourt 2016).
2. These multidisciplinary journals are: *European Journal of Economic and Social Systems* (1988), *European Journal of Development Research* (1989), *European journal for education, law and policy* (1997), *European Journal of Social Theory* (1998), *European Journal of Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences* (2005), *European Journal of Social Sciences/Revue européenne des sciences sociales* (2005), *European Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* (2009).

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Part III

South-North Relations



7

The Post-colonial Internationality of Algerian Academics

Tristan Leperlier

Introduction

While a large body of scholarship has touched upon the movement of students between the two shores of the Mediterranean (Geisser 2000; Mazzella 2007, 2009b; Leclerc-Olive et al. 2011), and while the experience of French researchers in Algeria is documented (Henry and Vatin 2012; Martin-Criado 2008), there are very few studies concerning the globalized scientific space (Gingras 2002; Keim et al. 2014) that focus on the internationality of Algerian researchers. By internationality, we refer to a set of practices which can be limited neither to the migratory flow of people, the expatriation of nationals, nor the publication (of books or articles) abroad. That which is national can become ‘international’ through the presence of institutions or individuals who have come from abroad, practices based upon foreign models, or discourses using the label

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_7

“international”. As for the process of internationalization, presented as typical of the accelerated globalization of recent decades, it should be questioned (Heilbron et al. 2008), particularly for the case of Algeria. The question of internationality in this former French colony, which was governed by the French administration until 1962 and whose process of decolonization has been particularly violent, raises the issue of post-colonial reconfigurations of Algerian research.

This chapter¹ has been written based on scholarship, that is both critical of the irenics of the process of liberal globalization (Friedman 2007), particularly in the sciences (Schott 1991), and seeks to demonstrate how structural inequality of scientific exchanges has been maintained, in particular around “Anglo-American hegemony” (Aalbers 2004), whether material, symbolic or linguistic (De Swaan 2001; Sapiro 2008; Ortiz 2009). While several publications have shown that colonisation was responsible for these inequalities (Garreau 1988; Hountondji 2001; Alatas 2003; Keim 2008), post-colonial studies, reviving an old political critique of “de-Westernisation” regarding the former colonial powers (Brisson 2015), has gone so far as to point to an epistemic domination of formerly colonized regions (Fanon 1968; Saïd 1978; Mudimbé 1994; Chakrabarty 2008; Lander 2011). However, as Rodriguez Medina has pointed out (Rodriguez Medina 2014), these often holistic approaches tend to show little consideration for the actors other than in a programmatic manner. Without including this study in the tradition of “fields”, which understands recourse to international instances as a resource (Lamont 1987; Bourdieu 1999), attention to individual and institutional actors (particularly diplomatic actors), makes it possible not only to take account of the meaning they accord to their research, but also to avoid neglecting precise historical processes, allowing us to be more discerning than sometimes monolithic models.

This study is based upon 36 semi-directive interviews with Algerian academics active in teaching and research, as well as upon a set of interviews (n = 13) carried out within the context of a Ph. D. dissertation on writers who are also academics.² Our initial hypothesis was that the internationalization of Algerian researchers differed depending upon several factors which we tried to represent in our choice of interviews: the discipline

(sociology/literature), institution (research center/university), working language (Arabic/French/English), age and gender. Country of residence (Algeria/abroad), though important, is not considered here, because of lack of interviewees living abroad: this study then focuses mainly on Algerian researcher living today in Algeria.

Two disciplines, sociology and literature, were chosen because of their discerning tie to colonial heritage and to the language divide. Because of the circulation between researchers and authors (one-third of Arabic-speaking authors who were active in the 1990s taught Arabic literature at universities), research on literature shares the dynamics of the literary field marked by bilingualism. While Arabic was promoted to the sole national language upon Algerian independence, French remained an elite language in Algerian society and in the field of literature. In the 1990s, rivalries in the field of literature led to what some people regarded as a “war of languages” (Leperlier 2018a). We also conducted interviews with scholars of English, German, and Italian-language literature (which we have classified as “European literature” to keep our data anonymous).

At the time of Algeria’s independence, sociology was constructed in opposition to anthropology, described as a colonial science, and benefited from strong social and political legitimacy as a bearer of the “developmentalist” ideology of the 1970s (Chachoua 2010). While researchers at the time were hardly autonomous from political powers, now a “new figure of a researcher-consultant or expert successfully emerged with the passage to the market economy” (Madoui 2008, 158). After the experience of the doubling of curricula between Arabic and French in the 1970s, sociology became completely Arabized at the beginning of the 1980s. This Arabisation led to an institutional bi-partition among sociologists: on the one hand, academics working at the research centers: the Research Center for Applied Economics for Development CREAD (*Centre de Recherche en Economie Appliquée pour le Développement*), the Research Center in Social and Cultural Anthropology CRASC (*Centre de Recherche en Anthropologie Sociale et Culturelle*), at which specialists in literature also worked, the Anthropological, Pre-historic and Ethnographic Research Center or CRAPE (*Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographiques*), the vast majority of

whom worked in French, and on the other hand, Arabic-speaking teachers at universities, whose research publication output was low. Even if the researchers generally also taught at university, the research centers, in the words of one scholar, were regarded as an “aristocracy” of research by those who felt they did not have access to the same working conditions. We ourselves experienced this bi-partition during our investigation, since the snowball sampling ran up against this division, which was both institutional, linguistic, and disciplinary (there are few specialists of literature working only in research centres). Generally, the breakdown between research and teaching can also be attributed to the substantial increase in student enrolment in universities, which has increased five hundredfold since independence (to almost one and a-half million today), while the overall population was multiplied by four. The two disciplines welcome a growing number of students, related to the growth of the tertiary sector in society, but not necessarily the most elite students (Haddab 2007). The institution’s loss of prestige due to the inflation of degrees or the drop in the purchasing power of teachers has also had an impact on the growing specialisation of these two activities.

What is the internationalization of research from a post-colonial country in the era of globalization? This study shows that internationalisation depends mainly on factors such as a scholar’s generation, language, and discipline; but also on political factors (diplomatic, internal policy, political commitment). We shall see that the internationalization of Algerian research in sociology and literature remains, or has once again become dependent on the French language and France as intermediaries (factor of language, and of soft power). Far from being part of “globalization” as a continuous process of the reinforcement of international exchanges, a historic perspective allows us to see a decline in the international movement of Algerian researchers, while “the international” has become a central resource in terms of discourses and models (factor of generation, and of internal policy). However, despite positive developments, the marginality of Algerian researchers and the objects they study remain striking within the broader sphere of international science (even if it varies according to the factor of discipline, and of political commitment).

French and France's Role as a Mediator in Scientific Internationalization

Despite Algeria's independence, Arabisation and the diversification of international circulations, France and the French language continue to act as prime mediators for Algeria's access to international science, and this has become accentuated since Algeria has again come to welcome French soft power from the beginning of the millennium.

An Imbalanced Bilingual and Transnational Sphere

The Algerian academic sphere is bilingual and transnational. Just like other Algerian elites, researchers are divided between French and Arabic speakers. This distinction is less based on the mother tongues of academics (which tend to be the Algerian Arabic dialect and Berber, and very rarely French), than on working languages: we speak about "Francophone" and "Arabophone" to indicate what language they preferentially use as a working language, although they are often more or less bilingual. In contrast to literature, cases of bilingualism, and particularly the conversion from one language to another, are frequent. When sociology was Arabized, a number of teachers who had been initially trained in French succeeded in "Arabizing" themselves through further training (while at the same time often allowing themselves to use French and particularly French texts in their classes). Increasingly, scholarly journals are bilingual: this has been the case since the beginning of the 1990s for the two most prestigious Algerian journals in the Social and Human Sciences, *Insanyat* and *Naqd*, even if they tend to publish more in French than in Arabic. However, this is much less the case of research into literature, often following the breakdown into Arabic and French-language literary sub-fields; however, a journal such as that of the Faculty of Language and Literature of Alger 2 University publishes in all represented languages (even in languages with few Algerian readers, such as German or Russian). This linguistic division implies distinct movements within the two language spheres of French and Arabic, while the former is centralized in France and the latter is far less centralized. Finally, there is a third,

English-language pole, since English is a daily working language for some emigrants in North America and the Near East. It is possible to speak of a transnational scientific sphere to the extent that between a pole of institutions and individuals who are fully integrated nationally and a pole, which is largely internationalized, we can observe a continuum of practices and flows (of publications, training and education, migration) related to the international level. As in other peripheral spheres (Rodriguez Medina 2014), in addition to Algeria's material shortcomings (particularly as regards documentation), there is a belief in the superior value of scientific production and training in international centers.

It is less because of the rich history of scientific circulation in the Arabic-speaking world (particularly in other capitals of North Africa) than due to the nationalistic Pan-Arab movement since the 1950s, that several scientific networks have emerged which use Arabic. Within the Union of Arab Authors, initially based in Damascus, numerous research symposia on Arabic literature have been organised since the 1970s. Researchers in Arabic literature have all spent time in other Arab countries (particularly Syria), and often make reference to calls for papers coming from universities in the Arab world, with a recent trend towards those from Gulf countries. While regional literary societies are solely for Arabic speakers, since language constitutes a central element for asserting Arab identity for them, sociological societies are multilingual and were initially created by Francophones in Algeria, since initiatives were aimed more towards constructing an Arab sociology (or at least a sociological sphere) irrespective of the language. The sociologist Ali El-Kenz (Beaud 1998) has emphasized the success that the Arab Sociological Association, founded in Tunis in 1985, has had in consolidating exchanges between Arab sociologists. Today, the Arab Council for the Social Sciences, based in Beirut, is trilingual, and uses Arabic, English and French.

Scientific production in Arabic has had to cope with the peripheral character of this language in international exchanges of symbolic goods (De Swaan 2001; Sapiro 2008). This is clearly the case in the study of literature, in which Arabic-language Algerian authors tend to receive less recognition than their compatriots who write in French. However, the same applies to sociology, since sociological production in Arabic tends not to be as highly regarded as scholarship written in French. A young

sociologist trained in Arabic explains that 90% of his bibliography was in French, because “what is produced in Arabic is not interesting”. For Algerian researchers, the international sphere is therefore broken down into a hierarchy based on language. Sari Hanafi has also seen this belief in the differentiated scientific value of languages, and explains that the problems of translating and standardising scientific language in the Arabic-speaking world has pushed researchers to write in English or French (Hanafi and Arvanitis 2016).

It is true that production in French allows for greater international visibility, and particularly in exchanges with the French-speaking countries of the North. This equally applies to scientific relations with the countries of sub-Saharan Africa (Codesria, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa), and in the French-speaking world (*Association des sociologues de langue française*). But just as in the Spanish-speaking world, which remains centered around Spain because of its superior economic resources (Rodríguez Medina 2014), most international scientific ties remain those with France, which in 2014 was where 80% of Algerians trained abroad studied (less than 60% of Moroccans and 50% of Tunisians who study abroad went to school in France: Campus France 2017). These links in science and training cannot be reduced to the historic bonds of colonisation, but also are due to France’s strategy of soft power, which has been reconfigured since the beginning of the millennium.

The Reconfiguration of French “Cooperation”

Interviewees related the term “cooperation” to a historic period (from independence to the beginning of the 1980s) and to “*coopérants*” alone. If there were very many teachers from the Middle East in primary and secondary education due to early Arabization, most university teachers were European, and first and foremost French. “Algeria is purported to have hosted nearly 1,400 French “*coopérants*” in 1970, i.e. more than half of university teachers” (Henry 2012, 29). The decline of “*coopérants*” is related to diplomatic crises (the nationalization of hydrocarbons in 1971), the Arabization of higher education and the greater capacities for Algerians to take on such teaching responsibilities in the course of time.

However, according to Jean-Robert Henry, “scientific exchanges between France and the Maghreb were based for several decades on the achievements of a Franco-Maghreb research area which inherited more from cooperation than from colonisation”. Institutional ties to France were not severed through independence: several research organisations worked in close cooperation with France for a long time (Kadri 2012, 191–2), and new ties were constantly being forged over the following decades, even if the civil war created a “real break in the élan of academic exchanges”, according to a researcher in Francophone literature who has now retired. The beginning of the 2000s allowed for a renewal of institutional relations with France, since the new President Abdelaziz Bouteflika’s strategies in domestic policy (particularly what was presented as a “return to French”) corresponded with that of France’s “*diplomatie d’influence*” (soft power). Following the festivities organised in “Djazair, the year of Algeria in France” in 2003, a friendship treaty was signed in 2004, which had scientific consequences. In 2000, the aid programme *Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire* (FSP) was set up, part of which was FSP *Maghreb-France: Sciences sociales et humaines*, coordinated from the *Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme* (FMSH). According to one of the organisers, the ambition was twofold: to counter the “loss of knowledge of French academics” about the Maghreb, and to reinforce relations of academics from the Maghreb not just with their French counterparts but with the Italian and Spanish as well. She felt that it “boosted cooperation between Algeria and France and Algeria and the Maghreb which has had effects that I think have lasted until today, because sometimes I go to Bejaia, [...] and I am invited by Algerian researchers who invite other French researchers they got to know through the FSP and with whom they worked”. An instrument of French diplomacy, the FSP programme also contributed to relaunching scientific relations between countries that were linked by colonial history. Even with the other aforementioned Mediterranean countries, most scientific relations are conducted in French. The Hubert Curien Partnership (PHC) Tassili,³ which is also based on a system of calls for projects, co-financed by both countries, has taken up where the FSP left off in recent years.

More specifically for literature, the *Ecole Doctorale Algéro-Française* (EDAF) was launched, and lasted from 2004 to 2011, followed by the

LAFEF network (*Langue Française et Expressions Francophones*), which is also a programme with FSP support. The objective was to train 2000 graduate students doing an M.A. or doctorate with the aim of training French teachers. For this reason, research in French-speaking literature was more congruous than research conducted on language didactics and linguistics (but still represents a third of all doctorates defended up until now). Even if researchers are sometimes critical about the fact that “quantitative” aspects were preferred over “qualitative” aspects in training Ph.D. students, euphemistic way of saying that these students were not well trained, nevertheless, thanks to these programmes, Ph.D. panels in Francophone literature almost always involve one or several foreign specialists (generally from France) – which is almost never the case in Arabic literature, even when the thesis is on an author from another Arab country.

Internationalisation Through the French Language and France

It is striking to see to what extent access to other countries of the North, particularly where English is spoken, is mediated by French and France. Paradoxically this is the case in literature, where we have shown the linguistic link between research and its object is very strong. The whole Institute for Foreign Languages in Bouzareah (University Algiers 2) works administratively in French, no matter the language taught: all interviewees in our surveys with one exception were perfectly fluent in French, some of whom had spoken French before learning any other language, even among the younger generations. Researchers in European literature refer to personal cases in which colleagues had gone to France to study English (at Université Nanterre) or German (at the University of Strasbourg). In fact, there were few respondents in all disciplines and of all ages who had not gone to France for a scientific stay. This is nothing new for the researcher in Berber literature we interviewed, because since the 1970s, when Amazigh was gradually marginalized in Algeria, France has been the center of studies of the subject (Chaker 2012). This is more surprising for sociologists and specialists in Arabic literature, such as a Ph.D. candidate in sociology of roughly forty years of age, who was not

able to go to Syria since the outbreak of the civil war there and put in a request to do a scientific internship in Paris. This does not, however, mean that they have relations with French colleagues, as has been pointed out by a senior academic specializing in Arabic literature and who did his graduate studies in France in the Arabic department: “I have friends in France, but not French friends. I mean Arab academics and researchers.” Paris has remained an “Arab capital” (Beau 1995), which makes it possible to resolve the problem of the rising “linguistic insecurity” (Labov) of Arabic speakers regarding French. Conversely, Francophones almost never go to an Arab country (with the exception of symposia held in Francophone Morocco and Tunisia).

This resurgence of the role of France and the French language in Algerian research does not seem to arouse much animosity on the part of Arabic speakers, as was the case in the 1980s–1990s, when some spoke of a “war of languages” in the intellectual field. Since the beginning of the 2000s, because they no longer face the competition of their Francophone peers, students who have been completely trained in Arabic “look for” courses taught partially in French, according to Francophone interviewees. The latent conflict between languages sometimes takes the form of a paradigmatic opposition between “French” and “Anglo-American” sociology, which is related to the strategic use of English by some Arabic speakers so as to counter the symbolic domination of French in Algeria. But, if it is true that many Arabophone scholars were trained in England or the United States, it is also the case of many of their Francophone counterparts. Moreover, it does not appear that Arabic-speakers trained in English-speaking countries have had international trajectories within English-speaking countries. Two interviewees, though trained in France, said they regretted the fact that the connections to English or American supervisors were rarely kept on.

In fact English and French are not really opposed: ties with English language sociology usually go through France and French. Generally, Anglophone Algerians start out as Francophone (or bilingual) Algerians. An important member of a sociology research center explained to us that the two European projects he got his center to participate in

were follow-ups to two French Tassili projects: collaboration between France and Algeria was the first step in the internationalization of this center. While French was dominant in the Tassili projects, and English widely used, the situation is reversed in these two European projects, where English becomes dominant, and French still widely used.

The two publications in English of a Francophone sociologist in his forties in the same research center were written in the context of one of these Tassili programmes and then through collaboration with researchers from Quebec: access to English passes through French. The Center for Maghreb studies in Algeria, *Centre d'études maghrébines en Algérie* (CEMA), an American research center in the social and human sciences, functions mainly in French, in contrast to centers of other countries of the Maghreb which are more multilingual. Francophone sociologists thus have a great advantage in their international trajectory. A forty-year old researcher at the research center was integrated into a Tassili project with a French university not because she had specific competencies in the field, but because of her linguistic resources, to ensure "that the contact flowed". However, the same researcher regretted that she was not "a good Anglophone", which "close[d] many doors" for her: she never responds to calls for papers and articles in English. A roughly sixty-year-old researcher in Francophone literature was not appointed at a prestigious American university for the same reason. Not having a command of English is perceived as a handicap by those Francophone academics with an international career strategy.

Despite the above, there are international academic careers which do not go through France and French. This is symptomatically the case of a researcher in sociology of roughly sixty years of age. This Arabophone scholar who was trained in France and specialised in political sociology, was contacted by two teams to participate in a European project on the political transformations in the Arab world since the revolutions. The first, based at a Scandinavian university, consisted of French-speaking researchers whom he had got to know at the Codesria in Dakar. But the second, based at a British university, got the project – his name had been put forward by colleagues from the Middle East. It was not through the Francophone network he entered the European project, but because of his involvement in transnational Arab networks dominated by Anglophones (Egyptians in particular).

This renewal of ties between France and Algeria can be seen from two political vantages: negatively as the largely continued dependency of Algerian research on France despite timid attempts at seeking out other transnational pathways; or positively, as a useful and potentially more egalitarian springboard within the context of English-speaking Europeanization and globalization, in which French continues to play an important role.

New International Discourses and Practices

The relationship of Algerian research to the international arena is characterized by the discrepancy between practices and discourses. While research is less international now than in the past, internationalization seems to have become a widespread buzz word. At the same time, the ambition to create an original post-colonial scientific space has yielded to the desire to keep up with the “international” model. Algerian university policies had an impact on forging diverse generational attitudes towards the international.

A Reversal of the De-internationalization of Algerian Researchers

International activities by Algerian researchers have declined. During the first years of independence, their “internationality” was not totally perceived of as such, since ties and movements continued with the former colonial power. For the oldest generation of researchers, international contacts went first and foremost through “*coopérants*”, development aid workers, who tended to be regarded as foreigners, even if they were born in Algeria. Outside France, many relationships existed with Arab or Communist countries. The movement of students between France and Algeria was particularly easy during the first years of independence because of the strict equivalence of university degrees between the two countries and the absence of visa requirements; during the 1970s and 1980s, this ceased to be the case. A roughly sixty-year-old researcher in Arabic literature went so far as to present studying abroad in a negative

light: “that created problems because you had to get an academic equivalency evaluation, whereas if I had defended my thesis in Algeria, it would have been less complicated.” The fact that he forgot that he was objectively lucky to receive funding to study abroad is symptomatic of how obvious the importance of international studies seemed to members of his generation, an attitude not shared by younger generations. These two barriers to movement have nevertheless partially been done away with in recent years: the Algerian State adopted the Bologna system of Bachelor-Master-Doctorate in 2010 and academics obtain visas for France more easily. In agreement with most researchers, one of them, a man in his sixties who had only had a job since the early 2000s, declared, “We never had a problem with visas at the consulate in Alger, but it takes time [...] On the other hand, it has become far simpler in recent years.” It is true that France has moved from an attitude of hosting “foreign students” from the former colonies towards one of attracting “international students” who participate in an international competition and who by definition do not represent a “migration risk” (Mazzella 2009a, 24).

Nevertheless, the economic barrier remained a significant one for the movement of students and researchers. On the contrary, in the 1970s and 1980s, grants to study abroad from Algeria’s ministry for higher education (Kadri 2000) were both numerous and generous and were granted for several years. The growth in the number of students, the depreciation of the dinar, the drop in revenues from hydrocarbons in the 1980s, and above all the multi-faceted crisis of the 1990s led to an increasingly drastic reduction of the number of grants for studying abroad as well as their length. The return of petroleum revenues at the end of the 1990s made it possible to reinstate the former grant policy, albeit on a smaller scale both in quantity and quality: today, long-term grants, which last 18 months at the most, are rare in the social and human sciences. While Ph.D. candidates now have a right to short-term grants for consulting libraries and archives, they only last two to four weeks. Besides reducing costs, these grants are promoted as reducing the “brain drain”. During the 1980s, the contract that linked post-graduate students to the Algerian State was very lenient on the part of the State. It was also politically motivated, as a means of avoiding the return of students whom public institutions could no longer hire. In addition, those students were often

viewed as having been politically mobilized. Present-day short-term grants force the students to return to Algeria.

However, emigration, made difficult by the scarcity of grants, has developed significantly (Latreche 2000), even though the substantial salary increases at university in recent years (some salaries increased three-fold) seems to have had a positive impact on the willingness of young researchers trained abroad to return to Algeria. The case of a recent Ph.D. graduate in European literature who could not go abroad for financial reasons highlights the generation gap in terms of returning. Academics in their sixties who studied abroad have since returned, while the younger ones have not: "...or they came back and did something else, converting to another field, such as tourism... But most remain abroad." Thus access to an international trajectory depends more now on students' and their parents' resources. This economic relationship between students and parents varies according to gender. Two female researchers in their sixties had to get married in order to be able to continue their studies abroad, while a specialist in literature in her thirties explained that her father did not allow her to study abroad.

Today, for the most part, long-term grants come from foreign countries. Young researchers in European languages and literatures generally benefitted from grants for language training (between 12 and 18 months) from the United States, the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) or the Italian Foreign Ministry. The European Averroes program awards 300 mobility grants per year for the three countries of the Maghreb for students, academics earning a salary, as well as administrative personnel. As for the graduate school EDAF, they funded short stays in France every year for several hundred post-graduate students.

The Over-valuation of the "International", and Internationalization on Site

As international relationships and international movements of Algerian academics and researchers are no longer routine, we see a change in the discourse on internationalization, which has become over-valued. In the first decades following independence, when access to an international

dimension was quite normal, what was chiefly at stake in Algeria was to give a national character to Algerian science at both the institutional and epistemic level. However, none of our interview respondents made mention of one of the major scientific stakes of the 1970s, based on the criticism of colonial knowledge by Frantz Fanon (1968), and then by Edward Saïd (1978) and disseminated today in the form of “post-colonial studies”: the de-Westernizing and the Algerianization of sociological theory. According to Sari Hanafi, it is now generally limited to quoting Ibn Khaldoun or Malek Bennabi, or indeed to trying to Islamize sociology (Hanafi and Arvanitis 2016). On the contrary, an academic in his sixties who does research on Arabic literature, claims to be proud of his Islamist positions, yet also values the importation of French structuralism to Algeria, something he was able to contribute to following his stay in France in the 1980s to work on his Ph.D. He speaks of his regular stays in France as ways of “keeping up” with the latest debates in academia.

At both an institutional and human level, Algerianization is challenged. For instance, a researcher in her sixties in Francophone literature commented:

Well cooperation was suspended, and everything had to be Algerianized: I understand that! [...] But, there comes a time at which, maybe there isn't um... how should I say?... one needn't feel anything if it is a ne-ce-ssi-ty, that's all. It's reality that required it... That's all.

While recognizing the legitimacy of Algerianization this researcher, who is also a French national, opposes nationalist ideology (“feel anything”) and a pragmatic approach (“reality”). Whereas another scholar in French literature from the same generation said that in Algeria, professors were “bad” at supervising Ph.D. dissertations, the aforementioned researcher presented the internationalization of students as the solution to their problems in training:

I think that there's always benefits to going abroad, one always comes back having gained something. It seems obvious, doesn't it? [...] It's absolutely necessary to improve the standards and one way of improving standards is to put our students in a position in which they have to perform, thereby pushing them forward.

Striking is how “obvious” it is to this researcher that training abroad is beneficial. All the more remarkable, in the words of this former Marxist, is the allusion to economic “performance”. This shift in discourse has to be related to the relative comeback of the Francophone intellectual elite since the beginning of the 2000s, with the liberal valuing of international competition in scientific research.

As in most countries in the South, internationalization is now carried out largely on site. Algeria, however, will not go so far as to accept branches of foreign private universities on its territory (Mazzella 2009a). New Information and Communication Technologies have surely allowed for the broader dissemination of scientific information – most researchers in Francophone literature emphasize the importance of the “Fabula” website to their work. In particular, this added value of the international goes hand in hand with a certain number of public policies based upon international models, which has run up against resistance. This is spectacularly the case of the progressive and difficult application of the Bologna system since 2008. According to one of its promoters, the National Research Programme (*Programme Nationale de Recherche* or PNR) took on the model of the French FSP programme which consists in project-based research funding in higher education and research. The FSP and other programmes set up by Algeria and France and the Euro-Mediterranean, also led Algeria’s Ministry for Higher Education to replace previously existing informal research teams with the system of formal research centers or laboratories. Nevertheless, an approximately sixty-year-old researcher in French literature, maintained that Algerian research laboratories are “empty shells” with lots of money allowing researchers to “go on trips” abroad and to fund “pretend symposia”. This international catching up is not the only consequence of close relations to France: the Ministry of Higher Education has asked a German consulting firm, albeit in collaboration with a French university, to come up with recommendations to improve the international “visibility” of Algerian research.

Thus, for several years the pressure to publish articles has been felt increasingly by academics. According to one interviewee, the number of papers submitted by Algerians to the Arab Council of the Social Sciences has grown substantially in just a few years. In a research center, substantial

bonuses (of 40% of salary) are awarded to researchers who have at least one publication each year, and promotions are also dependent upon fulfilling this criterion, from the level of the Ph.D. upwards. Ph.D. candidates have to have published an article before they are allowed to defend their theses. Nevertheless, this incentive for Algerian researchers to keep up with European practices in scientific production was facilitated by a policy of great flexibility in recognizing journals as “scholarly”. Most universities, and even institutes and departments, have their own journals but without anonymous peer reviewing. For instance, a fifty-year-old researcher in Francophone literature is member of the scientific board of a journal of sociology, though he acknowledges that it is not at all his field.

This model has come as a challenge to an older system, which still persists, leading a young Arabic-speaking scholar in sociology at a research center to express the opinion that the idea of “researcher” is a novelty in Algeria. Following the development across the world of the internationalization of the model of universities to be found in the United States, the relative value of teaching and research in an academic career is being reversed. For a long time since the 1950s, a teacher could pursue research as an option. There was a time, specifically in the Algeria, in which there was a divide between research and teaching due to the Arabization of academia and the growth of the student population. Today the aim is to ensure that teachers are, above all, researchers with “visible” research production; while at the same time the number of permanent researchers in research centers is rising.

The volume of para-academic research seems to be declining. Up until the beginning of the 2000s, the press was a major place for publishing research: certain articles in literature or sociology could keep their readers informed and in a state of anticipation over five or six editions. In the sub-field of research in Arabic literature, we can see a growing separation between research and literary production. Up until today, and as a reflection of the fact that numerous researchers are also writers, many symposia take place outside academia, as we hear in the testimony of a roughly sixty-year-old researcher in Arabic literature (who is not a writer of fiction).

What is more, last July I was invited by the Jordanian government for a conference... a seminar held in conjunction with the Jerash festival. [...] I was a member of the national executive committee of the Union of Algerian Writers, which allowed me to go on a tour to Egypt and Yemen alongside the academic and scientific symposia we participate in.

Now it seems that specifically academic symposia are developing, and are becoming comparable to the practices of the Francophone sub-field. The role of the Gulf universities seems decisive, particularly in importing the specialised practices of calls for papers on a precise subject.

The internationalization of Algerian researchers has not increased, but it has changed. In terms of practices, international mobility and exchanges with foreigners have declined in intensity since the 1970s and 1980s as relatively few long-term grants (lasting several years) were replaced by many short-term grants for only a few weeks. Internationalization is carried out on site, using new information and communication technologies and importing so-called international organisational models. In terms of discourse, whereas in the 1970s, daily evidence of international engagement went hand in hand with a nationalist ideology of institutional and epistemic Algerianization, today we see a discourse shared by all generations of over-valuation attached to the “international”, in a more liberal economic context and the relative return of the Francophone intellectual elite to grace.

Marginal Participation in International Research

Despite this international orientation, the effective participation of Algerian researchers in international research has remained low. Sari Hanafi has pointed to the very rare participation of Arab researchers in world congresses of the International Sociological Association (Hanafi and Arvanitis 2016). Their presence abroad is generally confined to marginal spaces, which is largely the consequence of their object of study. The vast majority of Algerian researchers deals with Algerian subjects rather than topics seen as more legitimate in central spaces (Krause 2016). The

implications are nevertheless different depending on whether they are working in literature or in sociology. This is due to two major reasons: career strategies and identity labelling in the context of the international division of scientific work, and the social or political role they attribute to their research.

Marginal Research in the International Division of Scientific Research

Various publications have shown that there is an international division of labour in the social sciences, divided into central scientific spaces and marginal scientific spaces (Keim 2008). For Hountondji, this international division of scientific work comes from the colonial era, and was interiorized by African researchers, who limit themselves to African objects, “leaving it up to others to theorize in their place and to interpret the mass of data they bring by including it in more vast data sets” (Hountondji 2001).

This domination is well known among researchers themselves and is criticized by a roughly sixty-year-old sociologist at the university. Working on the Algerian State, this sociologist had a theoretical article comparing the perspectives of two classical authors of the sociology of the State turned down after submitting it to an international journal specializing in the Maghreb at the beginning of the 1980s: “What is expected of the Arab, of the Algerian, is to content himself with fieldwork but not to meddle with what is called theoretical elaboration.” Without calling into question the objective reality of this domination, we may nevertheless suppose that his observation was also a way of justifying why he had published so little. He has not always been so reluctant to be identified as “the Arab”. When the “refugee crisis” had become such a burning issue in Europe in 2013–2014, a member of a prestigious English university asked him to deliver a lecture on refugees, notwithstanding the fact he had never done any research on the topic. The European academic who invited him was therefore treating him less as a fellow scientist and more as a privileged informer of issues related to his country (or “region” or “religion”). Inequalities in the scientific space are not only related to theorisation but also to the object under study.

To account for this international division of scientific labour, Syed Farid Alatas (2003) distinguishes three levels: (1) the division between studies of other countries and one's own country, (2) the division between comparative studies and case studies, (3) the division between theoretical and empirical work. These two latter divisions are valid for the social sciences, but less for literature. Sociology tends to function more collectively both in surveys or investigations and in publications, allowing for comparisons and the move from the particular to the general. The scientific horizon of sociology implies an intense discussion of these theorisations. In contrast, the hermeneutic tradition in literature attaches priority to an individual approach, sometimes juxtaposed against that of other critiques, but with rarer theorizing: special thematic issues are not frequent, and monographs are accorded greater value than articles. This difference in the function involves greater internationality among sociologists, who can be involved in international comparative surveys. For this reason, English is used far more by sociologists than specialists in literary studies, who tend to confine their publications to the linguistic areas of the literature they study. While what is at stake for Algerian sociologists is to create balanced exchanges with foreign academics, literary specialists are more fundamentally interested in the very creation of international academic exchanges, by according international legitimacy to the object they study.

One can effectively observe that the vast majority of Algerian researchers work on Algerian subjects. Only researchers who have worked abroad tend to open their field of study so as to distinguish themselves from what is expected of them as Algerians and because of their placement strategies. A young Ph.D. candidate studying sociology who had been abroad since he was a teenager was reluctant to work on a specifically Algerian subject, but nevertheless chose to work on the Arab Muslim world. Researchers in Francophone literature who had gone abroad, notably during the civil war of the 1990s, have been forced to open their field of research in Francophone Algerian literature to the entirety of the French-speaking world outside France because of the jobs they obtained in "*littérature francophone*". Nevertheless, it is striking that none of them have become specialists in "French" literature.

If economic difficulties obtaining access to fieldwork can explain this trend in sociology, the trend is less easily explained for literary studies.

Typically, it is fair to say that internationalization goes hand in hand with the nationalization of the objects of study. Thus, a roughly fifty-year-old researcher in comparative literature who is a specialist in European language and literature from sub-Saharan Africa was asked, when she was residing in the United States, if she would like to give talks on Albert Camus – because she, too, was from Algeria. This phenomenon can be observed in particular among literary specialists who begin their research with a comparative approach: very soon, particularly after going abroad, they drop their European objects of study. A roughly forty-year-old researcher who had written her Ph.D. thesis on a comparison of African-American authors and Francophone Algerians has only given papers on the latter; and of the two articles she has published, one, published in a (“not very serious”) U.S.-based journal, following a call for articles found on the internet, was on testimonies of torture during the Algerian war – i.e. one of the most “Algerian” subjects, but not one for which she was a specialist.

In sociology, Algerian objects are, theoretically, no less legitimate than any other. This is particularly the case in the Arab world. Algerians are now among the leading contributors to *Idafat*, a journal of the social sciences published in Lebanon: almost all articles published by Algerian authors deal with Algeria, as is indicated in the titles. This is, after all, an indication of the peripheral status of these writings, as Wiebke Keim shows: “Typically, publications from the periphery contain the geographical location in their title, or regional status of their knowledge production, a feature that has no equal in Atlantic production” (Keim 2008, 33). Nevertheless, one interviewee emphasized the very new tendency of young Algerian researchers to explore fields outside of Algerian domains – particularly in the greater Maghreb area. In France, according to one interviewee, Algeria as an object enjoyed a particular status in sociology up until the 1980s: important figures in the social sciences, such as Pierre Bourdieu, at the pinnacle of their careers had studied the object or had simply lived in Algeria, which may have aroused their interest. The disappearance of this generation nonetheless has had an indubitable impact on the interest that central institutions have shown for this object. The reality of scientific exchanges shows the marginal status of Algerian objects – most ties are with regional or area specialists. The names of foreign researchers who are spontaneously quoted are usually specialists in the

“cultural area” to which Algeria belongs; and because of this prism, they are less specifically sociologists and rather more generally researchers in the human and social sciences. One researcher, who wanted to list all the researchers with whom he had relations at the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*, indicated only researchers from the Maghreb or researchers at the IISMM (*Institut d'études de l'Islam et des sociétés du monde musulman*); while the name of the Oxford historian specializing in Algeria, James McDougall, was mentioned in two separate interviews. By the same token, as Keim writes, “Regionally specialised journals are more readily available to sociologists from the South than more prestigious general social sciences journals” (Keim 2008, 38).

We can therefore better understand the comment made by a roughly sixty-year-old sociologist at a research center who aims at ensuring that relations between partners from the North and the South are balanced in setting up projects between Algeria and France: “What was important was less being a specialist on Algeria than being a specialist of the *urba*- [urban sociology], or whatever... That was what was put forward. Not being an object of study but being an actor in the exchange.” In fact, these research programmes made it possible to set up new scientific networks between researchers from the North and the South, which have broken this link to the object. According to one of the promoters of the FSP, its role was to put an end to “old hunting preserves, where there were a few French mandarins”, which meant that Algeria was “dealt with by Aix-en-Provence.” Nevertheless, the reality is not so clear cut. Symptomatically, the research group on “Foreign students in the Maghreb and the Euro-Mediterranean Areas: what form of internationalization will higher education and what form of the movement in skills take?” financed by the FSP programme from 2005 to 2008 was coordinated at the Laboratoire Méditerranéen de Sociologie (LAMES) based in Aix-en-Provence by the French researcher, Sylvie Mazzella, a specialist of Maghrebi immigration and the publication’s editor. However it is worth noticing that she was not a “mandarin” but a relatively young researcher, and that in the acknowledgements in the book, French laboratories and researchers are listed who participated in the project without being specialist of the object beforehand: thus a certain opening of the research programme is perceptible. As for the

Tassili project on “Trajectories of Maghreb engineering students trained in France (1995–2015): a situational analysis and future prospects”, launched in 2011, it was co-organized by the CREAD and the *Centre de Recherche en Formation de Brest*, which had no previous institutional affiliation with Algerian research institutions. Linda Gardelle, who coordinated the project on the French side, had previously been a specialist of Mongolia. New networks were also set up, but if relations have tended to become more balanced, the material and symbolic inequalities have remained substantial.

In literature, what is at stake for Algerian researchers is more fundamentally the legitimacy of their object, a prerequisite for any internationalization. Legitimacy for research on Algerian literature is little contested in the Arab world (even though some researchers refer to a form of “ostracism”): the theses of Algerian researchers in Arabic literature defended in a country of the Middle East, usually on Algerian writers, are supervised by researchers who have not specialized in Algeria. In contrast, following the image of hierarchies in the space of international literature, Algerian literature is not highly valued in international centers. Researchers in Francophone literature are internationalized, however within a very closed network of “Francophone studies”. Most interviewees quote two eminent personalities in the field in France since the 1980s: Charles Bonn (at the University of Paris XIII and later the University of Lyon 2) and Guy Dugas (at the Sorbonne Paris 4 and then the University of Montpellier 2). Outside France, they are also to be found in French departments in which so-called post-colonial literature has gained legitimacy over the last two decades as studying French literature became relativized. This new-found legitimacy of post-colonial literature has reached France in recent years, while researchers in literature are having more exchanges with researchers who are not specialists in Algeria. Because collective projects are very rare, research in literature benefitted from funding for the mobility of students, teachers, and the co-supervision of research, from the FSP-EDAF programme. Of the 275 (M.A. and Ph.D.) theses which have or have not been defended (end of 2016), almost all deal with Algerian literature, with or without a comparative dimension – however, surprisingly, even if French specialists in Algerian or non-French Francophone literatures are over-represented, a large number of supervisors

had never before worked on Algerian literature. This is the case of Bruno Gelas, a professor at the University of Lyon 2, a specialist in poetry and the interactions between literature and philosophy in French and European literary works. He is the professor who has supervised the largest number of Algerian students (22). It is true that supervising a thesis is not proof of deeper scientific relations, even more so over the long term. At the same time, the EDAF programme contributed to opening French researchers up to Algerian literature.

Locally Committed Research

Despite these perceptible positive developments, observations of inequality in international scientific research appear undeniably justified. Nevertheless, the holistic approach neglects the understanding Algerian researchers themselves have of their research, depending on the position they occupy in the transnational scientific space. As Pascale Casanova showed for literature, literary marginality is not just the consequence of the domination by the center, but is also linked to political commitments, particularly nationalist commitments (Casanova 2008).

Thus, a specialist in European literature spontaneously insisted that the entire department had a “patriotic” approach. Dealing with Algerian subjects may come from a nationalist approach. Another researcher in European literature said that she compared a given literature with Algerian literature so as to put an end to the negative image of the Algeria of the civil war. Another goal at stake for one sociologist was “not to wait for the French or the Americans” to come and study it on the site. This nationalism has been institutionalized: following nationalist criticisms of the extroversion of the study of Francophone literature, most of the curriculum taught in French is on writers from the Maghreb who wrote in French – and this goes on to have an impact on the choices of young researchers regarding their topics for study.

At the same time, the relatively low autonomy of the scientific field in Algeria should be emphasized. Research has to have a social or political utility: this is seen when research is often spontaneously presented as political in sociology (for instance research on the farm reform in the

1970s or women's rights in the 1980s) or in literature (particularly on questions of identity); or it is seen with the circulation of sociologists within the academic space, that of expertise and the political arena. Just as in the World Republic of Letters, researchers who do not set themselves national objectives (such as social progress or political awareness raising) but focus on academic discussions in the international research centers risk sometimes to be dismissed as "traitors" (Gueye 2011). For example, a sociologist who defended his thesis in the United Kingdom told us that he was encouraged by an eminent British historian to publish his thesis in English, but that it made no sense to him ("I asked myself, what for?") and that he wanted to translate it into French and publish it in Algeria. Whether this anecdote is altogether true or not does not detract from the fact the researcher saw a virtue in his disinterest in participating in an international science, which would have been vain.

So, when Hountondji, because of the material inequalities (infrastructure, documentation, etc.) and symbolic inequalities between the centers and the peripheries of international scientific research, refers to the tendency of African researchers towards "extraversion", he is only taking account of those who try to play the international scientific game, and for that reason work on local objects. However, he neglects the transnational structure of peripheral scientific fields, and those who conceive of research as an integral part of the resolution of the political and social problems of the country. It is moreover remarkable in the case of Algeria that the most internationalized Algerian researchers try to strike a balance between international recognition and a national political commitment.

Conclusion

Whatever die-hard champions of globalization may say, the dominated character of Algerian research in the international scientific sphere is still clear. Moreover, globalization has not been a continuous process, which by increasing exchanges would have helped Algeria move from colonial inequality to an equality of opportunities in a globalized world: on the contrary, the internationality of Algerian researchers has lost in intensity what it has gained in quantity. Nevertheless, against some

critical approaches of an immutable unequal world space of research, it is worth noting that certain developments have helped to reduce international scientific inequalities for Algerian researchers. The Arab regional area seems increasingly egalitarian and accessible to Algerian researchers. The weight of heritage is not univocally purely “neo-colonial”: diplomatic rapprochements between France and Algeria have reinforced the dependencies on the former colonial power, but on more equal footing. Through this cooperation, however, linguistic inequalities between French and Arabic speakers, which existed at both the national and international levels, and were both symbolic and material, have increased. The French language and France appear to be the main vector of access to the European and English-speaking world, even if other ways of internationalization have multiplied. This is the case in sociology, but to a lesser extent in literature, where the generally less theoretical ambition and the less collective-oriented practice in research implies that publications tend to be limited to the languages of the literatures that are being studied – despite the interest for literature described as post-colonial literature in the English-speaking world. Possibilities for international exchange thus depend on several factors that cannot be reduced to the dominated position Algeria has taken in the global scientific sphere – factors of the political and diplomatic will of countries that vary over time with generational impact, the language used, the discipline and gender.

This study has taken into account historical developments, in addition to the meaning actors attach to their research – rather than deploring the consequences of the marginal position of Algerian research in international research. The ambition of certain theoreticians from the 1960s up to the present day to leave a kind of epistemic dependency regarding former colonial centers behind them was not to be found among our interviewees, who are now seeking more to respond to the challenge of the international dimension of integrating into the order rather than subverting it. However, not all interviewees take account of the international dimension, or consider the international scientific order to represent a challenge as compared with the political role they confer on their research at a national level.

Notes

1. A different version of the same study is published in French (Leperlier 2018b in press).
2. 36 on average 45-minute interviews, usually recorded and transcribed by ourselves or a third person: 22 who did research in literature (7 in French literature, 6 in Arab literature, 1 in Berber literature and 6 in English literature, 1 in German literature and 1 in Italian literature), and 14 in sociology (of whom 9 work for the most part in French and 5 for the most part in Arabic). The 13 interviews with writers who are academics at the same time lasted on average for two hours: 10 in Arab literature, 2 in sociology, and 1 in French literature.
3. Of 280 PHC Tassili projects financed since 2007, 29 were in the social and human sciences or in the humanities.

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8

The Internationalization of Sociology in Argentina 1985–2015: Geographies and Trends

Alejandro Blanco and Ariel Wilkis

Introduction

Since the mid-1980s in Argentina, unusual academic processes have influenced the institutional development of sociology which is still a relatively young discipline having been introduced at into universities only in 1957. For over three decades now sociology has developed in a context of political stability. In the 1960s and 1970s successive coups d'état hindered sustained intellectual and institutional growth in the field (Sidicaro 1993; Blanco 2006; Blanco and Jackson 2015).

In addition to the unprecedented stability of national institutions under democracy since 1983, a series of institutional innovations has altered the configuration of the university system, strengthening science and technology at all levels and contributing to increased professionalization

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_8

among Argentine sociologists. Some of the most important modifications include the expansion of the higher education system through new public and private universities and increased investments in research in science and technology. There has also been a considerable rise in the number of full-time teaching positions at universities, graduate fellowships and research-track positions at the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, or CONICET). Finally, the number of master's and doctoral programs in the social sciences in Argentina grew significantly in the mid-1990s, as did the number of periodicals in the social sciences and humanities (Beigel and Salatino 2015).

However, one persistent phenomenon—the focus of this chapter—has also characterized Argentine sociology in recent decades. Much has been written about the internationalization of sociology since it became a recognized part of university education in Argentina in the 1950s. The discipline's most renowned intellectual and institutional advocate in Argentina, Gino Germani (a foreigner himself),¹ made the then new Department of Sociology at the Universidad de Buenos Aires into an unofficial international center for study and research. One aspect of this internationalization was a program for intensive scientific cooperation with professors and researchers from Europe, the United States (U.S.) and other countries across Latin America. In the first few years of the discipline, around twenty professors from other countries taught or conducted research at the Department of Sociology at the Universidad de Buenos Aires and the Sociology Institute headed by Germani in Buenos Aires.

Another initiative that Germani put into motion was to develop links with a network of international organizations which provided support and funding for the social sciences (UNESCO, OAS), with U.S. institutions that offered fellowships for scholars (the Ford and Rockefeller foundations), and with global organizations like the International Sociological Association. Germani's active involvement in two regional centers, both founded in 1957, proved critical to the activities of international networks and decisive for the immediate future of the social sciences. These were the Latin American School of the Social Sciences (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, or FLACSO, in Chile) and the Latin American Center

for Research in the Social Sciences (Centro Latinoamericano de Pesquisas en Ciências Sociais, or CLAPCS, in Rio de Janeiro), (Franco 2007).

Perhaps most importantly, Germani promoted graduate studies abroad as a strategy for increasing the intellectual capital of the new sociologists, making the international facet of the social sciences prominent among its first recruits. As there were no graduate programs in the social sciences in Argentina at the time, studying abroad was the only way to earn a higher degree in the discipline for many years. With the help of subsidies from the Ford Foundation, most of Germani's closest collaborators earned graduate degrees abroad, mainly in the U.S. and the United Kingdom (U.K.), and, to a lesser degree, in France. Of the forty sociologists born between 1928 and 1945 who earned graduate degrees abroad between 1960 and 1980 (and whose academic records are available), sixteen received their degree in the U.S., eleven in France, seven in the U.K. and six in Chile. In this regard, study abroad took root as a method for internationalizing intellectual capital during these first years and went on to become a veritable tradition in the social sciences in Argentina.

These strategies consolidated the discipline and helped shape an intellectual milieu around this first generation of sociologists characterized by their international experience. The sociologists who embarked upon their academic careers in the mid-1980s assimilated this tradition while also maneuvering global processes that have since redefined international academic exchanges. Recent studies have shown that the current process of internationalization in the social sciences takes place in segmented circuits: the hyper-central, central, semi-peripheral or peripheral circuit. As a hierarchy took shape, particular academic spheres (the Anglo-Saxon world, especially the U.S.) became more prominent and a certain work style (publishing in journals) became the norm, along with a specific language (English). The literature on this topic has contributed significantly to the creation of a “core-periphery model” for analyzing the power relations at work behind the globalization of the academic market, emphasizing the inequalities associated with international academic exchanges.² While the asymmetrical relations of these international circuits have long been acknowledged, researchers have yet to explore the impact of trends in internationalization on local academia. This article intends to address precisely this aspect of the academic globalization process.

In keeping with that objective, we will examine how the new generations of Argentine sociologists relate to the actual global processes that are shaping international academic exchanges. In pursuing this task, we have set four specific objectives:

1. analyze the geographic circulation of Argentine sociologists and their products (books and journal articles);
2. understand the stratification of this group based on the level of internationalization of their career paths;
3. determine the participation of these sociologists in the most coveted circuits based on the current dynamics of international academic exchange;
4. examine how the internationalization of sociologists' careers influences their intellectual prestige and power in local academia.

Between 1984 and 2007, a total of 3079 sociologists graduated from the Universidad de Buenos Aires (Blois 2012). According to recent studies (Rubinich and Beltrán 2010; Blois 2012), 16% of these graduates held academic appointments or were researchers at the end of the 1990s. Taking into account growth at Argentina's universities and research centers between 2003 and 2015, this percentage is estimated now to stand at 20% or approximately 610 sociologists. From this population, we selected 136 *curricula vitae* of sociologists.

The population under study are Argentine sociologists who meet the following conditions: a degree in sociology from the country's oldest and most prestigious program, a doctorate,³ affiliations at institutions located in a geographic area with extensive resources and opportunities for academic recognition, and an academic career at the university and/or research institute that began no later than 1985. These are the characteristics we determined most important to high-ranking appointments in the academic field of sociology. The study of this population provides insight into the internationalization processes of trajectories that most accurately reflect patterns of contemporary academic globalization.

We selected résumés with a view to having enough cases to consider professionals who have been in the field for two decades along with others whose careers have just begun. When selecting the cases for our study,

we also contemplated the need to include both sociologists who had earned their doctorate in Argentina and others who completed theirs abroad. As we will see, these two variables—seniority in the field and country where the Ph.D. was completed—both prove critical in our study. The study population was 52.6% men and 47.4% women; the majority are aged 35–55 years and their principal workplace is an academic institution in the city of Buenos Aires or its metropolitan area.

The analysis of the Argentine case provides insight into the contemporary dynamics of internationalization in the social sciences and the processes of building academic prestige and power in an internationally peripheral sociological field.

Geographies of Internationalization

To examine the geographies of internationalization, it is necessary to establish the hierarchy of the international circuits in which Argentine sociologists and their products circulate. There are three main circuits: the global hyper-central circuit (U.S.), the global-central circuit (France, U.K., Germany), and the central peripheral circuit (Brazil, Mexico). Table 8.1 offers a basic analysis of foreign circulation among Argentine scholars.

Circulation Among Agents

Thirty-seven per cent of the population of sociologists analyzed went abroad for their doctoral studies. The circuit of European countries (France, Germany and the U.K.) was the most popular choice among

Table 8.1 Argentine sociologists and their activities abroad

	Yes (%)	No (%)	%
Completed a doctorate abroad	37	63	100
Went on research stays abroad	38	62	100
Was invited to teach classes abroad	30	70	100
Directed international research projects	12	88	100
Participated in international research projects	36	64	100

sociologists who left Argentina to obtain their Ph.D. (52.9%). If we add Spain (13.7%) to this pole, Europe becomes the predominant option for international study outside the U.S. and the countries of Latin America. Within Europe, France is the most frequent destination, attracting 45% of Argentine sociologists who traveled abroad for their doctoral studies.⁴ The central circuit within Latin America (Brazil and Mexico) attracted 21.5% of the sociologists who went abroad for their Ph.D. The U.S. is not one of the predominant sites chosen for this level of graduate studies (9.8%).

The predominance of this pole of European countries (especially France) continues when we examine circulation abroad through research stays. Thirty-eight per cent of the entire population went on research stays, which are considered part of professional advancement after completing a Ph.D. As Table 8.2 shows, in terms of geography, 64.5% of visiting scholars went to European countries, 43.5% on its global central circuit (France, the U.K. and Germany). If we examine the weight of each country, we find that 28.5% of stays were in France, 14% in Spain, 12% in Germany, 3% in the U.K. and 6% in other countries of Europe (Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the Czech Republic). It is important to note that the preponderance of the United States increases among visiting scholars (17.5%). However, when analyzing this aspect of internationalization among Argentine sociologists, it also becomes clear that although circulation is most predominant in the European pole, it is mainly limited to non-Anglo-Saxon institutions (as seen in the low percentage of research stays in the U.K. and the high number of stays in France).

Table 8.2 Academic activities abroad by circuit

	Earned doctorate abroad (%)	Research stays abroad (%)	Visiting scholars (%)
Global hyper-central (USA)	9.8	17.5	15
Global-central (France, Great Britain, Germany)	52.9	43.5	25
Central peripheral (Brazil, Mexico)	21.5	12	23
Spain	13.7	13	14
Other LATAM countries	0	1	19
Other countries	1	10	1
Didn't know/didn't respond	0	3	3
Total	100	100	100

The countries of Latin America and its most important circuit (Brazil and Mexico) regain ground in comparison to the European pole when considering the Argentine sociologists who travel abroad as visiting professors. Thirty per cent of the sample taught abroad, with scholars gravitating towards the regional pole due to the language factor. The countries of Latin America captured 42% of Argentine sociologists who traveled abroad as visiting scholars. Brazil has a particularly prominent place on this circuit, surpassing even Mexico.⁵ While Brazil attracted 17% of visiting professors, Mexico received just 7%, giving Brazil the highest preponderance among Latin American countries (19%). If we bring Spain into the picture, Table 8.2 shows that Spanish and Portuguese-speaking institutions attracted 56% of all visiting Argentine scholars.

This brief overview of the circulation of Argentine sociologists who entered academia since the end of the 1980s allows us to reach some preliminary conclusions. Internationalization through doctoral studies, research stays and being visiting scholars abroad is neither widespread nor rare. From the point of view of the segmentation of the global academic sphere, the dominant path of internationalization is the central circuit comprised of European countries, especially France. In spite of its secondary place in terms of degrees, the hyper-central circuit is increasingly chosen as an alternative for professional advancement and teaching after completing graduate studies. When considered together, the two circuits capture 63% of degrees earned abroad, 61% of research stays and 40% of teaching outside of Argentina. In terms of the last type of circulation (teaching abroad), the Latin American circuit recovers its standing in comparison to the hyper-central and global-central academic spheres. The visiting scholar circuit brings into the fold other countries in the region that were absent as alternatives for learning and professional advancement.

The Circulation of Books and Articles

This section will focus on the international circulation of products (books, book chapters and journal articles) by Argentine sociologists. The majority of publications, including 78.2% of books, 72.2% of book chapters and 57.8% of journal articles, are published in Argentina. This population

thus releases most of its intellectual production on the local academic market. However, the geographic destination of books and journal articles published outside Argentina is also of interest.

As shown in Table 8.3, the geography of the products by Argentine sociologists in circulation is similar in some aspects to the circulation of the agents themselves, but different in others. The table shows that 12.2% of book and 8.8% of journal articles by Argentine sociologists in the period under consideration were published in the United States. The circulation of both the agents and their products on this hyper-central circuit is therefore limited. Unlike the agents, who gravitate towards the global-central circuit (France, the U.K. and Germany), however, the dominant pole for books and journal articles is Spain, which released 29% of the books published by Argentine sociologists outside Argentina. If we examine the other countries in Latin America, the prevalence of Spanish and Portuguese-speaking outlets becomes evident in terms of the international circulation of books, with 58.2% published in Spain and Latin American countries. Putting aside these outlets, France is the country where Argentina sociologists published the most books (15.5%).

When the circulation of journal articles abroad is the focus, the central-peripheral circuit of Latin America predominates (36.6%). The weight of circulation outside the other circuits (hyper-central and central) increases if we include the journal articles published in Spain and other Latin American countries, which published 69.8% of all articles appearing in journals abroad. France also loses ground in this type of circulation, taking fourth place on the list. The order by country is Spain (18%), Mexico (16%), Brazil (13.5%) and France (9%).

Table 8.3 Publication of books and articles by circuit

	Books released by foreign publishing houses (%)	Articles in foreign journals (%)
Global hyper-central (USA)	12	8.8
Global-central (France, Germany, Great Britain)	18.8	12.9
Central peripheral (Mexico, Brazil)	20.6	36.6
Spain	29	19.8
Other LATAM countries	8.6	13.7
Other countries	11	8.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.00

Given that Brazilian journals accept articles written in Spanish, the data presented allow us to infer that Spanish is the main language for export among Argentine sociologists whose career in academia began over the past three decades. This is different from what occurs in Europe, where “internationalization and a certain diversification of international collaborations have been accompanied by a gradual rise in the use of English as the language for disseminating research findings, with the resulting drop in the use of French and German,” (Gingras and Heilbron 2009: 378).

Two consonant trends can be detected in the global overview of geographies and circuits of internationalization among the Argentine sociologists who were the focus of this study. The first is the internationalization of the education and professional advancement of agents, with Europe—and, more specifically, France—as the dominant region. The circulation of the products authored by these sociologists is also international, but generally occurs outside the central and hyper-central circuits. Latin America and Spain are the most common destinations for these “exports,” which are mainly written in Spanish. This global overview reveals an incongruity between a strategy for the accumulation of scientific capital that mainly takes place in the central and hyper-central circuits (degree programs and in some cases, stays for professional advancement abroad) and the placement of the products resulting from the accumulated capital (books and articles) in central peripheral or peripheral circuits.

The Density of Internationalization

Internationalization Segments

In the previous section, we argued that internationalization is not ubiquitous among Argentine sociologists, though it is prevalent. To gauge the extent of internationalization among the selected population, we designed a typology with dimensions on the circulation of people and their products to measure the density of interactions abroad.⁶ In this way, we hope to provide insight into the impact international experiences have on the career of the scholars included in the study. The members of this population were

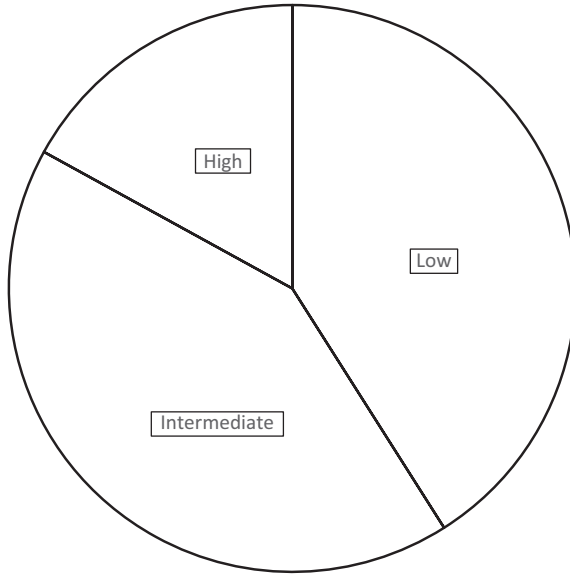


Fig. 8.1 Typology of internationalization

then divided into three categories according to their level of internationalization (high, intermediate or low). Figure 8.1 reveals the distribution of the population according to the typology of internationalization.

The lowest internationalization category is comprised of sociologists who graduated between 1996 and 2007 (70%), with the remaining 30% having graduated between 1985 and 1995. A total of 76.5% of the members of this category earned their Ph.D. in Argentina. Forty per cent of the intermediate category corresponds to the first cohort and the remaining 60%, to the more recent graduates. Fifty per cent of the intermediates earned their doctorates in Argentina. The highest internationalization category is comprised of sociologists who graduated between 1985 and 1995 (65.2%), with the remaining 34.8% graduating the following decade. Seventy-five per cent of this group received their doctorates abroad.

From these numbers, it becomes clear that earning a doctorate abroad is closely tied to high international career paths, as a Ph.D. in Argentina

Table 8.4 Place where doctoral studies were completed by types of internationalization and graduation cohort

	1985–1995 Cohort			1996–2006 Cohort		
	Low (%)	Intermediate (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Intermediate (%)	High (%)
Ph.D. in Argentina	76.5	50	20	87.50	60.60	25
Ph.D. abroad	23.50	50	80	12.50	39.40	75
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

This chart compares the country where the doctorate was earned for each category in the typology of internationalization, dividing the population into cohorts based on the year they graduated

correlates with the lowest category included in this typology. Eighty-four per cent of those included in the low category earned their Ph.D. in Argentina, while 78.3% of sociologists with the highest level of internationalization completed their doctoral studies abroad. The weight of study abroad as a key investment for a more international career path also becomes clear when the generational variable is taken into account (see Table 8.4). Over this entire period, and despite changes in the institutional context (the creation of a system of graduate degree programs in Argentina) earning a doctorate abroad still enhanced overall performance in terms of internationalization.

This initial approximation leads us to consider that the lowest category entails different realities depending on whether it is viewed as structural or as a point along the career path where advancement is still possible. Belonging to the 1985–1995 cohort, especially among those who did not earn their academic credentials abroad (76.5% of this group), increases the possibilities of structural relegation in the lowest internationalization category. Sociologists who are in the lowest category of our internationalization typology but belong to the younger cohort are more likely to remain in this relegated position only temporarily. As we have seen, the weight of a doctorate abroad affects sociologists' capacity to increase their internationalization. The projection of this variable within the 1996–2006 cohort is limited to 12.5% of the group's members. In comparison with the lowest category, the number of members of the 1985–1995 cohort and the number of sociologists with academic

credentials obtained outside Argentina grows for this younger cohort. There are also differences among the 17% of the population that occupies the highest category. The analysis showed that certain members from the first cohort earned their doctorate abroad at a young age, yielding the lengthiest internationalized career paths. It also revealed a more dynamic group within the second cohort that earned doctorates abroad and brought to bear strategies to foster more international exchanges; this group thus stood out professionally, even among peers who earned their Ph.D. outside the country. Finally, there is a small group within the 1985–1995 cohort that did not do doctoral studies abroad but did find ways to compensate for this initial disadvantage.

Types of Internationalization

The dynamics of internationalization have a bearing on the different kinds of circulation of both the agents and their products over the course of their careers. This section focuses on the types of internationalization of the scholars examined here and addresses the following questions: what channels or venues for the circulation of people and products can be used to categorize this population? How frequently do these experiences recur in the career paths of the Argentine scholars?

Table 8.5 offers information relevant to these questions. Thirty per cent of the population has published at least one book abroad and taught classes outside Argentina and 37–39% have been part of an international research project, received an international grant or undertaken a research stay abroad. The most common experience is publishing articles abroad (98%) while the least common is directing an international research project (15%).

This global overview serves as a reference when analyzing each of the categories of internationalization and the career paths of the members of each category in terms of possible types of circulation. The publication of books abroad, teaching at foreign universities and leading international projects define the highest category, whereas these activities are (almost) entirely absent in the lowest internationalization category. Undoubtedly, these three circulation channels require much greater (international)

Table 8.5 Activities abroad by types of internationalization

	Publishing books abroad (%)	Teaching abroad (%)	Directing a research project (%)	Grants (%)	Participation in research projects (%)	Research stays (%)	Articles (%)
Total	30	30	13	39	35	37	98
High	87	83	52	70	61	61	100
Intermediate	38	40	9	49	49	45	100
Low	0	0	0	26	19	19	91

This chart compares the percentages of the seven international activities for each category in the typology of internationalization and for the entire target population

social capital than the rest of the internationalization venues, which explains why they are so scarce among the least internationalized agents: international networks are critical to academic endeavors abroad. The lowest position in the typology, held by 41% (see Fig. 8.1 above) of the population in this study, is reinforced by the near absence of other internationalization channels in their career paths. Only 19% of the members of this category went on research stays or participated in projects abroad, with 26% receiving international grants. For the low internationalization category, the publication of journal articles is the most common experience abroad.

According to the information on the intermediate category of internationalization venues—which comprises around 42.2% of the sociologists analyzed, 38% published a book abroad, 38% taught outside of Argentina, 49% received an international grant and participated in an international project and 45% went on a research stay abroad. The least common venue in the career paths of the agents in this category is that of research project director. The publication of journal articles is once again the most common type of circulation abroad. Unlike the low category, the internationalization paths that allow people and their products to circulate abroad are more diversified in the middle category. Unlike the highest category, however, and as we will now see, the degree of this diversification is lower.

The category of high internationalization, which represents 17% of the population studied, includes the agents most likely to have had experience in all types of international activities. In fact, 87% of this group has published books abroad, 83% have taught abroad, 52% have directed an international project, 70% have received international grants, 61% have gone on research stays and 61% have participated in international projects.

To continue this analysis, it is important to consider the distances between the internationalization categories as measured by the recurrence of each circulation channel within the category. In the highest category, members have published, on average, 1.6 books; traveled abroad 3.4 times as visiting scholars; served as research project directors 1.75 times and participated in such projects 3.7 times; received 2.68 international grants; and traveled abroad for research stays 2.07 times. The members of this segment have published, on average, 12.3 articles abroad. In the

intermediate category, the numbers are as follows: an average of 1.23 books published abroad, 1.5 trips as visiting scholars, one position directing an international project and three involvements in such a project. In this same category, on average, agents received 1.4 international grants and went on 1.9 research stays abroad, publishing 9.27 articles in foreign journals. Finally, the lowest segment has the most meager levels in each channel or mode of circulation. In principle, as mentioned earlier, international career paths among this category do not commonly involve publishing books, teaching abroad or directing projects. Those who did participate in international projects did so, on average, 1.4 times, received 1.3 international grants and went on 1.5 research stays abroad. Members of this low segment have published 6.6 articles abroad.

Participation in the International Publication Circuits

In this chapter, we analyze the circuits in which Argentine sociologists allocate their products based on their position in the internationalization segments. This section aims to address two questions. First, do the books and articles of the more internationalized sociologists circulate on the hyper-central and central circuits? And second, do their career paths follow the general pattern described above, thus reinforcing the incongruities between the accumulation of scientific capital on the central circuit—and hyper-central circuit, in some cases—and the reinvestment of the accumulated capital in the semi-peripheral or peripheral circuits? Or does their privileged position instead translate into a more intense and continuous interaction with the hyper-central and global-central circuits?

To begin to address these questions, we compared the index of book and article publication for each segment. The members of the lowest segment did not publish any book abroad but 34% of all of the articles they published went to foreign journals. Among the middle segment, 23% of books and 43% of articles went abroad, while the amounts rise to 35% (books) and 53% (articles) for the highest segment.

When we analyze this participation on the circuits of journal circulation, it becomes clear that publishing abroad is important in all of the

categories of internationalization. The members of the lowest category who completed their doctorate in Argentina sent 32% of their journal articles abroad while their colleagues in the same category who earned a Ph.D. abroad published more than half (51%) of their articles with foreign journals. In the middle category, these percentages are 41% (books) and 47% (articles), rising to 50% and 54% (respectively) for the highest segment.

Table 8.6 helps us reconstruct the participation of the sociologists in the circuit of international publishing according to the national origin of the publishing houses and foreign journals that print their products. As noted in the analysis of the entire population of sociologists regardless of their internationalization path, the Spanish and Portuguese-speaking outlets also take priority when considering the books and articles published abroad by all three segments. These outlets attract half of all the products exported by these sociologists, if we consider other countries of Latin America in addition to Mexico and Brazil. In this regard, there seems to be no qualitative difference in terms of the internationalization of the highest and lowest segments. If we focus on the countries where the products of Argentine sociologists circulate, disregarding a few exceptions (like the number of books published in Spain among the intermediate segment), the central-peripheral circuit is where the products of all three segment circulate most frequently.

Table 8.6 Books and journal articles by types of internationalization and location of publisher

	Books		Magazine articles		
	Intermediate (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Intermediate (%)	High (%)
No data available	4	6			
Other countries	11.5	16	33.3	28.6	20.6
Spain	42	19	11.9	13	17.1
Central peripheral	7.7	31	40.8	36.5	32
Central	23	15.6	8.8	12.7	18.2
Hyper-central	11.5	12.4	5.2	9.2	12.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

This chart compares the percentages of each category in the typology of internationalization based on the country where scholars published books and journal articles

To follow up on this initial finding, it is necessary to hone in on the circuit with the highest level of internationalization. The members of this segment place their products on the hyper-central and global-central circuits more frequently than their colleagues in the other segments. While 21% of journal articles by the entire population are on these two circuits, this percentage rises to 31% for only the highest segment, compared to 14% for the lowest segment and 21.9% for the intermediate segment. When the publication of articles among the high segment is further examined, we find that its members more frequently export their products to the European circuit (mainly France) than to the United States, like the general population.

The weighting associated with the circuit where one's doctorate was earned is critical to reversing this trend. The members of the most internationalized segment who earned their Ph.D. in the United States sent 40% of the articles they published abroad to this academic market and 11% of their articles to the global-central circuit. When the same analysis is applied to those who did their Ph.D. on the global-central circuit—while bearing in mind the predominant role of France—we find that 11% of the articles this group published abroad went to the hyper-central circuit (USA) and 32% were sent to the academic market of the central European circuit. The sociologists in the highest internationalization segment who earned their Ph.D. in Brazil and Mexico rarely sent articles to the hyper-central (4%) or central circuit (12%), publishing 60% of the articles they sent abroad in Brazil and Mexico. A similar trend can be seen among those who earned their doctorate in Argentina, who published 41% of all their foreign journal articles in Mexico and Brazil, 12% on the global-central circuit and 6% on the hyper-central circuit.

When these publication circuits are compared with the journal indexing rates, the results are quite similar. The Argentine sociologists examined in the study send 29.8% of their articles to “mainstream” circuits,⁷ 17.6% to transnational circuits, 22.1% to regional circuits and 29.1% to non-indexed publications. One initial observation to consider is that the quantity of articles published in mainstream journals in Argentina drops in comparison to the total. When all articles are considered, 57.2% are published in Argentina. However, just 22.7% of the articles are published in indexed Argentina journals that are part of the mainstream circuit. The

universe of social science journals in Argentina is rarely considered within the most prestigious circuits because its journals are non-indexed (Beigel and Salatino 2015). More than 70% of the articles by Argentine scholars in mainstream journals abroad are published in Latin America and Spain: 36% in Mexico and Brazil, 13% in Spain, and 21% in the other countries of Latin America. Mainstream journals published in the United States capture 13% of the articles sent to this type of journals and 1% goes to journals in France, Germany and the United Kingdom.

It is important to determine whether this trend also applies to the distribution of articles in the most internationalized segment of Argentine scholars. Among this segment, 18% of the articles published in mainstream journals abroad go to the hyper-central circuit, 15% to the central circuit, 16% to Spain, 43% to Latin American countries and 8% to other countries. The information reveals that even for this more internationalized segment, Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries are the most common destination for their articles, though the journals where their articles are published are better positioned on index rankings.

Internationalization and Academic Prestige

In the previous section, we examined the participation of Argentine sociologists in the academic circuits for the international circulation of symbolic goods (books and articles). The goal of this section is to show how the segments of internationalization correlate with intellectual prestige and academic power in the field of Argentine sociology. Examining this correlation is useful when assessing how the international scientific capital scholars accumulate affects their performance on the local academic market.

How do the members of each segment contribute to the local publishing market? Are the most internationalized members the ones who publish with the most prestigious publishing houses? These two questions are critical in the framework of an academic field whose criteria for renown are weakly institutionalized, a field which borrows from a broader intellectual field in order to establish its hierarchies. For this reason, book deals with important publishing houses become an indicator of intellectual prestige.⁸

For each segment, we have calculated the average number of books published with Argentine publishers. The lowest segment published an average of 1.15 books; the intermediate segment, 2.05; and the highest segment, 2.75. The length of one's academic career affects these numbers, since the highest category is also the one with a proportionally higher number of sociologists from the 1985 to 1996 cohort.

The difference between segments is not just quantitative but also qualitative. Table 8.7 reveals how the sociologists included in the study are distributed according to the publishing houses that most frequently publish the books by these scholars. As Sorá and Dujovne note in this volume, three publishing houses are considered the most prestigious among Argentine sociologists: Siglo XXI, Fondo de Cultura Económica and Paidós. The information provided on this table shows that the first two tend to publish the authors from the highest internationalization segment. In both cases, around 70% of the authors published are in the highest segment. The third publishing house that most commonly recruits these authors is EUDEBA (30%), the Universidad de Buenos Aires press. It is important to note that in most of the cases, the authors published are the ones with the lengthiest careers i.e. members of the 1985–1996 cohort.

We define the academic power category using three indicators: placement on the scientific research track, teaching position in the university system, and positions as research project directors. Table 8.8 (below) shows the likelihood of getting on the research track at CONICET, the most important public entity for scientific investigation in Argentina, increases with internationalization. Sixty-three per cent of the members of the lowest segment are CONICET researchers, compared to 80% in the intermediate category and 91% of the highest category.

As per *cursus honorum*, positions of academic power require considerable time investments. It is thus necessary to compare the cohort of sociologists who graduated from 1985 to 1995 to see how internationalization affected their likelihood of becoming a CONICET researcher. As shown on Table 8.8, the data show a high correlation between the types of internationalization and the likelihood of this cohort's members obtaining this position of academic power.

Table 8.7 Publication with Argentine publishers according to types of internationalization

	Types of internationalization														
	Low			Intermediate			High			TOTAL					
	Cohorts according to year they received their BA		Cohorts according to year they received their BA	Cohorts according to year they received their BA		Cohorts according to year they received their BA	Cohorts according to year they received their BA		Cohorts according to year they received their BA	TOTAL					
% of books published by EUDEBA	15.4	1996-2007	0.0	15.4	1985-1995	15.4	38.5	1996-2007	7.7	1985-1995	23	53.8	1996-2007	46.2	100.0
% of books published by BIBLOS	18	1996-2007	18.2	18.2	1985-1995	18.2	45.5	1996-2007	0.0	1985-1995	0.0	36.4	1996-2007	63.6	100.0
% of books published by PROMETEO	20.0	1996-2007	20.0	30.0	1985-1995	30.0	10.0	1996-2007	10.0	1985-1995	10.0	60.0	1996-2007	40.0	100.0
% of books published by SIGLO XXI	0.0	1996-2007	20.0	10.0	1985-1995	10.0	0.0	1996-2007	10.0	1985-1995	60.0	70.0	1996-2007	30.0	100.0
% of books published by PAIDOS	0.0	1996-2007	16.7	50.0	1985-1995	50.0	16.7	1996-2007	0.0	1985-1995	16.7	66.7	1996-2007	33.3	100.0
% of books published by FONDO DE CULTURA ECONOMICA	0.0	1996-2007	14.3	0.0	1985-1995	0.0	14.3	1996-2007	0.0	1985-1995	71.4	71.4	1996-2007	28.6	100.0
% of books published by other publishing houses	8.5	1996-2007	16.0	24.9	1985-1995	24.9	16.9	1996-2007	10.3	1985-1995	23.5	56.8	1996-2007	43.2	100.0

This chart compares the percentages of publishing houses in Argentina where members of each category in the typology of internationalization publish their books, dividing the population into cohorts based on the year they graduated

Table 8.8 Academic power indicators by types of internationalization

Academic power indicators	Internationalization type					
	Low Cohort		Intermediate Cohort		High Cohort	
	Total (%)	1985–1995 (%)	Total (%)	1985–1995 (%)	Total (%)	1985–1995 (%)
On the CONICET researcher track	63	53	80	69.2	91	93.3
Full professor	28	30	29	29.6	69	57
Research project leader in Argentina	1.8	2.5	3.3	3.9	5.3	4.6

A similar analysis can be done using the teaching positions that scholars hold in the university system. Table 8.8 shows that 28% of the lowest category and 29% of the middle segment are full professors (the highest position in Argentina's university system), while this jumps to 69% for the highest category. Given the high proportion of sociologists with longer careers in this category—and the length of one's career obviously affects one's chance of being appointed to a position of academic power—it is important to compare only the members of each category of internationalization from the 1985 to 1995 cohort. Even in this case, members of the highest internationalization segment still have more chances of success. Thirty per cent of this cohort holds the most prestigious positions as university professors in comparison to 57% of the highest segment from the same cohort.

Positions as research project leaders in Argentina reveal the same trend: a positive correlation between types of internationalization and positions of academic power. For the lowest internationalization category, the average number of positions at the head of a research project funded and assessed by public and private entities within Argentina is 1.8 for each of its members, 3.3 for sociologists in the middle category and 5.26 for the highest. To gauge the effect of career length, we observed the performance of the 1985–1995 cohort in each segment and noted the same trend for the highest category (2.47 projects for the members of the low category vs. 3.9 for the intermediate category and 4.6 for the highest category).

This section has shown that the most internationalized Argentine sociologists are not any more likely to get their scholarly products placed on international circuits than academics from the other categories. However,

these same sociologists are more likely to obtain more prestigious positions of academic power in the local field of sociology.

Final Considerations

As mentioned in the introduction, a regional education circuit played an important role in the education of the first generations of Argentine sociologists. Founded in 1957, the most important school on this circuit was FLACSO, and its first graduate school program, the Latin American School of Sociology (Escuela Latinoamericana de Sociología, or ELAS), opened in 1958. Fifteen per cent of the graduate degrees earned in the early years of sociology were at FLACSO, a percentage that rises to 20% if we consider those who received their doctorate in France after completing their master's at FLACSO. Although no systematic information is available on the types of circulation of intellectual production among the FLACSO cohorts, the work by Blanco and Sorá included in this volume shows how a separate regional circuit of periodicals was created in parallel to the academic circuit. As a result, journals like *América latina* (1958) and *Revista Latinoamericana de Sociología* (1965) channeled a vast portion of the intellectual production of the sociologists during this period. More recent experiences reveal that the regional circuit continues to draw Argentine sociologists studying abroad for a graduate degree as well as a significant amount of their intellectual production, though Brazil—and to a lesser extent, Mexico—has replaced Chile at the center of the circuit.

Independently of the geographical shift (Brazil instead of Chile), the engagement of Argentine scholars on the regional circuit no longer appears to be the political wager it represented in the first years of the social sciences (Blanco and Sorá in this volume), when the pioneering generation of sociologists made Latin America a priority, building a regional system for education and research. Instead, the recent participation on regional circuits may correspond to current imperatives associated with professionalization within sociology in a structural context characterized by two major restrictions: (a) a great number of new sociologists with graduate degrees, and (b) a national market of journals with a low level of indexing.

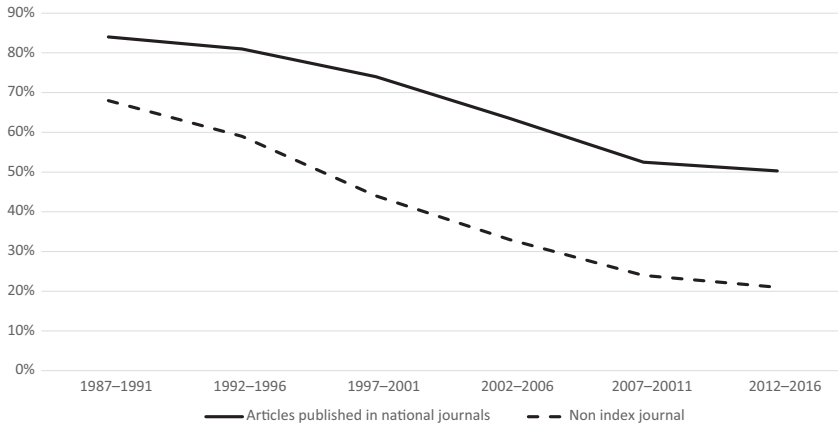


Fig. 8.2 Publication of journal articles abroad and in non-indexed journals from 1987 to 2016

Indirect evidence of this can be found by comparing publication in foreign journals and in indexed journals as indicators of internationalization and professionalization, respectively. Figure 8.2 reveals that the latter is more pronounced. The decrease in publishing in non-indexed journals is more pronounced than the drop in publications in national journals.

Therefore, in a context characterized by a scarce number of indexed national journals, it is important to consider the proximity of Brazil and Mexico, whose academic markets boast a vast selection of indexed journals. On these markets, Argentine sociologists have the chance to get their work out there without incurring the translation costs required on other markets. Under conditions such as these, professionalization fosters a peripheral internationalization.

In relation to this last aspect of internationalization, this study has revealed that even the most internationalized sociologists circulate and allocate their products to the peripheral circuits more frequently than to the hyper-central and central circuits. What are the reasons for the lack of participation on more central international circuits among the scholars in the highest category? An initial—and frequently recurring—theme in the literature on this topic involves linguistic capital and the mastery of foreign languages, as options for internationalization depend on them.

Linguistic capital can in fact explain a good portion of this population's relegated position on global circuits, though it is also necessary to consider what occurs on local academic markets in this explanation. Such markets have their own criteria for achieving prestige that do not necessarily coincide with global standards. In this regard, the limited involvement of Argentina's most internationalized sociologists on global circuits could be attributed to incongruities between the criteria for intellectual excellence within Argentina and those of the predominant academic markets. From this perspective, the new generations of Argentine sociologists examined here are exposed to the tensions that accompany an academic field open to global tendencies but also bound to a tradition strong enough to assert its own autonomous criteria for intellectual recognition.

Appendix: Developing a Typology of Internationalization

This typology classifies sociologists according to the intensity of their involvement in international academic practices: publication of books and articles abroad; coordination of and participation in international research projects; teaching experiences abroad; success in obtaining international grants; visiting scholarships. In order to subsume these different practices into a single "internationalization" category, we attributed numerical values to each of them. While this quantification is to a certain extent arbitrary, it allowed us to obtain a clearer picture of the patterns of behavior represented within our sample.

In attributing numerical values, we gave more importance to practices that required the a priori accumulation of international academic capital (e.g. the publication of books with foreign publishers, teaching abroad, coordination of international projects, etc.) and those that were repeated over time (e.g. publication of numerous articles in foreign journals).

1. Publication of books abroad: 19 points for 4 books, 17 for 3, 15 for 2, 13 for 1.
2. Publication of articles abroad: 19 points for 15 articles or more, 17 for 10 to 14, 15 for 5 to 9, 13 for 1 to 4.

3. Teaching abroad: 15 points for 4 times or more, 13 for 3, 11 for 2, 9 for 1.
4. Experience as an international research project director: 12 points for more than 3 times, 13 for 3, 10 for 2, 8 for 1.
5. International grants: 5 points for 3 times or more, 3 for 2, 1 for 1.
6. Experience participating in an international research project: 5 points for 3 times or more, 3 for 2, 1 for 1.
7. Visiting scholar experiences: 5 points = 5 points for 3 times or more, 3 for 2, 1 for 1.

From these metrics, three groups were clearly distinguished: the internationally most active scholars (41–80 points), the internationally least active ones (0–20 points), and an intermediary group (21–40 points). While this categorization can and should be criticized, we believe our argument shows that it has an analytical added value.

It should be noted that we decided to leave out the earning of a doctorate abroad as one of the relevant dimensions for forging this typology. This decision was driven by the idea that one of the research questions aimed to determine how earning a doctorate abroad impacted the agents' career paths. By excluding this variable from the typology, we were able to incorporate it into the analysis as an explanatory variable.

Notes

1. Born in Rome, Gino Germani came to Argentina in 1934 after spending time in jail for “anti-fascist activities” (Germani 2004). He started the first degree program in sociology in Argentina and was an important figure in Argentina’s intellectual renaissance during the 1950s and 1960s. His studies on social structure, Peronism, mass immigration and social mobility are essential to understanding the social and political history of modern Argentina.
2. See the special edition of *Current Sociology*, vol. 62 (5), 2014.
3. In Argentina, a doctorate has become mandatory for academic positions in the social sciences in recent years. Given that many sociology scholars do not hold the highest academic degree—doctoral programs in the social sciences only date back to the 1990s—this requirement clearly limits the population of sociologists qualified for careers in academia.

4. France's status as the most coveted destination for this level of studies may have to do with recommendations of the principal "mentors" in sociology degree programs, most of whom are partial to the tradition of European—and especially French—sociology in terms of both their own educations and their work styles. A significant number of these sociologists completed their graduate studies in France and held some of the top positions in the most prestigious research areas.
5. There are several reasons for Brazil's prevalence on this circuit. First, although the Brazilians speak Portuguese, Spanish is broadly accepted in Brazil as a lingua franca of scholarly exchanges between the two countries. Second, the institutions of Brazil have held steadier than Argentina's over the country's history, yielding a graduate school system with a higher degree of intellectual power (as measured by the number of master's and doctoral theses the system produces) as well as institutional sway (a dense national system of graduate school programs). The third reason is the vast selection of indexed journals in Brazil, making the Portuguese-speaking country an attractive destination for the intellectual exports of Argentine sociologists. Finally, over the past two decades the Argentine and Brazilian governments have made academic exchange between the two countries state policy, providing funding for the training of research teams, faculty exchanges, etc.
6. The dimensions and scoring system are detailed in the [Appendix](#).
7. According to the definition of Beigel and Salatino (2015), the "main-stream circuit" consists of journals indexed on databases that compete for maximum scientific quality and international recognition. These databases include Web of Science, Scopus, HAPI-UCLA, EBSCO, JSTOR and Google Scholar. A second tier on this hierarchical ranking is occupied by open access transnational databases like DOAJ and Dialnet. The third tier consists of open access regional databases like Scielo, Latindex and Redalix.
8. On this topic, see the article by Sorá and Dujovne in this volume.

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9

The Ford Foundation and the Institutionalization of Political Science in Brazil

Leticia Canêdo

Introduction

The term “political science” was first used in Brazil to denote a discipline specializing in the analysis of public space in 1965. In that year the Department of Political Science (DCP) was created at the College of Administration and Economic Sciences (FACE) of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). Prior to this, political studies in Brazil were part of schools of Law, Philosophy, and Sociology. In contrast, UFMG had located studies in political sociology at FACE since the beginning of the 1950s. The FACE had the support of businessmen, bankers, and political leaderships who intended that the institution should supply the State of Minas Gerais with professionals equipped to face the challenges posed by Brazil’s expansion and the growth of the economic power of the State of São Paulo.¹

The academics of the new department relied on financial support from the Ford Foundation to establish a claim to be foremost in their field, and

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_9

even to an exclusive right to analyze and interpret politics in the field of Brazilian Social Sciences. Ford Foundation programs, which were devised in response to the confrontations of the Cold War, supported the diffusion of an empirical culture in social sciences which could be applied to the study of forms of government and political behaviors in an international framework (Gaither 1949). In addition to the founding of the DCP, the Foundation also provided grants to academics at UFMG to obtain doctorates in this discipline at leading universities in the United States. In addition, the Foundation promoted visits to Brazil by American academics. Hence, the Ford Foundation's endeavors, in a way, supported and continued the efforts initiated by the political and economic élites of the State of Minas Gerais who had patronized FACE.

Upon returning to Brazil after finishing their graduate courses in the USA, armed with newly acquired tools for the systematic study of empirical data and the statistical analysis of large data sets, the representatives of the new discipline achieved prominence owing to the debates they engaged in with the various factions found in the more traditional departments of political studies. They denied that those of their academic competitors who had been trained in schools of law or philosophy were qualified to engage in academic political science and, with the support of the Foundation, they set up the first doctoral program in political science in the country at the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ) in 1969. They also succeeded in transforming *Dados: Revista de Ciências Sociais* into the main Brazilian journal in this academic field. In 1977 they worked to create the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (ANPOCS). Following on from this, they acquired seats on the principal Brazilian scientific commissions, gained influence in State institutions and in private sector consultancy, became prominent in national and international forums, and established a constant presence in communication media (Canêdo 2009 and 2013; Forjaz 1997).

With these attributes, and with the specific social science theories learned in the USA, the political scientists from Minas Gerais produced new models to interpret the national situation (Schwartzman 1975; Carvalho 1980). These models were very different from those anchored in law or sociology bequeathed by the disciples of the French mission in São Paulo,² and this created strong tensions in regard to the production

of the knowledge hierarchy. In the politicized environment of the 1960s, even though the battle between the models was perceived as a confrontation between the heirs of traditional Minas Gerais political families and a “new and true intelligentsia” (Castro 2016: 53), which belonged to layers of society distant from political power, the fact is that the political science paradigms imported by them brought a new perspective to the handling of social problems and public policies. Years later, in the 1990s, this transformed the majority of the academics supported by Ford into key players in the restructuring of the Brazilian political domain.

The place occupied by the Ford Foundation in social sciences is known and recognized by those who analyze the competition between American philanthropic foundations in national academic markets during the Cold War years (Gemelli 1995, 2003; Hauptmann 2012; Holmes 2013; Parmar 2012; Boncourt 2015, 2016). This was especially decisive in the promotion of disciplines attempting to transgress disciplinary borders, as in the case of anthropology (Garcia 2009) and politics (Miceli 1993; Canêdo 2009).

One area of this research paper examines how the Ford Foundation, through its interventions in academic knowledge at a national level in Brazil, stimulated scientific competition in the field of social sciences, seeking to restructure power fields at a national level, while building in parallel a space for [influencing policy arenas in] international governance (Dezalay 2004). This international dimension in Brazilian national practices has been made explicit by recent research dealing with the interactions and negotiations among rival college deans and Ford Foundation agents (Garcia 2009; Boncourt 2015). This unveiled social, institutional, professional, and intellectual dynamics that contributed to enable the Foundation beneficiaries, who held significant institutional positions in the Brazilian scene, to adopt ways of doing science elaborated at important North American research centers. They help us to comprehend the complexity of the space of academic competition with which the Foundation had to contend in seeking to influence the conception and organization of the new intellectual field: replacing traditional political theory with comparative international studies of forms of government and political behavior.

This paper is situated in this area of research. Its main focus is on the sociological analysis of the agents (Bourdieu 2002), seeking to understand the strategy employed by the Ford Foundation and its officers to target

specific social groups in countries where they wanted to intervene. It explores the encounter of a group of young Minas Gerais academics with two Ford Foundation program officers at a time when the Brazilian political space was being restructured, following the civilian-military coup in Brazil in 1964. It then analyses the recruitment practices of Foundation agents including how they selected scholarship recipients. The analysis links family organization, basic education, college degrees, and scholarships with careers paths and the investment in professional development. Finally, it situates those political scientists in the competition for national hegemony among political elites in the different States of the Federation.

This paper stems from two thematic projects directed by myself with researchers from Brazilian, French, and Argentinian universities between 2001 and 2012. These projects studied the transnational circulation of Brazilian scholarship recipients, and their subsequent role on institutional, cultural and scientific innovation in the country. The chapter also relies on my personal research on the Minas Gerais political elite. In addition to the literature pertaining to the Ford Foundation in the field of social sciences, I also made use of documents selected from archives: the Ford Foundation, the United States State Department, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as interviews published in scientific report (Loureiro and Bastos 2008) and scientific journals (*Pesquisa FAPESP*, *Estudos CEBRAP*, *Teoria e Sociedade*, *Estudos Históricos*), and testimonies made by Brazilian social scientists deposited in the archives of the Oral History Program of the Center of Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil (CPDOC) of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV). I also interviewed Shepard Forman (04/28/2015; 05/03/2015) and two political scientists who are FACE alumni (Lucia Avelar, 13/04/2005 and Renato Boschi, 28/10/2009).

The Involvement of the Ford Foundation in the Formation of an International Paradigm of Social Sciences

As soon as I joined the Foundation in September of 1964, at the beginning of the authoritarian regime, we began to finance research and graduate courses in social sciences. We believed, like our Brazilian colleagues, that

social scientists could assist in exploring and clarifying the political and social dimensions of development. (Peter Bell, cited by Werneck and Sturm 2012)

This statement made by the first program officer at the Ford Foundation working in Brazilian social sciences, helps us to understand the decision to support a political science project at the College of Administration and Economic Sciences of UFMG – FACE which was taken despite a different recommendation from David Trubek, USAID General Counsel at the Embassy in Brazil. Trubek hoped for support to found a Center for Studies and Research on Legal Education (CEPED) at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FGV). He intended to develop a pilot graduate studies program in economic law, based on the Law and Development Program initiated by USAID in the 1960s (Trubek 1996: 223–226). The project looked promising in the light of the “caliber of the Brazilian leadership of CEPED and by the intelligence, interest, and energy of the young law graduates whom they identified for study abroad” (Bell 2010: 11). However, in Bell’s opinion, the program envisioned by Trubek would impose models of law and methods of work excessively removed from local legal thinking. As he explains in the passage quoted below, it would be hard to convince Brazilian lawyers of the merits of a new model of knowledge even though it could equip them to keep up with a changing business world. With firmly fixed ideas about the State inherited from the Iberian model, they would feel their local power structures were threatened by the new model (Engelmann 2012; Mota 2006).

As with housing, it can be easier to build from scratch than to restructure a pre-existing but outmoded building. Reforming legal education meant changing well-entrenched institutional practices and cultures – no easy task, as the Foundation and CEPED would discover. [...] I had some inkling of how difficult it might be for a small center – outside of any law school and without strong university support – to bring about the far-reaching reform of legal education; but in retrospect we failed to appreciate what a slow, uphill climb it would at best be. (Bell 2010: 13)

Bell did approve a donation to CEPED in 1966 because of the Foundation’s interest in supporting projects to bring law and development closer together. But the decision to support the multi-year development of

a graduate program in political science in Minas Gerais, drawing students from around the country, prevailed. The fact is that the program officer,

viewed development less in terms of increases in per capita income per se and more in terms of increases in some measure of control – or at least participation – in important decisions affecting people’s lives, whether at the level of the individual, family, community or nation. (Bell 2010: 5)

The decision to support a “built from scratch” political science program, capable of competing in the academic and government arenas with locally-defined understandings of legal thinking, and which promoted new élites by channeling donations to research and graduate courses, so as to “assist in exploring and clarifying the political and social dimensions of development,” was not taken quickly. It developed little by little, starting with the opening of the Foundation office in Rio de Janeiro in 1962, a period of great political instability.³

The Brazilian office was established in the same year as similar offices elsewhere in Latin America (Chile and Mexico) and in Africa (Kenya). It marked the shift of the Foundation’s international philanthropy to regions bordering on territories with communist governments, a change which had already been foreshadowed by the opening of an office in Istanbul in 1960. The repercussions of the Cuban revolution in various countries of the region initially led the Foundation to support institutional programs of an essentially technocratic nature in higher education, spreading ideas of modernization, development, and democracy in line with the thinking of the Kennedy government’s Alliance for Progress (Kennedy 1961).

These pioneering attempts to be involved in the field of social and political development became a feature of the work of the Rio de Janeiro Foundation office from 1964 onwards. The procedure was the same as that adopted at the Harvard University International Summer Seminar, led by Henry Kissinger in the 1950s and heavily financed by the Ford Foundation from 1954 to 1971: to expand “American values” internationally, by means of promoting encounters with potential leaders, using social problems as challenges to normative concepts. The first step was to recruit academics in the social sciences and to integrate them into the

strategies promoted by the patron in hope that they would later develop teaching and research programs in their countries of origin without further direct intervention by the Foundation. Subsequently, it was intended that the Foundation would assist the academics they sponsored to create and develop centralized scientific agencies in their respective countries to coordinate national scientific research (Parmar 2012; Rose 2003; Holmes 2013; Bernstein 2013). In summary, the objective was to reach conceptual and technical uniformity in the social sciences by erasing national differences in the production of social scientific knowledge.

Enabling the emergence of a community of social scientists not territorially circumscribed and which could engage in dialogue with North American empirical sociology – the relationship model between social research and political and economic agents elaborated by Paul F. Lazarsfeld at Columbia University (Lazarsfeld 1969; Pollack 1979) – would bring an important change in the established hierarchies in social sciences in Brazil. It meant supporting empirical studies developed by academics on the fringes of Brazilian social sciences, thus weakening the intellectual legacy of the French mission in São Paulo (Garcia 2009: 57–92).

The first Foundation agent responsible for promoting political science in Brazil was Peter Bell, who resided in the country from 1964 to 1969. A second part of the project, which dealt with the co-ordination of scientific research, was completed by Shepard Forman at ANPOCS, the most influential scientific association in the field, created in 1977.

Peter Bell and the Ford Foundation Program Implementation

Peter Bell arrived in Brazil six months after the coup on March 31, 1964. He was 22 and his selection for the implementation of the Foundation project conformed to the Gaither Report recommendations for the choice of agents who would guarantee the success of the philanthropic program: a particular emphasis on interpersonal abilities, imagination, broad experience, and general interests, rather than on age, specialization or reputation. The report also recommended experience in traveling and “ability to

deal with all kinds of people, and a deep conviction with respect to the fundamental objectives of the program.” Those qualities would be “necessary to change the content of the program from time to time to meet new conditions” (Gaither 1949: 133–136).

When he was hired by the Foundation, Bell had just received his diploma from the Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs at Princeton, but from early on, and thanks to scholarships abroad, he had been sensitized to the “opportunities to resolve conflict, to make peace, to bring about justice, to protect the vulnerable, and to support the poor and disadvantaged,” (Bell, cited by Chambers 2004). He was among a group of high school students who visited Nagasaki after the Second World War and, when at Yale, he engaged in the civil rights movement and took part in Operation Crossroads Africa, working in the Ivory Coast. Following that, he became familiar with the sensitive area of external policy of the American government working as an intern in international security affairs at the Department of Defense, where he learned enough about the American involvement in Vietnam to be “deeply troubled.” A year later he accepted an invitation to join the International Division of the Ford Foundation.

Among the various institutional programs Bell backed while in Brazil, in addition to the DCP in Minas Gerais in 1965 – which included scholarships at the principal American universities (Harvard, MIT, Stanford) – was the first doctorate in political science. It was located at the IUPERJ, a private institution supported by Cândido Mendes College (Lamounier 2013: 19–22). In São Paulo, he invested in a think tank – the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) – led by the sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso (President of Brazil from 1995 to 2002) who was interested in implementing new scientific methods, promoting changes, and influencing Brazilian society. In those three institutions, most scholars supported by Bell were social scientists, came from various specialisms, held degrees from foreign universities (mostly American), did not belong to Brazil’s establishment, and had been purged from their university posts by the military regime.

The programs Bell implemented in the discipline of political science in Brazil testified to the value of his education and experience in fitting him to operate on the Brazilian scene at that time, a scene described by Sergio

Miceli (1993), with great appropriateness, as closer to the plot of a police movie than to the professional exercise of patronage. During his five-year stay in Brazil, Bell performed his duties amidst intimidation, bombs, threats, and provocations which ended up “contributing to the shaping of Ford Foundation’s own, risky routes to act in Brazil” (Miceli 1993: 47).

The Encounter of Social Scientists from Minas Gerais with Peter Bell and the Recomposition of Social Sciences

Two Brazilian scholars played an important role in the initial encounters between Peter Bell and political sociology academics at FACE: Antonio Octavio Cintra and Leonidas Xausa. Cintra was a FACE alumnus who had received a scholarship to the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) in Chile, where the specialized UNESCO offices were located (see Sorá and Blanco in this book). Xausa, a law professor at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), was one of the first Brazilians to study political science in the United States, at Columbia University, where Paul Lazarsfeld headed the Bureau of Applied Social Research, and where there was a group of academics interested in Brazilian studies – Albert Hirschman, Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, who were part of the first wave of “Brazilianists.”

Xausa had plans to create a department of political science at UFRGS (Bell 2010: 6). The contact with Xausa and the Brazilianists enabled Bell to understand the landscape of Brazilian academia. This knowledge contributed to his identifying FACE – the still little-recognized school of Minas Gerais – as Ford’s main target shortly after his meeting with Cintra in his office in Rio de Janeiro. Cintra convinced him of the possibilities latent at FACE for the creation of a new way of thinking about the public arena along the lines of the political science produced in the United States (Reis 2004).

Created in 1941 as a modest private school of commerce, two years later FACE became a College of Economic and Administrative Sciences which, according to the president of the Federation of Minas Gerais

Industries in 1945, aimed at reaching the “standard of institutes of the American type” (Paula 2006: 330). In 1948, it was incorporated into the University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and was headed for fourteen years by Yvon Leite de Magalhães Pinto, who belonged to the social network of leading political families in Minas Gerais.⁴ A course in sociology and politics was added in 1953, a few months after the creation of a similar course at the Brazilian School of Public and Business Administration at the Getulio Vargas Foundation (EBAP/FGV). This formed part of the Basic Agreement on Technical Cooperation between the United States and Latin America, attached to the Point Four Program of the Harry Truman Government (1949). But unlike the course at EBAP/FGV, which was oriented to qualify people for public administration, FACE’s program was more focused on rethinking State and Society, an approach closer to that of political sociology.

Running a course on political sociology together with one on public administration at a school of economics was a major innovation. However, the school faculty did not meet the “standards of the American type institutes”. It was composed of important figures from the economic, political, and cultural life of Minas Gerais, but it did not have academics specializing in political science (Paula 2006: 333; Lamounier 2013: 8–9). In addition, students had insufficient resources to be able to commit fully to their studies. An institutional environment for teaching and research was made possible only after the granting of a scholarship program created by Elwyn A. Mauck, a public administration advisor sent by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, with USAID funding, to establish a public administration training program in Brazil (Mauck 1954; Barros 2013).⁵ This financial backing bolstered material resources and brought together students and faculty who were dedicated to full-time learning and research with an interdisciplinary environment (Castro 2016: 28–36). It was the first program of its kind in Brazil based on merit, boasting an extraordinary infrastructure when compared to similar courses in Brazil.

The conditions provided by the scholarship program contributed to the consolidation of a concept of professional academic life. Furthermore, graduates were qualifications to operate in government and to reach important institutional posts in the field of social sciences. In fact, from

the approximately two hundred scholarship recipients in the years 1954–70, four became Federal Secretaries, others acted as State Secretaries, served at the Minas Gerais Development Bank (BMDG), or were among the many who nurtured political science in Brazil (Castro 2016: 67–76).

The course underwent a significant development when three FACE scholarship recipients – Simon Schwartzman, Fabio Wanderley Reis and Antonio Octavio Cintra – were selected for a specialized course at FLACSO, in Chile. This course was taught by academics from several countries (see Sorá and Blanco in this book). Schwartzman claims that he began to read American authors at this occasion, “in line with the Columbian⁶ tradition, then the Lazarsfeld tradition” (Schwartzman 2009: 6–7).

When they returned to FACE in the early 1960s, they were admitted as faculty members. They gave a new impulse to reflection on Brazilian politics, introducing new themes into academic research, such as the nature of party systems, electoral behavior, and the social origins of leaders. José Murilo de Carvalho, today a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and author of books which contributed significantly to the revision of the republican history of Brazil, studied with these three professors. He made clear the impact of the course in triggering a shift in academic thought:

There was a new style of thinking, a new orientation: American political science had arrived through FLACSO. It was not really my going to the United States that introduced me to this field; I began to read the authors in the bibliography introduced by Antonio Octavio, Simon Schwartzman and Fabio Wanderley. (Carvalho, cited by Oliveira 1998: 362)

From then on, research done at FACE was systematically published in the journal *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos*, considered a pioneer in publishing work on electoral surveys and research into political parties. The journal had been founded at the Law College in 1956. Representing a bridge between two generations, the journal came to combine the philosophical and legal tradition of the once prevalent French tradition of political science with the North American slant of the young FACE-trained sociologists. It was the most international social sciences journal published in Brazil and the first to introduce empirical studies methodologically oriented by surveys.

Thus, Bell encountered at FACE a group of disciplined sociologists who sealed the alliance between politics and social research, starting with the empiricism of surveys. It was a field of study little known in Brazil and without social standing, especially little valued by the sociologists' families, who did not have a university education and feared for the professional future of their children. Simon Schwartzman remembered:

My father always thought I had given up engineering because I was lazy and did not want to work, study for public examinations, study mathematics. He did not understand what I was doing. I mean, no one knew what that was. Indeed, it was an adventure because... it was something that seemed interesting, but... What was it? What profession was it? What was it good for? No one had any idea. (Schwartzman 2009: 6)

Along with the skepticism of the families as to the involvement of their children with political science, there was another type of insecurity that disturbed the sociologists at FACE. In the 1960s, the chance for a professional advancement was slight, indeed almost non-existent, for the social groups to which Peter Bell's recruits for political science studies at North American universities belonged. They were largely descendants of immigrants in low-level public employment or modest trades such as tailor or carpenter.

Of the first eleven scholarship recipients, seven were selected by Frank Bonilla and Robert Packeman from the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences created by the Ford Foundation at Stanford University. They all came from a similar social background, had relatively modest social capital and no ties to the network of the influential Minas Gerais families, whose children went to law schools in order to prepare them for careers in government. (Canêdo 2009: 42)

Obtaining scholarships based on merit at important national and international institutions, however, did not conceal the fact that sociology was not then considered a prestigious academic subject in the local professional market. This is how José Murilo de Carvalho anecdotally explains the university hierarchy:

I had no professional perspectives [...]. At the student dances, the distance between girls and boys was defined by the answer that one gave to the inevitable question that the girls asked from the very beginning: “What course are you taking?” If the answer was Political Sociology or another course of little prestige, the distance between the couples would increase and soon the girls would excuse themselves and return to their chairs to wait for better luck. If one wanted to have good luck, he had to answer Engineering, Medicine, Law or Economics. (Carvalho, cited by Paiva 2010: 228)

Given this situation of relative social and political marginality in the early 1960s, many of the scholarship recipients became affiliated with leftist groups and were profoundly affected by the political repression following the coup in 1964. Among the sociologists at FACE at this significant moment in Brazil’s politics, Peter Bell found favorable conditions to pursue his objectives: to foster a rigorous science of society, and to cultivate civic virtues indispensable to the building of an international market of State competence. In addition to the provision of scholarships to North American universities, he sought to create conditions for the return of the grant recipients to Brazil, which was not easy, as he stated:

The military government confused social scientists with socialists and limited their freedom of speech, discussion, and association. The Foundation understood that it was insufficient to presume ourselves “apolitical” or “technocratic.” As a transnational organization, we had the obligation to make explicit the values that governed our concession of subsidies and which were essential to the progress of social and natural sciences. At the same time, we could not be partisans. (Bell, cited by Werneck and Sturm 2012)

The Ford Foundation and the Association of Distinct Social Scientists from Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo

The military government prevented the recipients of Ford scholarship from returning to their university posts. So, in 1969, Peter Bell backed a plan to design and implement a graduate program in political science at

a private institution in Rio de Janeiro. One reason for doing this was that the program at DCP which he had initially supported at UFMG had been transferred by the military government from FACE to the school of Philosophy, which refused to rehire the scholarship recipients returning from their studies in the United States. Therefore, Bell's idea to offer strong support for a graduate program in a university had to be replaced by a program in a small institute located at Cândido Mendes College, a traditional private institution with little recognition in academic circles. As graduates of the scholarship program could not return to DCP, Bolívar Lamounier, himself a former grant recipient from FACE, and who since 1968 had directed The University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ), invited fellow graduates of Ford programs to come to IUPERJ. With Ford Foundation support and a new mission to develop graduate research in social science, IUPERJ welcomed the former scholarship recipients from Minas Gerais who were able to continue the studies initiated in the United States with the aim to transforming Brazilian civil society.

Such studies offered new questions about old issues linked to Brazil's authoritarian tradition,⁷ among which was how to make the transition from an unwieldy, authoritarian structure to a more agile and modern one, creating conditions for the development of a more diversified representative system. These questions had an effect on the militant youth working in social sciences in Rio de Janeiro who were without a forum for intellectual engagement after ISEB (see note ii) was shut down by the military government. They became interested in the Ford Foundation scholarship program, especially for the possibility it offered to integrate North American political science with studies on the political history of Brazil developed at the now closed ISEB (Keinert and Silva 2010).

Research into issues relating to the political-institutional aspects of Brazilian social life using the research methods and techniques taught at North American universities provided common ground for the nucleus of academics associated with the IUPERJ graduate program. This research was as decisive for the consolidation and practice of political science in Brazil as the institutional umbrella supplied by Cândido Mendes de Almeida⁸ that ensured space for freedom of thought, somewhat sheltered from the repression typical of the period of military rule.

Relations between IUPERJ and the Cândido Mendes College, however, were never formalized: “There was no work contract” said Lamounier. But “on the part of the Ford Foundation, the negotiators were very capable people, with experience in this type of situation, of taking a fragile institution and making it grow with its support” (Lamounier 2013: 20–21). This institutional fragility actually helped strengthen the bond between the Ford Foundation and Brazilian political scientists. With a donation to buy a headquarters for the institute and equip it with the necessary infrastructure, the graduate program in political science at IUPERJ adopted the North American format of regular credit courses along with a methodical and systematic research model, often quantitative, which became the norm in Brazilian social sciences. The journal created in this program, *Dados: Revista de ciências Sociais*, whose eloquent name (“Data”) emphasized empiricism, became an important channel through which to promote the research developed at the Institute and was the first Brazilian journal to adopt international standards. To this day it is one of the most important journals in its field.

In 1969, Lamounier had his political rights suspended by the military government. As a consequence he moved to São Paulo where he acted as an intermediary in the negotiations between Peter Bell (with whom he “had become good friends”) and a small group of social scientists from that city, who had also been excluded from the universities during the most difficult years of the military regime. Under the leadership of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, they produced a bid for funding in order to found what became the Brazilian Centre of Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) and which produced a journal, *Estudos CEBRAP*. The bid represented “one of the most important and gratifying funding grants conceded during my participation in the Foundation,” said Bell (Werneck 2012). The institute and the journal became reference points for research and social analysis in Brazil, and in all of Latin America, enabling a fresh association between researchers educated in the French tradition of Philosophy (brought to the University of São Paulo in the 1930s) with researchers trained in North American methods. Thus, in the 1970s, IUPERJ and CEBRAP emerged as two competing loci of research in political science, in Rio and São Paulo respectively, integrating two distinct universes of political science. Both of them had journals

of recognized academic quality and their research output was published in international journals in Spanish and English.⁹

The examples of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Bolívar Lamounier, Vilmar Farias, and Simon Schwartzman show some of the outcomes of Peter Bell's wager on pioneering measures to deal with social and political development of the country through support for political sciences. In 1985, Lamounier was invited to be part of the Afonso Arinos Commission, which wrote the preliminary draft for a new Brazilian constitution. After being elect President of Brazil in 1995, Fernando Henrique Cardoso recruited Schwartzman to coordinate reform of the statistical system of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). This institute was responsible for the Brazilian census. Its work contributed to the success of government programs aimed at redistribution of income, which were led by Vilmar Farias. Farias was the first Brazilian political scientist to include the systematic study of social politics in the academic research agenda of the country. In addition to his career as professor at the University of Campinas, he was president of CEBRAP and assessor to the federal government, where he acted as the necessary bridge between the Executive and technical agencies, both at national (IPEA and IBGE) and international (BID and the World Bank) levels.

Shepard Forman and the Organization of the Scientific Community in Social Sciences in Brazil

Peter Bell left Brazil at the end of 1969. By that time the private research centers he backed (IUPERJ and CEBRAP) were already organized into teams dealing with public planning as well as offering private services. These centers worked in isolation both from each other and from other institutions in the rest of the country.

There was an urgent need to gather researchers in social sciences, including the new field of political science, into a national association with an institutional structure independent of the traditional decision-making centers and not susceptible to the often-changing political

currents within the universities. The first discussion on the topic took place during the International Seminar on Social Indicators of National Development in Latin America, organized by the International Social Science Council and IUPERJ in 1972. A draft of the proposed association's statutes was drawn up by Mario Brockmann Machado, a recipient of a Ford Foundation scholarship, and was distributed at the First National Encounter of Graduate Programs Coordinators in Social Sciences, held the following year in the State of Ceará (Machado 1993: 103). Five years later, the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences (ANPOCS) was founded as a scientific association made up of institutional partners rather than of individual researchers.

The first ANPOCS boards were comprised of former Ford Foundation grant recipients, and they aimed to promote the virtue of teamwork and to establish technical requirements for research projects. These included literature reviews, orienting hypotheses, explicit research objectives, and clarity concerning the nature of the data to be collected.

In order to reach these goals, which could supply the field with scholars capable of working independently and to ensure quality graduate training, an Assessor Committee in Social Sciences was created to adjudicate assistance for research financed by the Ford Foundation in the fields of sociology, political science, and anthropology. The FORD/ANPOCS fellowship program was thought up and coordinated by Peter Bell's successor at the Foundation, the Brazilianist Shepard Forman.

Unlike Bell, Forman did not come to his work as a newcomer in Brazil. He had lived several years in the country as a Fulbright scholar from 1961 to 1963 and had received his Ph.D. at Columbia University for his research on the raft fishing economy in the State of Alagoas. He became interested in the Portuguese language during his graduate studies at New York University, intending to secure a grant given under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which provided finance for African and Latin American studies and "instruction in modern foreign languages" (P.L. 85-864; 72 Stat. 1580). Studying this language would provide him with a full scholarship "including maintenance. It was an easy decision" (Forman 2011: 2). Later, during the term of his Fulbright scholarship for research in Brazil, he met the anthropologist

Charles Wagley who introduced him to his research group and academic life in difficult regions of the Brazilian Northeast. Forman subsequently published two books¹⁰ on a theme, which, as he declared, had interested him since he was a child: “How a socially excluded group enters the national political, economic, cultural life” (Forman 2011: 5–6). When hired by the Ford Foundation to work in Brazil, he had just arrived from East Timor, where he had had his “first encounter with the idea of colonialism, with the idea of native populations, with the ideas of human rights, development” (Forman 2011: 5). With this background, like Peter Bell, he was well able to enter into dialogue with the Brazilian social scientists persecuted by the military regime.

Based on the principle that “the decisions should be made by the Brazilians themselves” (Forman 2011: 5–6), Forman suggested a competition for research grants in which the Assessor Committee members should be chosen “under the eyes of the researchers” who regularly met, discussed and formed opinions at the ANPOCS workgroups, seminars, and annual meetings. The aim was to value merit and method in social sciences research, which should be based on publicly agreed norms (Lopes 1993). This was another important innovation for the professionalization of the field, as expertise in developing technical research projects did not exist at Brazilian universities at that time.

The Foundation handed the entire administration of the fellowship program to ANPOCS in 1983.¹¹ After that, the Funding Authority for Studies and Projects (FINEP) – a government agency tied to the Ministry of Planning through the National Fund for Scientific and Technological Development (Decree-Law no. 719, from 7/31/1969) – took responsibility for the continuation of institutional development of the social sciences.

Conclusion

This case-study aims to show how there emerged in Brazil a cadre of recognized producers of political science. It aspires to propose new hypotheses capable of contributing to sharper reflections on the issue of the exportation and importation of knowledge, a phenomenon difficult to measure, as it is inscribed in double-game strategies.

It seems important to highlight two aspects. First, it is revealing that Ford Foundation investments in Brazil, which brought about decisive outcomes for social science in the country, chose to ignore, or even fight against, the dual social and political hierarchy that controlled the (re) production of academic groups in the different regions of the country. The scholars who were kept productively engaged in Brazil by the Foundation possessed great educational capital, the fruits of extraordinary investments made over years. However, their educational capital was considered inferior in comparison with that of, for example, lawyers, who dominated the most prestigious social, political, and academic positions.

This difference in educational and symbolic capital is the key to understanding the success of the investments made by the Foundation. It selected competent scholars without social influence, who held degrees in a discipline with low prestige in the local market, who had been expelled from legitimate traditional universities for political reasons, but who had undertaken graduate studies in the United States and possessed great capacity to subvert the rules that did not benefit them.

The strategy of exportation of knowledge in political science by the Ford Foundation was successful thanks to the perception and flexibility of its program officers at each crucial moment, who knew which investment strategies should be prioritized. Should they choose endowments to universities or private institutions; promote the field of law or political science; favor traditional universities or new research centers not entangled with constraints imposed by professional corporations or the intellectual heritage of the French mission? To achieve their goals, they exploited to the full the existing operational capacity, adapting it in a way that would ensure a certain continuity with earlier efforts by the traditional Minas Gerais elites, who supported FACE and funded the meritocratic scholarship program for social politics students. The Ford Foundation officers employed the same meritocratic approach to mobilize those who had been trained by the schemes put in place by Minas Gerais elites.

In this sense, a sociological understanding of the program officers, as well as that of the grant recipients, is a fundamental requisite for understanding how questions, methods, literature, and modes of validation of results were transferred, ensuring American hegemony in political science on a global scale.

Acknowledgments I am grateful to Afranio Garcia and Joana Canedo for discussing various aspects of this paper. The research on which this paper is based has been supported by Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo, FAPESP.

Notes

1. In the Brazilian Federation, the State of Minas Gerais (MG) is known as a training ground for politicians who go on to prominence on the national political scene. The State of São Paulo is recognized as a significant economic and financial center in the country. The reputation of MG derives from the political power exercised by its bureaucratic elites in a familial network which has controlled the State's politics since the days of the Empire (1822–1889) and, subsequently, since the establishment of the Republic in 1889. São Paulo has gained a dominance position in national political affairs since 1994.
2. In the 1960s, there were in Brazil four distinct degrees in political studies: FACE, in Minas Gerais; The College of Philosophy at the University of São Paulo (developed from the French mission in 1934, which molded the early generations of graduates); The Free School of Sociology and Politics, created in 1933 by the business elite of São Paulo. Donald Pearson is credited with introducing empirical research as the scientific model in the 1940s; The Higher Institute for Brazilian Studies (ISEB), created in Rio de Janeiro in 1955, attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture, which was an influential center for developmental ideology. It was closed by the military government in 1964 (Miceli 1989; Massi 1989).
3. The political instability generated by President Jânio Quadros's resignation and Vice-President João Goulart's rise to power was intensified by the civilian-military coup in 1964, which deposed Goulart, initiating a twenty-two-year military government.
4. Yvon de Magalhães Pinto was a descendant of representatives of the General Assembly of the Empire and of Federal Republican congressmen, a cousin and nephew of signatories of the Minas Gerais manifesto against the dictatorship of 1942, who were, like himself, founders of the Democratic National Union Liberal Party. His uncle was one of the creators of the Free Law College at the end of the 19th century.

5. This program of scholarships was later used by Mauck as a basis for the creation of the Departments of Public Administration in Nigeria, Taiwan, Korea, and Turkey.
6. That is, the tradition of Columbia University in the USA, not Columbia the South American state.
7. The titles of the doctoral theses developed by Ford scholarship recipients are very instructive: Carvalho, J.M. "Elite and State-Building in Imperial Brazil"; Farias, V. "Occupational Marginality, Employment, and Poverty in Urban Brazil"; Reis, E. "The agrarian roots of conservative modernization in Brazil 1880–1930"; Reis, F.W. "Political development and social class: Brazilian authoritarianism in perspective"; Schwartzman, S. "Regional cleavages and political patrimonialism in Brazil."
8. Cândido Mendes de Almeida was a founding member of ISEB and the General Secretary of the Justice and Peace Commission in Brazil, 1972–1997. He was also one of the people responsible for denouncing cases of torture in Brazil during the military regime. He held numerous positions and appointments including Visiting Professor at Harvard, Princeton, Stanford, and Columbia (1965–1981) and the president of the International Political Science Association (1979–1982).
9. Cf. Lattes Platform, CNPq. For CEBRAP, see statistical tables in Sorj (2001: 52–54).
10. *The Brazilian Peasantry*, Columbia University Press, 1975; *The Raft Fisherman: Tradition and Change in the Brazilian Peasant Economy*, Indiana University Press, 1970.
11. In 1983, the ANPOCS newsletter gave a complete list of the 38 fellowship grants approved by the Foundation, the diversity of the projects themes, and brought together research from UFRJ, PUC/Rio, USP, and UFRGS.

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10

Translating Western Social and Human Sciences in Argentina: A Comparative Study of Translations from French, English, German, Italian and Portuguese

Gustavo Sorá and Alejandro Dujovne

Introduction

English is today's lingua franca, as French was in the modern period and Latin was in the Middle Ages. The data on the prevalence of English are robust, especially in the core spheres of symbolic production, such as science. In the social sciences, Johan Heilbron (2009) has noted that in the 1950s and 1960s, nearly half of the publications included in the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences were in English; by 2005, this percentage had risen to more than 75 per cent. Correlatively, the prevalence of other historically powerful languages has decreased, including French and German, which both represented around 7 per

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*, Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_10

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cent of the database by 2005. Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson (2010) have noted a similar trend. By 2004, 85 per cent of the peer-reviewed publications in the social sciences listed in the Ulrich database were in English, as were 94 per cent of the articles in the Social Science Citation Index of the Web of Science published between 1998 and 2007. Despite objections to the specific language biases of these databases derived from their selection criteria, their analytical power lies in bringing together the dominant international publications in the different social sciences disciplines. What is the scope, dynamic and meaning of this phenomenon of cultural domination? Answering this and other questions allows us to understand how this phenomenon began and later perpetuated, without reducing its complexity to one or two variables like politics or economics. Such questions also provide insight into the unequal possibilities for scholarly production among English-speaking individuals and regions—and those with a strong tradition of bilingual education—in comparison to non-English speakers (Ammon 2010).¹

The growing dominance of English in the scientific realm is neither linear nor homogeneous. An analysis by country and by scientific discipline reveals differences in the uses and meanings of English. According to Daphne van Weijen's analysis of the Scopus database (2012), scientific communication in English is on the rise in countries like Holland and Italy, to the detriment of their national language. However, in countries like France and Spain, van Weijen reveals a more moderate rise in the number of texts in English and a more stable relationship between English language and national language texts. Language preferences also vary by scientific disciplines. English tends to be the preferred language in the "hard sciences" like physics and biology but its predominance diminishes in the social sciences and humanities, where national languages tends to predominate. In other words, a portion of scientific production—a portion that varies by country and by discipline—continues to be disseminated in various languages. For this reason, and because of the need to expand the reach of scholarly production in languages other than English, translation continues to be critical to disseminating research findings published in different places.

In recent years, several studies have analyzed the internationalization of the social sciences in Argentina, though few have addressed the problem

of translation. In one study on the institutionalization of political science in Argentina, Leonardo Medina Rodríguez (2014) analyzes the effects of the international circulation of specialists and ideas on the structuring of an academic elite through indicators such as study, teaching and research abroad, visits by foreign researchers and publications. His work reveals the multiple practices and relationships that connect an academic discipline with other fields, highlighting the structures that relegate this political science to the periphery in Argentina. The author's ultimate aim is to reveal the elite group of gatekeepers responsible for keeping the discipline connected with the main centers of the production of knowledge. In his study, Medina Rodríguez also examines certain dimensions of the publishing market for journals and books in the political sciences. In relation to journals, the only statistical evidence he presents is the miniscule number of articles published by Argentine political science professionals on the mainstream international circuit, based on a data survey of the Web of Science for March 2013 (2014: 142). Regarding book publishing, Medina Rodríguez notes a rift between the sphere of production (dominated by the large transnational publishing groups based in Spain) and that of national consumption in a chapter entitled "Towards a plurality of translations." Owing to the lack of concrete data on titles, publishers, series, translated books, translated languages and the uses of the different publications, further analysis is needed to confirm the important hypotheses the author lays out in the study. In this regard, it is possible to say that the use Medina Rodríguez makes of translation is more metaphorical and refers not to a specific practice² but to a system of printed goods involving editors, text translators and other mediators between intellectual fields of different languages and nationalities.

Our approach to the phenomenon of book translation brings up the topic of a certain degree of autonomy within the publishing field in relation to the academic-scientific field. Although the producers of ideas intervene in decisions regarding what to read and translate, they are subordinate to the editors who ultimately control translation-publication. To avoid the risk of generalizations, a sociological approach to the use of languages and its objectification in communications proves useful to understanding this phenomenon. Some precedents in this regard include the sociology of languages, translation and the international circulation

of ideas (Even-Zohar 1990; Heilbron 1999, 2009; Bourdieu 2002; De Swaan 2002; Sapiro 2014). Based on these works, we have developed an analytical perspective for the study of translations that examines the agents and logics behind the importing and exporting of ideas. Guided by these premises, in this chapter we analyze social sciences and humanities (SSH) book translations in Argentina from 1990 to 2011.

Argentina occupies a doubly-peripheral position in the global system. Its language, Spanish, is peripheral in comparison to English and, albeit to a lesser extent, in comparison to French and German as well. Second, in the geopolitics of science and culture, the United States and Europe are the main producers and communicators in all key areas (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010; Heilbron 2014). The choice of this national case is not only theoretical—margins are critical to understanding cores—but empirical as well. The first finding regarding English is that it is not the most commonly translated language in the sphere of the social sciences and humanities in Argentina, as becomes evident when the different source languages of the SSH titles are compared. In this work, we have studied the five most translated languages: French, English, German, Italian and Portuguese.

Argentina is analytically important in another regard. Though it is peripheral from the point of view of its language and with regards to the principal producers of science, it has a significant cultural weight within the Spanish speaking world. Spain is the main producer and exporter of books in this linguistic geography, with Mexico and Argentina vying for second place. According to the ISBN national records for 2015, Spain published 92,986 titles, Mexico, 29,895 and Argentina, 28,966. However, in terms of the number of titles per 10,000 inhabitants, Argentina (6.7) surpasses Mexico (2.5). This difference can be noted in other aspects of the publishing ecosystem, such as the number of bookstores.³ Although no precise data is available, different sources suggest that the city of Buenos Aires has as many (or even more) bookstores than all Mexico. All three countries have a longstanding tradition in the publishing of SSH translations. Thus, the analysis of book translations published in Argentina also means advancing towards an understanding of the forms in which these three countries compete and also complement one another as importers of ideas within the intellectual space of the Spanish language.

This study, which covers a period of a little over two decades, allows us to question certain broad assumptions in the social sciences and humanities: the unrivalled predominance of English and U.S. scientific production; the inevitable shift from print to digital communication; and the replacement of books by periodicals as a means of legitimizing scientific production. The logics of production and scientific communication merit observation and understanding in different contexts and from other angles.

In the hard sciences, increasingly universal validation criteria—publishing in a certain type of academic journals, for example, and the expanded use of citation indicators to establish the value of both journals and the works themselves—pose serious challenges for the workings and communications of the social sciences and humanities. The status of books is drawn into question as part of this process. Yet, as Renato Ortiz (2009) notes, in the SSH there is a close relationship between theoretical introduction/debate and the book format. The layout and format of books is well adapted to long-term research works. Moreover, books continue to play an important role in building SSH academic careers in major international intellectual centers such as the U.S., France and Germany. Finally, the value of an SSH book also depends on books in general and their broader social and cultural value, which is in turn related to the history of publishing and intellectual national fields. The degree of visibility and the circulation of scholarly publishers, observable through the type of bookstores that sell their books and the way these books are marketed (window placement, displayed on tables with “new releases” or “recommendations”), is a possible indicator of this phenomenon.

From a long-term perspective, books thus offer insight into the international circulation of SSH ideas.⁴ However, it is important to consider that the relationship to books can vary by discipline. In the case of the economic and political sciences—to mention the most salient examples—researchers increasingly opt to publish journal articles instead of books. On the other hand, analyzing books from this perspective means also examining economic and political interests at work in the publishing industry, barriers to publishing, and the intellectual value criteria in each academic field and discipline.

Publishing and Translation in Argentina

In order to analyze the translations of SSH books in Argentina between 1990 and 2011, we have built a database based on information from the national ISBN record. Although this source provides extensive information, it has reliability issues, and its search engine has several limitations. To achieve a consistent database, we cross-checked and refined the information with other sources, such as catalogues from the most important publishers and from online libraries, and information provided by the French embassy. We then classified the titles by disciplines, authors and production period (classic, modern and contemporary), among other variables. This classification was supplemented with a series of interviews with publishers. As shown in Table 10.1, French stands out as the most translated language: the number of books translated from French is more than twice that of translations from English, counting both American and British titles.

What disciplines and authors are translated the most? How many publishing houses release translations, and which publishing houses are they? How do they differ from one another? What impact have public funding policies had on the publishing of translated works? These and other questions are important to explaining these results. As we will see throughout the study, the publication of translations responds in large measure to the functioning of the publishing market. That is, it is not limited to the interests and dynamics of the academic field, which is usually where the circulation of ideas is analyzed. The first and clearest factor in this regard is the relationship between economic fluctuations, the publishing market, and the quantity of translations published annually.

Table 10.1 SSH book translations per language (Argentine publishing market, 1990–2011)

Language	Books translated (excluding reprints/re-editions)	Percentages
French	1660	45
English	779	21
German	652	18
Italian	441	12
Portuguese	166	4
Total	3698	100

The economic variables that come into play during times of stability/growth and times of crisis (in Argentina, 1990–1991 and 2001–2002) have a striking effect on publishing—and especially on translations. As is shown in Table 10.2, book publishing in Argentina rose significantly between 1990 and 2011, though from a global point of view, this does not represent a purely local phenomenon. During these two decades, book production surged in all markets, though the number of print runs diminished. The table also reveals that translations depend on local as well as external conditions. The 2008 global financial crisis made it more difficult for the country’s publishers to pay the going prices on the market

Table 10.2 Titles and SSH translations published in Argentina, 1990–2011

Year	Number of titles registered in Argentina (new+reedit)	SSH translations from French, English, German, Italian and Portuguese (no rep./reedit)	Argentine general publishing annual percentage change (%)	SSH translations annual percentage change (%)
1990		55		
1991	4800	51	0	0
1992	7400	64	154	118
1993	7800	86	163	156
1994	9600	104	200	196
1995	8700	107	181	195
1996	9900	132	206	251
1997	12,035	158	251	289
1998	13,096	147	273	267
1999	13,730	198	286	360
2000	14,151	186	295	338
2001	13,642	143	284	260
2002	10,346	117	216	213
2003	14,284	218	298	420
2004	18,129	234	378	429
2005	19,375	240	404	447
2006	21,182	236	441	433
2007	23,503	243	490	447
2008	22,911	272	477	509
2009	23,553	225	491	420
2010	26,387	241	550	449
2011	30,860	241	643	447
Total	325,384	3698		

of international book rights. To deal with this situation, some publishers developed alternative translation strategies, like putting together anthologies of foreign authors based on collections of articles published in academic journals, thus publishing books that do not exist per se in the country or native language of the authors.

However, to fully understand this scenario, it is important to consider the structural aspects of the Spanish-language publishing market. Insofar as the primary target of Argentine social science book production is the local market, Argentine publishers choose titles, authors and disciplines accordingly. At the same time, however, a portion of the Argentine publishing production is exported to other Spanish-speaking markets, and part of the books sold on the Argentine market are translations, most of which are imported from Spain and Mexico.⁵

As can be seen on Table 10.3, the predominance of French over other source languages remains steady throughout the period. However,

Table 10.3 Number of SSH books translated from each language per year

Year	French	English	German	Italian	Portuguese
1990	25	6	19	6	0
1991	29	11	11	4	0
1992	21	10	22	6	6
1993	45	17	16	5	3
1994	52	29	14	13	0
1995	56	23	17	10	1
1996	55	32	24	21	6
1997	71	43	18	17	10
1998	61	38	29	16	3
1999	96	49	27	19	7
2000	95	39	31	13	8
2001	73	22	16	25	7
2002	55	29	16	11	6
2003	93	41	43	33	21
2004	95	38	49	41	13
2005	115	36	41	40	14
2006	99	48	35	46	10
2007	110	55	42	29	10
2008	124	50	51	32	23
2009	111	55	24	25	16
2010	101	59	35	38	14
2011	89	49	72	23	13

Table 10.4 Translated SSH authors by language and historical Period (percentage)

	French (%)	English (%)	German (%)	Italian (%)	Portuguese (%)
Classics	5.8	3.8	9.2	7.0	0.8
Modern	4.9	4.0	20.3	5.7	0.8
Contemporary	89.2	92.2	70.5	87.2	98.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

different languages vie for second place in those same years: in certain periods or years, more books are translated from German than from English (1990–1993, 2003–2005, 2008, 2011⁶) while in others, Italian translations outnumbered those from English (2001, 2005). These differences can partially be explained by the publishing activity in Mexico and Spain. But they can also be explained by other factors, such as the importance of the authors translated according to the historical period of their production. We have classified authors who published their most important works before 1900 as “classic”; those whose peak was between 1900 and 1950 as “modern;” and those who produced the bulk of their work from 1950 to date as “contemporary.” Among 1474 single authors (not including authors of books with two or more authors), 6 per cent are classic, 7 per cent modern and 87 per cent contemporary (Table 10.4).

The international prestige of languages is strongly associated with “classic” authors who wrote in those languages. For publishing houses, the classics represent guaranteed sales as demand for them remains steady over time. For this reason, though contemporary authors greatly outnumber the classic and modern authors, new editions and reprints are more common among the classic and modern. In many cases, their most renowned works—like *The Social Contract* by Rousseau or Karl Marx’s *The Communist Manifesto*—are on the required reading lists of university courses in various degree programs. As a result, they are regularly reprinted and re-edited, often in cheap editions released by sales-oriented publishers. The proportional weight of these authors is higher among Italian and German authors. In these languages, the texts most often translated are philosophical. The intellectual prestige of classic and modern authors draws the interest of publishers and the academic field to the contemporary production of a given language and country. This reveals that there is a

certain degree of variation and innovation that continues to justify the acquisition of translation copyrights. From this point of view, the paltry number of translations from Portuguese cannot be solely attributed to the fact that this source language is easy for Spanish speakers to understand. Although the syntactical and phonological similarities between Spanish and Portuguese facilitate the circulation of source language texts, translation is still essential to a broader dissemination of scholarly work.⁷ The absence of renowned classic and modern authors thus reduces the intellectual prestige of a language/country with respect to more established languages.

The relationship between the distribution of disciplines and languages is another approach to the analysis. As shown on Table 10.5, the first important fact is that half of all translations published in Argentina over the course of the period studied here correspond to just two disciplines, philosophy and “psych” (psychiatry, psychology and primarily, psychoanalysis). Considering that a varying, but always significant, percentage of the titles are selected based on the preferences of the local market, the predominance of these disciplines suggest a direct connection with the interests and demands of local academia and, more broadly, the intellectual sphere. Psychoanalysis, for example, represents a field unto itself in Argentina—especially in the city of Buenos Aires—with its own schools of thought, institutions, publications, debates, etc. Although this field is

Table 10.5 Translated SSH disciplines

Disciplines	Translations percentage (not counting reedition or reprinting) (%)
Philosophy	27
“Psy” knowledges	22
History	8
Sociology	8
Educational sciences	6
Essay	5
Law	5
Political science	5
Literary theory/critics	3
Economy	3
Other (18 disciplines)	10
Total	100

connected to the university, it is also present outside it, reaching a relatively broad readership (Plotkin 2001). The limited presence of other disciplines may be owed to a lack of local interest in these areas, especially since Spain and Mexico have a more established tradition of translating authors from fields like history (especially Spain) and sociology (especially Mexico). In the case of the political and economic sciences, this can also be attributed to the logics of production and communication, which have clearly shifted from books towards academic journals.

Table 10.6 shows a series of correlations between disciplines and source languages. While philosophy represents more than half of all texts translated from Italian and a high percentage of the translations from German, this percentage is much lower in the case of English and less than 10 per cent in the case of Portuguese. Psychoanalysis is the most translated discipline from French, with nearly 30 per cent of all titles, which is indicative of the strength of this language. This percentage contrasts with the relatively few translations, in absolute and proportional terms, of “psych” texts from other languages, and suggests a close relationship between the Argentine psychoanalytic cultural universe and the French schools (Dagfal 2009).

The authors chosen for translation provide particular insight into the logic behind the publication of translations. The number of works translated by an author indicates the interest he/she sparks among publishers and readers *a priori*: the more books translated, the more renowned the

Table 10.6 Percentage composition of books by language and discipline

Disciplines	French (%)	German (%)	Italian (%)	English (%)	Portuguese (%)
Philosophy	28	41	48	18	7
“Psy” knowledges	33	22	9	19	6
History	10	4	9	12	9
Sociology	11	4	3	10	13
Educational sciences	3	3	5	10	33
Essay	5	8	2	7	9
Law	1	10	12	5	7
Political science	3	6	6	7	12
Literary theory/critics	3	1	4	6	2
Economy	3	2	3	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

author and/or the better his or her works sell. However, it would be a mistake to limit the analysis of an author's intellectual importance and publishing success to this indicator. This is because, as we saw earlier, some or all of an author's work may be published in a country other than Argentina (usually Mexico or Spain). In these cases, these works are found in Argentine bookstores but will not appear at the top of our list of the most translated authors. Another factor to consider is the moment when an author begins earning renown. If the author has already published extensively in his/her country of origin but was "discovered" in Argentina towards the end of our period of analysis, the translations of the author's work would have accelerated from then on. Finally, the author may be young and up-and-coming, with few published works to date.

Despite these exceptions, this indicator proves useful when examining the most frequently translated areas within SSH, that is, areas where Argentina has a higher degree of expertise. Additionally, the indicator allows us to compare and contrast the most translated authors within a specific discipline. In this regard, the significance of an author is not defined solely by the number of titles he/she has published but also by the release of similar works by other authors from the same country or from abroad. Finally, when we include the language variable, the indicator shows the relationship between the choices of authors and works within a discipline and from a specific country.

Among 'psych' authors (Fig. 10.1), those who established entire schools of thought within the field like Freud, Jung, Piaget and Lacan far outnumber the rest. However, Lacanian psychoanalysis clearly prevails. We can observe how this school structures a great part of the psychoanalytical theory circulating among different publishers, serving as one of the principal gateways into contemporary French thought.⁸

Unlike psychoanalysis, in the case of philosophy there is a more balanced ratio between French and German authors. In this discipline, most of the authors translated do not come from a single school or theoretical tradition. Although some intellectual ties can be acknowledged, the most translated authors are the founders or important figures of a range of philosophical traditions or schools. The one notable difference between the French and German authors is the period in which they were published in their native tongues. While classic and modern authors

Table 10.7 25 publishing houses with the largest number of translations

Publishing house	German	French	English	Italian	Portuguese	Total
Paidós	42	170	82	18	1	313
Nueva Visión	3	216	13	31	3	266
Amorrortu	13	99	61	19		192
Fondo de Cultura Económica	20	70	22	12	4	128
Losada	23	40	14	29	1	107
Prometeo	17	29	18	5	4	73
Aguilar, Altea, Taurus, Alfaguara	13	22	25	5	2	67
Katz	12	17	28	5		62
Manantial		53	6		2	61
Siglo XXI Editores Argentina		44	3	5	8	60
Eudeba	6	33	6	5	2	52
Sudamericana	11	16	15	7	1	50
El Cuenco de Plata	5	28	2	6		41
El Ateneo	3	21	12	2	2	40
Emecé Editores	2	22	15		1	40
Libros del Zorzal	4	24	6	3		37
Vi-Da Global	31		5			36
Lumen	2	5	10	17	1	35
Javier Vergara Editor	3	20	11			34
Hammurabi	19	1	5	3	3	31
Capital Intelectual	2	21	5	2	1	31
Alianza Editorial	11	7	8	2	1	29
De la Flor	1	22	1	4		28
Adriana Hidalgo	1	9	2	16		28
Biblos	9	9	5	3	2	28

predominate among the translated German authors, the French philosophers in translation are mainly contemporary. This leads straight to the question of the preferred languages in Argentina's publishing and intellectual milieu. As we will see below, the main SSH publishers are more focused and interested in contemporary French intellectual production—within philosophy but in other disciplines as well—than they are in other languages and national origins. This interest structures and is structured by the preferences of Argentina's intellectual and academic spheres (Fig. 10.2).

Publishing houses are another important variable in the logic of SSH book translations and, specifically, the dynamics of value formation. How

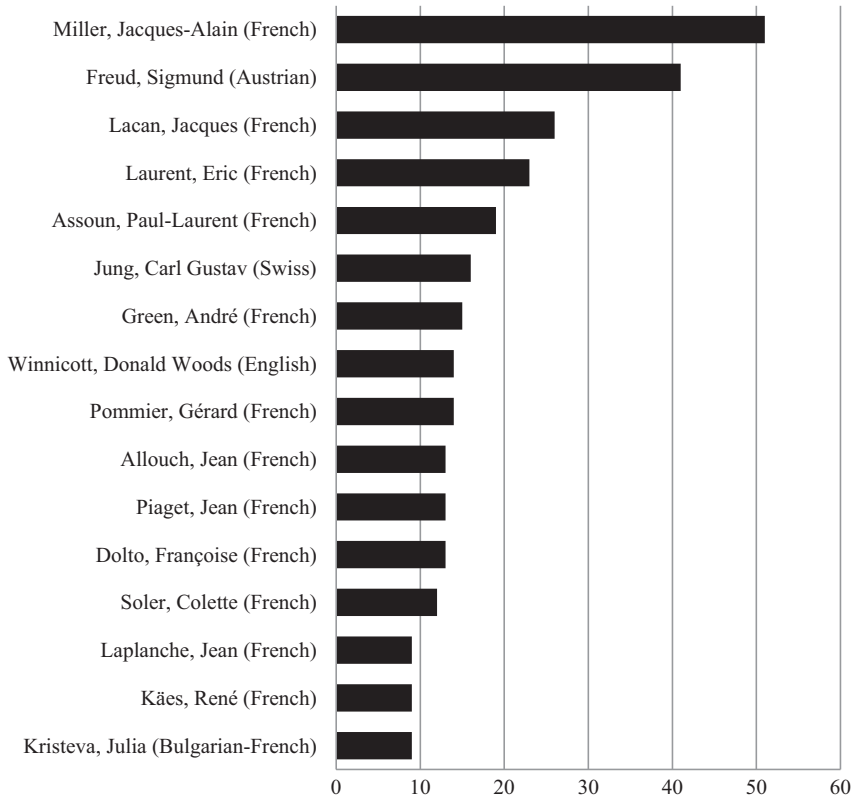


Fig. 10.1 “Psy” knowledges. Authors with the largest number of translated titles

many publishers were involved in translating the SSH? Which publishers were they? What is their relative position in the publishing field? What source languages predominate in their catalogues? What are the cultural effects of the different publishing houses based on their position and their editorial selections? In the period analyzed here (22 years), 519 publishers released 3698 SSH translations from French, English, German, Italian and Portuguese, not counting new editions or reprints. Twenty-five of these publishers released half of these translations, and just nine are responsible for one-third of all the works in translation. A comprehensive approach to these dynamics and their potential effects on the ideas that

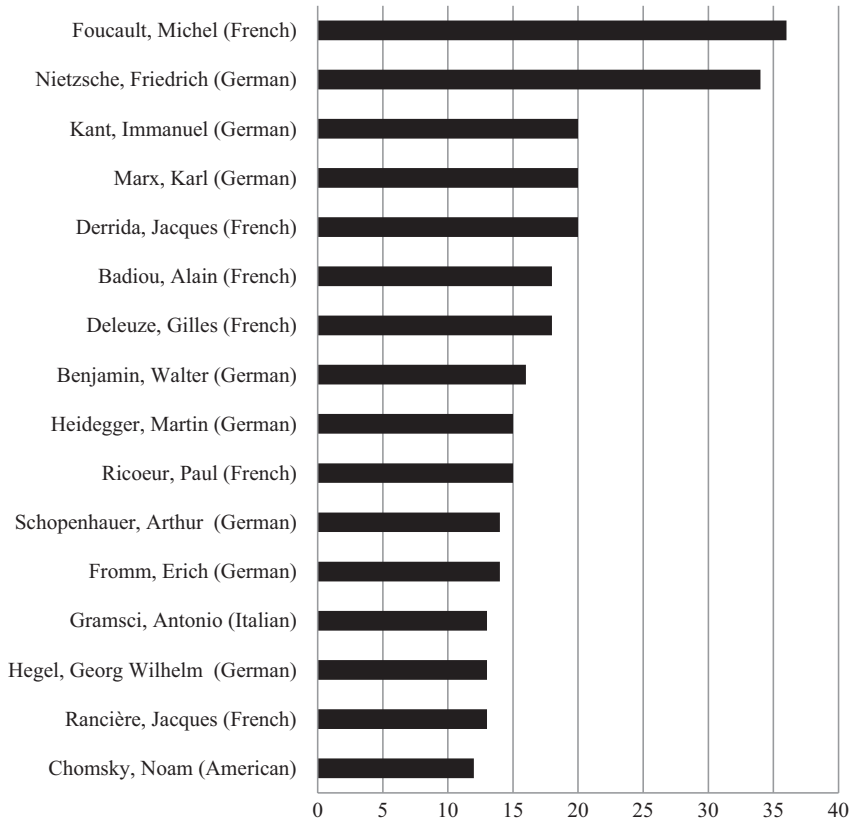


Fig. 10.2 Philosophy. Authors with the largest number of translated titles

are imported and circulated would consider all of the actors involved. However, due to space limitations, we will focus on the 25 publishing houses that released the largest number of SSH translations (Table 10.7).

If we examine the catalogues of each publishing house, including both translations and texts by Spanish-speaking authors, an initial distinction can be established between niche publishers and those that publish general interest works. In other words, the contrast is between publishing houses that focus (though not exclusively) on a relatively limited public from the SSH academic sphere, and those which target a broader readership through catalogues of works from other disciplines as well. This

distinction emerges as an important analytical factor when compared to the translated languages. The following chart displays the publishing houses with the greatest number of translations from French and English—the two most common source languages. The publishing houses with a higher proportion of French translations are on the left, while those with a greater number of English translations on the right (Fig. 10.3).

The chart suggests that the publishers primarily focused on one or more SSH disciplines and tend to prioritize works from French, while publishing houses more oriented towards general interest texts—many part of large publishing conglomerates like Planeta, Aique, Alfaguara-Taurus, Sudamericana, Emecé—generally translate more books from English. This trend, we argue, reveals the importance of the SSH publishers’ role in reinforcing the strength of the French language among readers and among the publishers themselves, reinforcing the language’s symbolic capital in connection with the SSH.

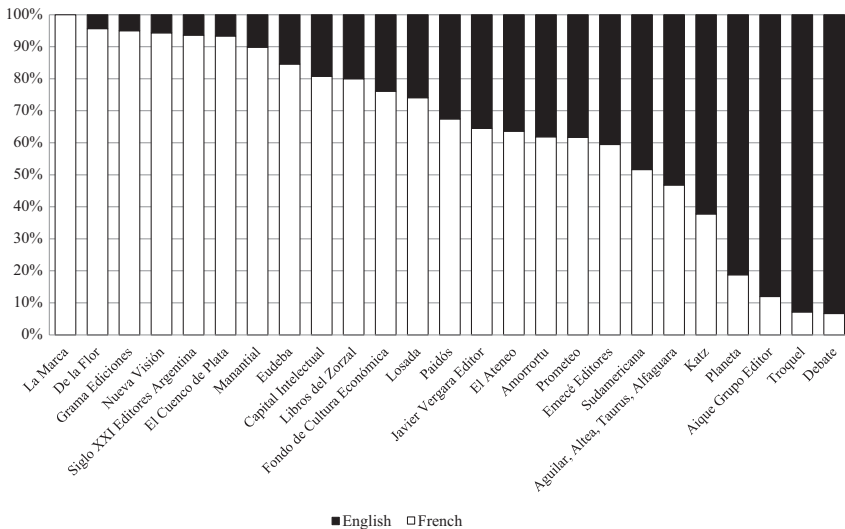


Fig. 10.3 Percentage of French and English translations. Opposition between niches (left)—general interest (right)

Publishers' reputations depend to some extent on the period of the authors included in their catalogues (classic, modern and contemporary). Losada, which holds one of the top spots in the publication of German and Italian authors, is indicative of this configuration. Founded in 1938, Losada is still renowned for the literature and essays it published in the 1950s and 1960s. Another case is that of the modern SSH publishing pioneers, like the Mexican Fondo de Cultura Económica (1934) and Siglo XXI (1966), which later opened branches in Argentina, and the Argentine Paidós (1945), Nueva Visión (1954) and Amorrortu (1967). At the more prestigious SSH publishing houses, books from French represent more than half of their translations. It appears that French authors are endowed with greater symbolic capital when gauging prestige among SSH publishers. This competition comes into focus when certain publishers release the complete works of certain authors, e.g. Lacan, Foucault, Jacques-Alain Miller or Bourdieu. Unlike the case of French, where translations tend to be more focused on authors, in English, the centrality of names diminishes.

While there are less specialized publishers on the left side of the graphic (like De la Flor), there are also a few specialized in SSH on the right, such as Katz and Aique. Alejandro Katz, for example, is a career publisher who headed the Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE) in Argentina. In 2006, he founded his own publishing house that prioritized English-speaking authors and themes. Katz understood that this in itself constituted an innovation within a tradition of predominantly French titles. Aique is a publishing house specializing in the education sciences and has served as a bridge with English-speaking authors in this particular area of expertise.

Intellectual traditions and cultural sensitivities partially explain the interest French intellectual production holds among Argentine publishers. Yet this preference can also be attributed to other factors. The statistical assessment and interviews show that there are close long-term working relationships with French publishing houses specializing in the SSH, a relationship partly based on the perception of the quality of French publishing. The publishers with the largest number of translations in their catalogues maintain close links with the French publishing houses whose translation rights they generally obtain. While many local

publishers keep abreast of French book releases through newsletters and catalogues, the publishers interviewed for this work point out the importance of the personal relations maintained over a period of years at the Frankfurt International Book Fair and at commercial missions. This mutual trust and an insider's knowledge of how each house puts together its catalogue often results in dialogues and exchanges between publishers, helping the Argentines identify titles and authors that could be of interest to local imprints. Likewise, these relationships also give the Argentine publishing market certain privileges in the sale of publishing rights. According to the official in charge of the book office at the French embassy, French publishers "have become accustomed to selling literature to Spain, so that when an Argentine publisher requests the rights to a work of fiction, the French house generally gives priority to the Spanish publisher with which it has an established relationship. Similarly, since Argentine publishers always buy the rights to works in the social sciences and humanities, if a Spanish publisher wants to publish a French work in these disciplines, French publishers tend to go with the Argentine publisher."

State Support for Translations: The French Case

Another dimension that should be taken into account when analyzing the publishers' preference for French authors is the French government's broad range of cultural diplomacy policies. The Centro Franco Argentino (French-Argentine Center), an outcome of these policies, is an institution headquartered at the national universities of Buenos Aires, Córdoba and Cuyo that contributes to the dissemination of French works and authors and organizes visits of French intellectuals and scholars. Another aspect of this policy specifically focused on books is funding for the publication of translations. Since the end of the 1990s, when state subsidies for translation became common state policy across the world, many countries have successfully promoted their literary and intellectual production through translation. Such subsidies can be used to acquire translation rights and/or publish an author's work; they may or may not cover the

full cost of translating/publishing. France was one of the first countries to develop a solid and coherent policy to support French authors and their works.

The French publishing support program Programme d'aide à la publication (PAP) was introduced in Argentina in 1984. Managed by the local French embassy, the PAP in Argentina received a different name, the Victoria Ocampo Program after a renowned Argentine intellectual who had close ties to France. In addition to the PAP, other funding is available to cover the expenses of translation rights through the Institut Français and also via the Embassy, and up to 30 per cent of the translation costs from the Center National du Livre. We will focus our analysis here on the Victoria Ocampo program, which has contributed to a great number of the SSH works published in Argentina. As evidenced on the charts below, the French government's funding of SSH translations remained steady throughout the period studied here. From 1998 to 2010, the PAP subsidized 26.6 per cent of all SSH books in translation by French authors. In 2001 and 2002, the PAP subsidies remained steady but the total number of translations dropped as a result of the economic crisis, meaning that the percentage of books subsidized actually rose during this period (Figs. 10.4 and 10.5).

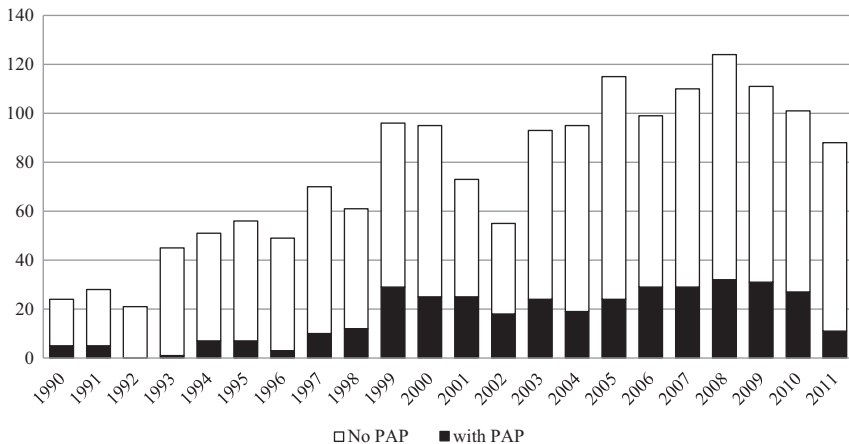


Fig. 10.4 Titles that received a PAP subsidy and non-subsidized titles

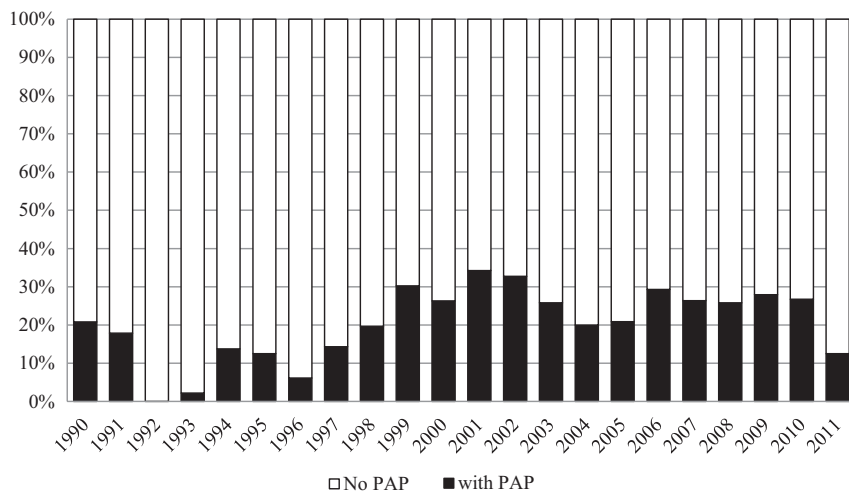


Fig. 10.5 PAP ratio of all translated titles

While all the publishers interviewed for this study concurred that subsidies are important, their individual attitudes varies according to the size of their publishing house and the economic context. The largest and most established publishing houses are not as dependent on subsidies as smaller publishers when it comes time to decide whether to move forward with a translation. However, among publishers both large and small, the funding available for French works in translation makes them attentive to the French publishing market and contributes to decisions to obtain French publishing rights. The publishers who translate the most are confident that once or twice a year they will qualify for a subsidy. In adverse economic times, when works in translation become less feasible, this financial support becomes even more critical. Decision making on whether to publish also depends on factors like the length of the work—the longer the text, the more costly its translation, and the higher the retail price of the books—or whether the author is already well-known locally. In the long term, then, the PAP contributes to reinforcing a preference for French authors and works.

Although no other country offers the same level of funding for translation as France, countries like Italy, Germany and Brazil do provide

financial support. However, politics also play a role—albeit indirectly—in sustaining English-speaking publishing markets and their global domination through translation and the selective support provided by scientific funding institutes.

Conclusions: Relativizing English's Predominance

International cultural domination responds not only to economic or political factors but also to the dynamics of symbolic production. The global power of English in scientific production and dissemination cannot be solely attributed to the language's perceived efficiency and aptness for analytical thought and empirical findings. As the English language plays a conspicuous role in the current dynamics of knowledge production, it must be the primary object of our research in order to understand the complexity of its influence and avoid the naturalized assumptions associated with this phenomenon. This is what we have intended to do in this work.

A wide variety of variables must be considered to explore English's predominance. A comprehensive exploration of the problem would require empirically solid and cumulative studies. Though our contribution in this regard is only partial, we consider that the findings of our study lay the groundwork for a systematic analysis and confirm that further research of this kind is needed in different regions and languages.

In the first place, it is impossible to understand the cultural and scientific strength of a language without knowing where it ranks among competing linguistic markets. In *Ce que parler veut dire*, Bourdieu (1982)⁹ emphasized the extent to which languages are not simply “linguistic” acts but social phenomena and should be approached as such. It is thus fundamental to observe the international dissemination of different languages through two measurable indicators, publishing and translating, both of which have great analytical potential. Second, our study focused on books, which interestingly are being relegated as a valid format of production of scientific knowledge as certain agents strive to establish a group of mainstream journals in which English is the only acceptable language for science.

Although books were the empirical object of this study, we do not intend to minimize the importance of scholarly journals. On the contrary, the value of printed books can only be understood in relation to other media or formats of scientific production and dissemination. In this regard, the CONICET team has carried out other research on academic journals¹⁰ (Beigel and Salatino 2015). Our interest in books lies in the fact that their role as a medium for scientific knowledge production is currently being called into question. On the one hand, the hubs of scientific production and the dominant scientific disciplines (exact, physical and natural sciences) minimize or deny the role of books as a tool for scientific validation. The question about the significance of books has produced often heated debates on the scientific evaluation commissions within institutions like the CNRS and CONICET, that is, not just along the periphery, but on central markets like France and Germany. Such debates offer an insightful window into the tensions surrounding this topic. At times, commission debates become veritable battles in which certain scholars defend books as the most relevant and durable objects of cultural knowledge and warn of the dangers of neglecting languages other than English. While this resistance to the dominance of the English language may be seen as a sort of reactionary nationalism from the point of view of mainstream hubs, it can also be viewed as a progressive approach to maintaining cultural diversity and a true cosmopolitanism in autonomous, diversified centers. This tension surrounding the book yields a set of important questions for considering the contemporary dynamics of academic production and the intersections with intellectual, social and political spheres outside scientific communities. Do SSH scholars no longer see books as the culmination of their intellectual endeavors? Who is the target audience of “academic books”? How do these books circulate? How are they exhibited and marketed? Though it is essential to consider that the English language and publishing in indexed mainstream journals are the dominant criteria for scientific production value, it is also necessary to relativize the scope and limitations of this empirical indicator.

The topics analyzed in this study—the global predominance of English and the U.S. academic system and the preference for French authors in Argentina—frequently elicit strong opinions, often with no empirical backing or supporting arguments. As we have seen, most of

the disciplines within the social sciences and humanities configure markets of symbolic goods that go beyond the borders of universities and do not fully comply with standardized norms for scientific productivity. To accurately gauge the extent of the English language in international scientific production and communication, it is necessary to keep in mind that: (1) science must be understood as a dimension within broader cultural production; (2) there are variations in the struggle for symbolic domination linked to the country, language and area of knowledge; and (3) history is a key dimension for understanding the timing of cultural phenomena.

Reflection is absolutely critical to understanding the dominance of English and the alterity it diminishes, which leads us back to the questions on specific empirical data that we posed at the beginning: to what extent is publishing (of books and journals) a factor in the production of value (scientific value specifically, but cultural value in general) and in positioning individual producers and collectives internationally? What media are currently responsible for establishing what is published and who participates in a scientific community? How does translation serve as an indicator of the connection between a unique scientific and cultural market and others? How does the translation world-system affect national markets?

Although Spanish may be considered a peripheral language at the world level, it is still an arena for ongoing struggles of global cultural legitimacy. Spanish is the target of “imperial” policies from Spain and a language that evokes complex feelings of cultural grandeur. It is the language of a market system for symbolic goods that comprises some twenty countries and an extensive territory—including the United States, where Spanish is the second most spoken language and whose Spanish publishing market is on the rise. However, the analysis of a language’s power cannot or should not be reduced to its relative ability to enter other linguistic markets, other nations. The study of translation also reveals how a language and a publishing market open up to other languages and cultural traditions. It is important to remember that the English language markets are characterized by relatively low percentages of *intraduction*,¹¹ which has stood at around 3 per cent for decades (compared to 13 per cent in France and Germany, 25 per cent in the Netherlands). The need

for a detailed understanding of what occurs in the translation to Spanish of SSH books on a market as culturally unique as Argentina's has been the focus of this study; future research should address the dynamics of book translations on the other Spanish language publishing markets, principally Spain and Mexico.

The statistical dimensions of each market (volumes and differences by disciplines, the historical period of the authors translated, etc.) should be examined along with ethnographic aspects at the level of individuals, the uses of languages, the many reasons behind the decision for selecting certain books and certain topics. Although these results are only partial, this work has attempted to expand our perspective on the myriad and fluctuating factors associated with symbolic dominance in global SSH production. We have seen that there are borders and specific configurations of linguistic domination that deserve to be observed in different contexts. This observation is essential to move towards a *realpolitik* of production and global legitimation of the knowledge generated—and the potential knowledge of the future—within the social sciences and humanities.

Notes

1. We would like to especially thank Heber Ostroviesky, who was involved in the initial stages of our research and then continued reading drafts, making comments, and offering advice throughout the process.
2. Regarding a critique of the use of translation as a metaphor in anthropological theory, see Sorá (2017).
3. *El libro en cifras. Boletín estadístico del libro en Iberoamérica*. CERLALC, Bogota, 2016.
4. Ultimately, for our aims here, it is necessary to compare the dynamics of production, circulation and value of scientific ideas in books and in journals at certain times and certain places. The CONICET team at Interco-SSH has begun research into both books and journals, although it is not yet possible to reach definitive conclusions given the current state of knowledge. Works by Fernanda Beigel and Maximiliano Salatino (2015; Beigel 2014) on scientific journals in Argentina will thus also be cited in this chapter, along with a recent study they have undertaken on competences and uses of languages among Argentine scientists.

5. One hypothesis associated with the differences between the three markets that merits further research is the distinct configuration in terms of the importing and exporting of general reading books and, specifically, SSH books. Historically, the Spanish market was built on exporting to the colonies, while the Mexican publishing market yielded powerful transnational enterprises, especially in the social sciences, like Fondo de Cultura Económica and Siglo XXI (cf. Sorá and Blanco 2018, in this volume). Comparatively, Argentine publishers have had lower export ratios and in terms of the subject matter of their catalogues, national culture dynamics have prevailed.
6. German's surge in 2011 can be attributed to the launch of Vi-Da Global, a digital imprint that has released a great number of re-editions of SSH translations. While Vi-Da Global falls within our study parameters and is thus included in our analysis, it is necessary to treat it as a singular phenomenon because its working logic is different from the norm and could thus bias the sample.
7. Sorá (2002, 2003) has shown that after France, Argentina was the country that published the most books by Brazilian authors in translation during the 20th century.
8. On the early reception of Jacques Lacan's work in Argentina, see Grisendi and Novello (2018).
9. There is an English language version of this book, *Language and symbolic power*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991. This version differs from the original, however, as two essays have been left out and five others included.
10. In collaboration with Ana Maria Almeida from the University of Campinas (Brazil), Fernanda Beigel has begun a project on the uses of different languages by Argentine and Brazilian scientists.
11. This term refers to translating a foreign language text in order to import it to one's own culture.

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Part IV

East-West Relations



11

A Case of State Controlled Westernization. Foreign Impacts in the Hungarian Social Sciences (1945–2015)

Victor Karady and Peter Tibor Nagy

Socio-Cultural Preliminaries

The public self-image of Hungarian elites in modern times, especially those of intellectually creative clusters in the arts and the sciences, much reflected upon in school curricula, mobilized strong references to a ferry or a shuttle between East and West (Katus 2012). Such formulation of the country's position in the symbolic geography of the European continent comprised a number of topical ingredients related to history. It was a somewhat rhetorical recognition of economic, political, social (in various meanings) and cultural backwardness as compared to the West, a 'latecomer's complex'. In the same perspective this included the acknowledgement of being dominated by the West, especially in modern

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*,
Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_11

times (since the Enlightenment, at least). As to scholarly pursuits and knowledge production, it was understood that local activity markets, engaged in a movement of ‘catching up’ with the West, depended largely upon the importation of Western cognitive goods. This included a heightened importance awarded to Western contacts and placements in Western intellectual fields in various forms. Until the advent of socialism, student peregrinations were directed almost exclusively to Western universities. From the eleventh century the country was part of Western Christianity and Latin remained a staple part of the intellectual baggage of elites till the mid-twentieth century, all the more because Latin served as the administrative state language up to an advanced stage of nation building (1843) (Nagy 1992). From 1526 to 1918 the country (as an administratively separate kingdom) was incorporated in the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire, which had a Germanic demographic majority and a German-speaking court in Vienna. Hungary also had influential German minority populations in its historic territory (some of them having settled already in the thirteenth century). Germans were part of the *Hungarus* nobility, the citizenry of royal cities and of propertied peasantry. Some of the latter – like the Saxons of Transylvania – formed a historic rural proto-bourgeoisie in modern times. To this was added (especially from the early eighteenth century up to 1848) the immigration of Ashkenazi Jewry (first from the Czech lands, later, after the partition of Poland finalized in 1795, from Austrian Galicia), carrying a heavily Germanic cultural heritage. By the early twentieth century the two clusters of Germans, or those of German origin (some 10–15% in the population), and Jews (5% see Janos 1982: 11 and 113) would make up close to half (in several categories the majority) of the educated elites in the country, including university students, especially those studying beyond the borders (Karady 2012), free professionals, academics and even members in the central administration (Janos 1982: 110–115).

Indeed, German became from the beginning of the nationalizing process a linguistic ‘must’ in elite training as the language mediating Western cultural goods destined to serve as models for the cultural modernization of the country. During absolutist rule (1850–1860) following the failed

1848–1849 revolution and civil war for independence, tuition at the University of Pest and other institutions of higher education was forcefully Germanized. But the cult of Western linguistic competences since the nineteenth century included also French (as an additional elite language, a status symbol proper in the aristocracy and the emerging high bourgeoisie) as well as – occasionally – both Italian and English. The Western orientation of national elites was institutionally grounded in the school system, largely copied from Prussia, completed via the 1849 imperial educational reform (Charle et al. 2004). By 1900 some 8–11 per cent of teaching hours in secondary education were dedicated to German together with another 10 per cent to French in higher classes of those *Realschulen* which did not teach Latin (Mészáros 1988: 103). This arrangement was largely maintained till the end of the old regime in 1945.

In 1881 student travel for study involved not less than 21 per cent and, in 1910 still 9 per cent, of the Hungarian student body (as computed from the Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks of relevant years). They were almost exclusively in the direction of Vienna (Szögi 2013; Patyi et al. 2004, 2015), other Austrian cities (Mészáros et al. 1914) and, over time more and more often, German universities (Szögi 2001). In terms of numbers, among the fifty thousand or so students from Hungary registered in universities outside the national borders between 1789 and 1918 (as explored by László Szögi and his team) a mere 3.6 per cent could be identified as studying in institutions where the language of instruction was not German. As well as this, Paris and Italian cities were places frequently chosen for extended cultural visits (Peter and Tichonov 2003). In 1895 the Eötvös College was founded in Budapest on the model of the *Ecole Normale Supérieure*, with a similar mission as special school of excellence to train scholars in the arts and sciences. But, contrary to what prevailed in the post-Napoleonic *Université* regarding the hierarchy of prestige in academic disciplines, scholarship oriented to, or inspired by the West, tended to dominate in Hungary over forms of erudition focusing on local or classical cultural targets. Around 1900 only 8 per cent of the Parisian *Normaliens* studied modern foreign languages and civilizations as against two fifths of students in the humanities section of the Eötvös College (Karady 1986).

The East-West Ferry Under the Liberal Monarchy

The ‘catching up complex’ proved to be essential to the birth and development of the social sciences that took place in the Dual Monarchy (following the *Ausgleich*, the Hungarian-Austrian political ‘Compromise’ – 1867–1918) (Heilbron et al. 2009). This was a period of state sponsored and promoted modernization in the territory of the historic kingdom, mostly under the aegis of cultural institutions of the nation state, henceforth independent with regard its internal affairs. By the eve of the Great War the country had upgraded its infrastructure for elite training and cultural supply (libraries, museums, theatres, concert halls, operas, etc.) according to, and approaching the levels of Western countries. There were four classical universities of the Humboldt type and one Polytechnic University, together with a dozen Law academies and several vocational colleges for music, the fine arts, mining, forestry, and agriculture (Karady 2012) plus a large number of theological seminars for the training of clerics. Secondary school graduates and university students attained quite similar scores to their counterparts in Germany or France (computed from Mitchell 2008, *passim* and Ringer 1989).

There remained, however, a flagrant discrepancy between the economic and political backwardness (including the preservation of feudal property relations in rural areas) and relatively over-educated urban elites with a life style close to the West and with cultural institutions of similar standards (Pók 2002). The main reason for such incongruity can be identified in inequalities of modernization between various upcoming or reconverted sectors of the middle strata, notably in the distinctive educational and professional mobility of ‘modernist’ newcomers in the elites, mostly of Jewish and German ethnic background. They included the majority of professionals, entrepreneurs, freelance intellectuals and artists engaged in the dual process of national assimilation (Magyarization) as well as the adventure of social, political and intellectual modernity. The latter was for all practical purposes synonymous with Western orientation. The authoritative organ of avant-garde literary and artistic creativity as well as criticism *Nyugat* (West), published between 1908 and 1941, hosted the

most influential authors of the early twentieth century. The liberal but (over time) more and more nationalist governments in power favored this development before 1919, promoted efficient policies of secularization and resisted occasional xenophobic and anti-Semitic outbursts, all the more so because of common enemies of such Western type modernization supported by a powerful Catholic Church that hosted influential anti-Jewish and anti-Liberal clusters (Kontler 2009).

In all middle class sectors a sharp dividing line separated modernist, secularized, Western-minded, liberal or leftist intellectual circles, mostly associated with contemporary universalist ideological movements and utopias (like freemasonry, feminism, Esperantism, radical pacifism, socialism or even communism) from their conservative-nationalist opponents. Such divisions became acute during World War I, especially after the defeat. It led first to the fall of the Dual Monarchy, masterminded by leftist intellectuals (October 1919), followed by the shocking and bloody Bolshevik experience (March–July 1919). The ensuing (even more ruthlessly bloody and openly anti-Jewish) White Terror accompanied (without resistance) the dismantling of the historic state and led to the emergence of the authoritarian ‘Christian Regime’, recognized internationally by the victorious powers in the Treaty of Trianon (1920) (See Romsics 2002).

The emerging social sciences were heavily affected by these developments. On the one hand some of them (like geography, demography, philosophy, ethnology, social history or even social theory) were patronized by important state institutions like the Central and the Budapest Statistical Bureaus, the Arts and Law faculties of the universities and the Academy of Sciences. Officials of these institutions did their best, as did the scholars concerned, to publish their main research findings in German or even in French (like the *Statistical Yearbooks*). On the other hand several avant-garde initiatives in these fields (empirical social studies, political science, psychoanalysis) flourished among Westernized, freelance, mostly Jewish intellectuals, gathering in privately organized learned societies linked to civic initiatives. These included the *Society for Social Science* (1900) and its radical branch the *Galilei Circle* (1906) which gathered around the sociologist Oszkár Jászi (1875–1957). Another group was associated with Sándor Ferenczi (1873–1933), one of the closest associates to Sigmund Freud, in the *Hungarian Psychoanalytical Association* (1913).

With the fall of the Monarchy (to which they decisively contributed) many of the latter emigrated to the West, where they often achieved high level careers. The new 'Christian Regime' not only tolerated anti-Jewish atrocities, but hastened to introduce by 1920 the infamous *numerus clausus* law in universities which set drastic limits to Jewish enrolments (6 per cent of inscribed students as against some 20–25 per cent previously). As a result, most of the internationally acknowledged Hungarian scholars in the humanities and the social sciences (just as in the arts and the sciences) in the twentieth century became emigrants. Among them were the philosopher and aesthetician Georg Lukács (1885–1971), the psychoanalytical folklorist Géza Roheim (1891–1953) and the psychoanalyst Mihály Bálint (1896–1970), the social historians of the arts Arnold Hauser (1892–1978) and Frederick Antal (1887–1954), the economic historian Karl Polányi (1886–1964), the sociologists Karl Mannheim (1893–1947) and Oszkár Jászi (1882–1956), the film theorist Béla Balázs (1884–1949), the economist Béla Varga (1879–1964) and many other psychoanalysts, artists, musicians, social and natural scientists. With one notable exception (who would emigrate only before the Sovietization of the country, two decades later) all the dozen or so Nobel laureates of Hungarian birth earned their prize in the West. Most of them (with two exceptions) were of Jewish background and left as *numerus clausus* expatriates or as political refugees (Frank 2009).

With this the Western intellectual anchorage of scholarly pursuits, especially of social studies, were definitely confirmed in Hungary, even though some of the emigrants (like Antal, Balázs or Lukács, among the above mentioned) returned from refuge in the Soviet Union after 1945. In any case, the politically motivated exodus of intellectuals was a new tradition developed in the twentieth century in Hungary. Earlier it was practically unknown (with the exception of the short-lived precedent of the post-1849 absolutist years). The twentieth century was marked by successive waves of such emigration (Fleck 2015). Those of the 1920s were followed by cohorts of Jewish intellectuals and some members of the liberal establishment (among them the famed composer and musical folklorist Béla Bartók – 1881–1945) fleeing the rampant and, later, legally promoted, Nazification (from 1938). They were succeeded by acolytes of the Horthyist and the Hitlerite rule, having led the country to the disaster of

war and of the *Shoah* in 1944–1945 (Braham 2013). The post-1945 transition years witnessed the exodus of part of the surviving Jewry and those fearing the Stalinist take-over (completed by 1949), while some *numerus clausus* exiles actually settled back in Hungary. Departures to the West continued after the 1956 uprising which saw over 150,000 refugees flee the country. Subsequently, there was a number of forced or voluntary intellectual expatriates throughout the reign of Communism (terminated in 1989).

From the 'Christian Regime' to Nazification

Behind these visible objectifications of the domineering intellectual impact of the West, invested with the mission of an experience of quasi salvation, one can identify though complex sets of policies and transformations of scholarly fields, notably within the social sciences. Two developments are particularly worthy of attention. One concerned state policies of cultural orientation. The second had to do with the internal divisions of the intellectual opposition to the regime with reference to Westernization.

The 'Christian Regime' of the rump state, reduced to one third of the territories of the former Hungarian Kingdom, and surrounded by hostile new states of the 'Petite Entente', got engaged into an ambiguous cultural policy. On the one hand revanchist nationalism against the powers responsible for Trianon became a permanent mainstay of its political message. On the other hand, instead of withdrawing, culturally, into a form of splendid isolation, it engaged itself into an ambitious program of cultural expansionism both to secure and demonstrate – as it was publicly claimed – the cultural superiority of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin. This was a policy of symbolic substitution and compensation, for want (till the late 1930s) of any chance to vindicate political or military revenge for the dismemberment of the historic empire. Besides heavy investments in building additional schools (among them new campuses for the three provincial universities maintained or transferred from territories detached in spite of the dramatic population losses), this policy had a decisively Westernizing aspect. In spite of poor economic conditions, especially after the 1929–1930 crisis, an unprecedented number of advanced

students and scholars were sent to West European universities with state grants. This scheme amounted for the period of 1923–1930 to 121 and in 1931–1936 to 49 scholarships yearly. (Data computed from the *Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks*.) Research centers called *Collegium Hungaricum* were created in Vienna, Berlin and Rome together with other cultural institutes (like in Paris) by the Ministry of Education, to host scholarship holders. Two government sponsored journals of high scholarly standing – the *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* (1932–1944) the *Hungarian Quarterly* (1936–1944) – were in charge of reporting to Western publics on essential cultural novelties in the country, including those in politics and the social sciences. Western language tuition was developed and diversified in secondary schools, there again to a never achieved degree, with certain gymnasiums offering full scale tuition in German or French, and even in Italian or English. In boys' gymnasiums some 3–4 weekly tuition hours were dedicated to German in each class, even more in the upper classes and in girls' secondary schools, while additional training (3–4 hours per class) could be opted for to study other languages (Greek, French, English or Italian) (Mészáros 1988: 117). In 1930 already the absolute majority of Budapest university students declared linguistic competences in one or several Western tongues (Laky 1931: 16–17). Herewith a comparison of these data with those related to the whole population in 1941 and 1949, including for 1941 the then just recently and temporarily recuperated Northern, Eastern and Southern territories (thanks to two common 'Decisions' made by Hitler and Mussolini).

It is clear from Table 11.1 that the educated elites in their large majority must have been more or less multilingual by the end of the inter-war years and linguistic Westernization reached over a tenth of the Budapest population – where the majority of the educated middle class and the staff of academic institutions were concentrated. The linguistic hierarchy was at that time still in favor of German, but French came in a good second position among students as well as in the general population, particularly in the capital city. Linguistic competences were much poorer in the provinces – though German was spoken by a tenth of provincial inhabitants of the rump state, somewhat less in former territories re-annexed during the years 1939–1941 up to 1945. The practice of Western languages was

Table 11.1 Declared linguistic competences in percentage of the population in 1941^a and 1949^b in various territorial units and among university students in Budapest in 1930^c

% of languages declared ^d	Male students in Budapest 1930	Female students in Budapest 1930	Population of newly recovered territories 1941	Budapest population 1941	Budapest population 1949	Trianon province 1941	Trianon province 1949
No foreign languages	42.5	25.2	60.0 ^e	?	86.2	?	92.0
German	34.5	71.2	8.5	21.0	10.2	9.1	3.1
French	20.5	38.3	0.4	3.2	2.2	0.23	0.2
English	9.6	14.2	0.2	2.4	1.8	0.16	0.1
Italian	3.8	5.0	0.04	0.9	0.5	0.08	0.05
Russian	?	?	4.1	0.3	0.8	0.13	0.3
Other	8.1	5.0	?	?	?	?	?
N =	2918	913	5,367,000	1,706,000	1,589,065	7,609,387	7,705,734

^a1941 évi népszámlálás (1990: 89)

^b1949 évi népszámlálás (1950: 28)

^cLaky (1931: 16–17)

^dThe percentages may exceed 100 since surveyed persons could declare skills in several languages
^e% of Hungarian speakers

obviously much more widespread among students, with a significant gender bias in favor of female students (whose social background proved to be much more upper class than that of their male counterparts).

This situation of familiarity with foreign languages deteriorated considerably by 1949 (the last census with comparable information) due to a number of unequally influential developments related to war losses. The *Shoah*, together with the post 1945 emigration, affected Jewish elite clusters, who had been noted for, among other things, their multilingualism. War fatalities and expulsion affected members of the Christian elites too, notably the so called ‘Westerners’ (*nyugatosok*) who fled from the Red Army to Germany with what remained of the nazi-allied Hungarian administration (Braham and Kovács 2016). Many of them never returned to the country. Large sectors of the indigenous German population were also forcefully expelled in 1946–1947 as a collective retaliation independently from their political commitments, hence the dramatic decrease in the numbers of those speaking German by 1949 (Seewann 2012).

But the topic of Westernization was present also in the intellectual opposition to the ‘Christian Regime’ in the inter-war years. On the extreme right it was composed from the outset by various proto-Nazi movements, like the ‘Awakening Magyars’, commandos of students and officers during the White Terror in 1919–1920, members of ‘national’ or ‘Christian’ (that is anti-Jewish) associations of doctors, engineers and later (1926) even lawyers, organized in the wake of the regime change. Student groups too supported the *numerus clausus* by attacking quasi-ritually Jewish prospective students at the very gates of the faculties or in lecture halls. Jew-baiting and Jew-beating became common practices in Hungary in institutions of higher education during the inter-war years (Kovács 2012, 2016). Though anti-feudal and thus often anti-regime (since the ‘Christian regime’ was the only one in East-Central Europe to have preserved inherited feudal structures, notably by avoiding a radical land reform), these movements succumbed early on to the mirage of the *Führerprinzip* and demanded modernization from above via a strong authoritarian state, rejecting liberal democracy as a ‘Jewish invention’ and, thereby implicitly rejecting Westernization and the principles of legal egalitarianism and the division of public powers inherited from the Enlightenment.

In the 'leftist' opposition the division between 'populists' and 'urbanites' was based equally on differences of clientele, thematic focus and political purpose. The 'populists' in the Christian population were often recruited among first generation intellectuals. Their preoccupations concerned above all the peasantry and had as a key target the abolition of the social and economic heritage of feudalism. Lacking much in the way of Western intellectual ties as well as (frequently) the linguistic competences involved, they tended to be anti-Western, even if some of them flirted with socialism, while others did the same with *Hungarismus*, the local version of fascism. Their importance is linked to the fact that they produced a series of high status literary as well as socio- and ethnographic pieces to expose and denounce rural pauperism and the prevailing feudal-type power relations (Kontler 2009).

The 'urbanites' originated mostly, if not exclusively, from Jewish urban strata – at least they were stigmatized as such by their enemies. Their social criticism was focused on the ills both of capitalism and the feudal inheritance of the country. Their intellectual references were essentially rooted in Western universalist ideologies deriving often from their in-depth experience of contemporary currents of Western thought in sociology, political science, social philosophy and history.

The Post-1945 Transition to Hard Core Communism

These mutually antagonistic poles of the opposition to the 'Christian Regime' were either eliminated (notably in the *Shoah*), or decimated by forced emigration, or else realigned after the disastrous fall of the regime in 1944–1945. This took place in several stages. First, on 18 March 1944, Hungary was invaded by its powerful and mistrustful military ally, Hitler's *Wehrmacht*. There followed a year of Nazi terror. The latter's demise in 1945 was brought about by Stalin's Red Army. The Bolshevik project of Sovietization in these times was, as is well known, a gradual take-over – unlike what had taken place some years earlier in the Baltics or elsewhere in East Central Europe (Valuch 2004).

The 'transition years' (1945–1948) did not immediately change the ties with the West in scholarly circles. The borders remained more or less open with grants to study in Western universities still available. Emigration was initially easy and many survivors of the *Shoah* were motivated to leave as, later, were other groups as well. Western-oriented artistic and scholarly currents were able to take on, albeit temporarily, a new lease of life, in which women appeared for the first time as mature and independent actors. The equalization of political rights between genders, the progress of coeducation and the opening of hitherto closed fields of study (the Law faculties and Polytechnic studies) to female secondary school graduates decisively advanced the liberation of women. The freedom of the press was by and large respected provisionally, even if less and less over the years. The comprehensive study of the Jewish Question in contemporary Hungary by the political scientist István Bibó could still be published in 1948: just before the banning of the Review in which it appeared (Bibó 1993).

Two other new, but unequal, features of post-1945 significance must also be recorded here, the controversial 'Liberation' and regime change. First, a few leftist emigrants of the 1920s returned to the country to become active in various ways in public life. They were filled with illusions about their chances to rebuild Hungarian society much as they had planned in their younger years. They were soon forced to conform to the new order. Second, basic political freedoms, formally and legally guaranteed, were controlled and curbed from the outset by the new occupiers through the medium of the Communist Party. This limited democracy was based on the understanding that the country belonged henceforth to the Soviet sphere of interest. In his speech at Fulton on 5 March 1946 Churchill observed already that "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent". Hence, the reconstruction of Hungary, its politics and society, could not follow the model of Western nation states. This affected the whole of intellectual life and, more specifically, social studies.

The intervention of the Bolshevik-party state had brutal results after 1948, referred to as the 'Year of the Turn' in communist political memory, when the one-party regime was established. The nationalization of all teaching institutions (except theological institutions and a few church-run

secondary schools) – along with all economic activities including publishing, the press and all cultural or intellectual agency – accompanied the educational reforms (Véghvári 1992). This involved severe purges of teaching staff including through sheer police terror. The then newly-appointed sociology professor of the Budapest Faculty of Arts was jailed for five years for being a social democrat. To this was added the abolition of the institutional autonomy of universities, the ideological re-alignment of curricula and the imposition of Marxism-Leninism as an official doctrine made mandatory in educational courses, as well as the practical cutting of all ties with the West. Travel, correspondence, scholarly visits and student exchanges with Western destinations or partners were all suspended. The borders were closed. For years, even correspondence with partners or relatives in ‘brotherly’ socialist countries entailed an administrative ordeal.

In the wake of political Sovietization, a program of Russian cultural colonization was initiated. In secondary schools Russian became an obligatory subject replacing German (a much-resented cultural break, maintained against all odds until the end of communism in 1989). Schools in which Russian was the exclusively language of tuition were founded. Academic scholarships were offered in large numbers in the Soviet Union, while Western ones were declined and scholarly contacts with Western partners treated with suspicion or even outlawed. Soviet and other publications from ‘brotherly countries’ enjoyed preferential treatment (purchased for libraries, produced in translation) as detailed in some of the tables below.

West-oriented social studies were particularly hit by the reform of higher education and the new functions assigned to the Academy of Sciences (Nagy 2004). Several branches of social study (demography, sociology, political science, psychoanalysis) were proscribed and ostracized as ‘bourgeois sciences’ and replaced for all practical purposes by ‘scientific socialism’ (another misnomer for official Marxism). This meant that all Western and locally produced literature was prohibited in these areas, that is, forbidden to be published or distributed or even accessed via public libraries (except for scholars with special authorization). Established academics affected by this were exposed to being purged from their positions, forced into early retirement, often deprived of their pensions, banned from publication and, not infrequently, persecuted and

harassed. Other 'social' disciplines however – economics, geography, philosophy, history (the latter two heavily loaded with new ideological functions) – were promoted and even developed under strict Party control through public investments and new institutions, thanks to the expansionist educational and cultural policies of the new regime.

The Economics Faculty in Budapest was granted university status, only to become, over time, the most prestigious teaching institution in the social sciences in the country. In the early 1950s a special research institute for history was founded by the Academy of Sciences, which became the central academic actor with the establishment of specialized and specially-endowed disciplinary research centers each with a staff of its own, and outside the universities. The reform of the Academy included a new scheme for the training and promotion of scholars. New 'academic degrees' like 'aspirantura', 'candidature' and 'academic doctorate' became the stepping stones to associate and, potentially, full membership of the Academy of Science. In the initial phase (in the 1950s up to the 1970s and even later in some cases) the recruitment of holders of academic degrees was primarily grounded on the screening of the aspirants' presupposed political loyalty (Nagy 2004). Dissertation topics for the aspirants were often influenced, recommended, and even 'commissioned' by heads of sponsoring institutions in harmony with Soviet models and far from contemporary research problems, methods and themes as applied in the West.

New Policies Following 1956 (Especially After 1964)

The rule of this hard-core Stalinist regime over scholarship (as over the rest of society) did not survive the anti-communist revolution of 1956. The severe repression of intellectuals (especially the Jewish ones, often renegade Communists themselves) active in the October events was implemented alongside a relaxation of censorship and the partial abandonment of formerly strict control of Western contacts. The 'thaw period' had started already in June 1953, after Stalin's death, and resumed, with ups and downs, after the 1956 political earthquake. This was more than

a piece in the global deal proposed by the post-Stalinist rulers to Hungarian society. It proved to be a strategic aspect of the symbolic and political compromise to secure the Hungarian 'goulash-Communism' a measure of international (that is Western) respectability, far beyond the policy of 'peaceful coexistence' advocated by Moscow.

This implied the progressive softening of the ideological control of knowledge production. Western social sciences were no longer regarded as necessarily 'hostile to socialism'; there was even a search for ideological allies among them. Scholarly visits to the West were no longer banned, nor even discouraged, though they remained under some measure of control. This meant, among other things, a strict regimentation of publications, especially translations – with a preference for ideological allies in the West, critically disposed towards capitalist societies, while those otherwise disposed tended to be ignored. Hungarian visitors had to report on their contacts abroad as an 'administrative duty'. Some publications specializing in the West were selectively admitted and became accessible in professional libraries.

This process of 'intellectual opening up to the West' went hand in hand with new institutional initiatives from the early 1960s aimed at reintroducing empirical social sciences previously excluded from the public sphere. This gave rise to the emergence of new specialized research institutes, professional journals and even branch-specific learned associations endowed with a degree of professional autonomy, as well as later (from the 1970s onward) their readmission or integration in university curricula in various forms. The liberalization of scholarly circles in terms of cooperation with Western social science agencies was not unbridled nor unlimited before 1989. It may be qualified as more promotional than restrictive, though officially – as expressed often in commissioned critical articles and reviews – there was still marked resistance to the intellectual influence of the West, which was branded as ideologically suspicious or dangerous. Topical taboos were also rather rigidly kept up, such as the qualification of the events of 1956, relations with Moscow, the interpretation of the 1945 'Liberation' by the Red Army, and the fate of Communist emigrants in the Soviet Union who disappeared in the great purges of the 1930s.

In this second phase of the socialist regime some general records are available on the growth of the published production of knowledge in the social sciences both in Hungarian and in foreign languages. As shown in Table 11.2 the growth of scholarly output in foreign languages somewhat exceeded that in Hungarian, but the differences were far from decisive in quantitative terms. In the more than two decades under scrutiny (no similar data exists for earlier or later years) the number of books in foreign languages quintupled, while those of Hungarian books increased only three times. Overall, the proportion of books in foreign languages went from an initial position of more than one-tenth to almost one-fifth of book production. But most scholarly output in the social sciences appeared in journals. There, the growth was approximately similar: a three-fold increase for Hungarian books for all kinds of studies. As for the proportion of publications appearing in organs of the Academy of Sciences, the proportion of Hungarian and foreign journals shows hardly any change over time. The table demonstrates clearly the almost regular expansion of the global productivity of the social sciences in the country as well as a regularly significant share (with an increasing role for books) taken by foreign publications. However, in the absence of information on the languages of the publications concerned, this does not offer direct clues about Westernization.

According to a cautiously formulated working hypothesis, though Westernization in several disguises made rapid progress under the later stage of socialism, related scholarly markets remained under control, even if this tended to be relaxed, especially in the 1980s and the real liberalization did not occur until 1989. Two developments, with several unintended consequences, must be noted in this respect. One had to do with the growth of political dissidence in the young generation of scholars engaged in various upcoming social disciplines (like sociology, political science, social and moral philosophy, cultural anthropology but also history or economics), who – often descendants of families of core communist milieus – started to challenge, via radical criticism, the very foundations of the socialist regime. Some of them chose, or were forced to choose, emigration in the West, though without losing their contacts, followers and audience inside Hungary. Others organized a veritable subculture of intellectual dissidents in Budapest and in some Hungarian university centres.

Table 11.2 Published results of research in the social sciences by languages (1962–1985)

	A/Books				
	Hungarian	Hungarian 1862 = 100	Foreign	Foreign 1962 = 100	% of foreign
1962	192	100	27	100	12.3
1965	261	135	52	192	16.6
1970	365	190	53	196	12.7
1975	437	227	72	266	14.1
1980	547	281	96	355	14.9
1985	613	319	136	504	18.4

	B/Studies in journals								
	Publication of the Academy 1962 = 100	Hungarian journal 1962 = 100	Hungarian 1962 = 100	Foreign 1962 = 100	% publication of the Academy	% Hungarian journals	% foreign journals	Total	
1962	250	1810	100	256	100	10.8	78.2	11.1	100
1965	236	2030	113	282	110	9.3	79.7	11.1	100
1970	287	2909	161	443	173	8.7	80.0	12.2	100
1975	345	3705	205	584	228	7.4	80.0	12.6	100
1980	588	4787	264	664	259	9.7	79.3	11.0	100
1985	781	5960	329	875	332	10.3	78.3	11.5	100

Sources: Relevant years of the Hungarian Statistical Yearbooks (in Hungarian)

This was rich with private courses and lectures, public debates in homes, illegal publications, avant-garde artistic performances, etc. The Kádárist establishment tended to tolerate it in order to keep its allies and exceptionally good image in the West. Emigrant scholars, Hungarian publishers in different European countries (among them the Munich based local *Institute of Hungarian Studies* and the journal *Látóhatár*/Horizon/or the Parisian *Cahiers hongrois*) were active supporters and intermediaries in building special networks of exchange between the Hungarian intellectual dissidents and their Western partners in various scholarly circles. This contributed in concrete terms to a somewhat paradoxical or heterodox form of the Westernization of the social sciences in Hungary.

An additional factor was the appearance of Western foundations, among them the Open Society Fund of the American philanthropist George Soros (from 1984), in support of East-West exchange of students, scholars and intellectual visitors. A very rich source of awards and scholarships was made available, including grants for infrastructure and equipment at poorly endowed Hungarian academic institutions (computers, photocopiers and other office machines) and generous subsidies to publications, to strengthen the Western-oriented modern arts and social sciences in the country. In a formal deal with George Soros the communist authorities consented to give a free hand to the foundation, which continued to operate in various ways after the regime change in 1989 until after 2000. The Hungarian Academy of Science contributed to the creation at the University of Bloomington (Illinois) of a *Chair of Hungarian Studies* – to be occupied by specialists from Hungary in different disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities. In 1991 George Soros founded the Central European University (CEU) initially in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw, later exclusively in Budapest, a post-graduate institution of higher education with English language tuition. It obtained accreditation first from the United States and (later) from Hungary. Specializing in social studies and complete with a business school, by the early twenty-first century, the CEU has become by far the most successful research university in this part of the world receiving international (mostly European and American) research funds and producing high quality research. It has a markedly international student body composed mostly of East Europeans and Americans.

Westernization After 1989

After 1989 contacts with the West became normalized along European lines, especially after 2004 when Hungary joined the European Union (Tőkés 1996). The fall of communism has certainly raised more hopes and illusions that could be realized. As for the opening up of scholarly circles however, expectations can be regarded as fairly well fulfilled in at least three ways. The absence of frontiers and the liberty of communications have eliminated all artificial hindrances erected since 1948 to free scholarly contacts with the outside world, especially with its leading intellectual powers. European integration provides to Hungarian scholars a properly unprecedented choice of sources in support of cooperative research, scholarly exchange, study trips, etc. Hungarian students benefit from Erasmus grants just like all other Europeans. Perhaps even more importantly, it has opened the way to build careers outside the country, which was earlier possible only at great personal and professional risk. Nowadays, Hungarian scholars who possess the necessary linguistic competence can successfully apply for temporary or long-term academic positions all over the world, leaving and returning to Hungary at will. In this sense, the Westernization of Hungarian scholarly circles has been achieved.

Unfortunately, these developments resist objectifications via quantified indicators. Hard data is utterly lacking on, for example, the growth in the number of scholarly stays abroad, visits from foreign academics to Hungary, the distribution of student grants, the projects realized through international cooperation. Only one type of reliable indicator, grounded in an exhaustive empirical data base, has been identified. It relates to books published abroad or in Hungary in foreign languages or translated into Hungarian. The data comes from the collection of the second biggest public library of the country, the Central Municipal Library in Budapest. This institution was charged in early communist times with collecting and itemizing publications in social disciplines. It is true though that the acquisition of books, notably foreign ones, depended not only on policy preferences as such, but a great deal on the funds liable to be made available for the purchase of books. Financial hurdles were particularly high for foreign, especially Western publications, which were incomparably

more expensive than those brought out by socialist publishers in Eastern Europe. However, such data allows an interpretation albeit only 'by proxy', since the availability of books does not directly offer responses to questions raised about their usage. Still, it can be reasonably supposed that there would be a strong correlation between the accessibility of publications and their actual readership and/or influence.

The dynamics over time of the acquisition of books in the social sciences followed manifestly firm historical patterns. One observes in the last column of Table 11.3/A a regular growth of the number of books with two periods of accelerated growth. The first of these occurred in the 1960s, following the period of repression of the 1956 Revolution and the ensuing Kádárist deal which reduced tension and opened up hitherto prohibited fields in disciplines erstwhile qualified as 'bourgeois sciences'. The social compromise proposed by János Kádár, head of the party and of the state between 1956 and 1988, may be characterized by his notorious slogan: "Whoever is not against us is with us", the reversal of the earlier Stalinist motto of the 1950s: "Whoever is not with us is against us". The explosion in the numbers of publications in these fields, continued till the last phase of socialism, may be regarded as an integral part of the political compromise proposed by the regime. The second period occurred after the change of regime in 1989 with the implementation of the freedom of the press and the book market. It led initially to an unprecedented peak of publications. But in more recent years there has been stagnation in the number of books entering the library collection. This can be attributed to a number of new factors impacting on the academic book market. After an initial period, disciplines liberated from ideological pressures and censorship reached a ceiling in their production inside the country. This, combined with severe financial limitations on buying costly foreign books in the economically difficult time that accompanied the fall of communism, which involved heavy restrictions on public spending, was later aggravated by the 2008 financial crisis. Easily available online publications also contributed to limiting the purchase of books.

Until the end of the socialist period (1989) the proportion of Hungarian publications was close to half of all books received. Paradoxically perhaps, there was a sharp rise in this share afterwards, demonstrating the libera-

Table 11.3 Social science books received in the Budapest Municipal Library by languages of publication (selected periods – 1946–2013)

A/All books by categories of languages						
	Translated to Hungarian	In Hungarian	In foreign tongues	All	N =	1945/1948 = 100
1945–1948	4.6	45.0	50.4	100.0	737	100
1949–1955	5.5	39.4	55.1	100.0	3003	233
1956–1960	4.2	49.2	46.6	100.0	4159	151
1961–1975	6.6	50.9	42.5	100.0	31,635	1146
1976–1989	5.6	49.8	44.6	100.0	42,122	1635
1990–2005	11.2	57.1	31.7	100.0	85,977	3115
2006–2013	10.8	79.8	9.4	100.0	44,820	3044
Altogether	9.1	59.0	31.9	100.0	212,453	

B/Foreign books by languages								
	Russian	East European	English	French	German	Other	N =	1945/1948 = 100
1945–1948	4.8	2.4	47.4	22.4	20.2	2.8	100.0	371
1949–1955	9.3	4.2	34.7	12.2	35.2	4.5	100.0	1655
1956–1960	6.0	1.6	32.4	14.2	41.0	5.1	100.0	1938
1961–1975	4.9	0.7	40.0	16.7	32.2	5.4	100.0	13,445
1976–1989	5.2	1.3	46.4	14.3	30.9	2.5	100.0	18,786
1990–2005	0.9	0.9	67.5	6.9	21.8	2.2	100.0	27,255
2006–2013	–	1.1	68.1	7.4	21.3	3.2	100.0	42,13
Altogether	3.1	0.9	54.2	11.3	27.0	3.1	100.0	67,773

Source: Social Sciences bibliography of the Budapest 'Szabó Ervin' Municipal Library

tion of creative forces in all fields of the social sciences after communism, but also the transformation of conditions in the book market (a notable consequence of the inflated price of foreign books and the more frequent access to foreign libraries by SSH specialists) which was detrimental to collecting foreign books by major public libraries. With the process of integration of the country into the European Union (completed in 2004) and the abolition of former artificial controls of intellectual exchange with the West, university departments, university libraries, individual scholars travelling in the West or research teams cooperating with Western partners could much more easily satisfy their needs for foreign books than ever before. The quasi-monopoly on acquisition of foreign social science publications of the Budapest Municipal Library was increasingly challenged after 1989. The growing imbalance between Hungarian and foreign book acquisitions, as shown in the Table, could be also ascribed, especially in the most recent years, to the increase in electronic publications of scholarly works, new reproduction facilities and electronic distribution of copies as well as the multiplication of specialist reviews and journals, all factors liable to curb the purchase of books.

For the central focus of this study the most significant finding of Table 11.3/B concerns the distribution of foreign books by languages. Contrary to expectations, Russian books entered into the Library's collection in greater numbers (up to one tenth of all foreign books) only in the initial socialist period (especially in politics and economics), that is, in the pre-1956 years. They continued to arrive in significant but more modest proportions (around one out of twenty foreign books) till the end of socialist times according – most probably – to some kind of contractual or self-imposed commitment of the library to purchase or exchange Soviet publications. Afterwards new Russian books all but disappeared from its shelves, even more drastically than other East European publications. This relative rarity of 'socialist' books had obviously to do with the scarcity of the required linguistic skills of their potential readers. It may be also connected to the global weakness of the productivity of socialist countries in the field of the social sciences, at times prohibited in several states, as in Hungary until the 1960s. The inefficiency of teaching Russian as a mandatory foreign language (amounting in many ways to a silent action of political resistance or sabotage by both teachers and pupils)

must be noted in this context. The lack of scholarly authority of Sovietized social disciplines must also be taken account of here. In any case, this is a clear example of the failure of the enterprise of cultural colonization initiated under the reign of Stalin and his successors.

By way of contrast, one can see the initially relative high numbers in socialist times, and later the absolute majority attained by English books. The dominance of English works was a continuously intensifying trend from 1949. German both started and ended its historical influence accounting for one fifth of all foreign books received, while in socialist times its share peaked at over one third. This very high score was obviously due both to the still important linguistic skills and the remaining Germanic intellectual connections of the older generations of social scientists as well as the easy access to cheap publications obtainable from 'brotherly' East Germany. Interestingly, French books represented a diminishing third place in this virtual race for intellectual dominance. The decline of French in recent decades is a direct consequence of Anglo-Saxon superiority in terms of published scholarly works and the continued intensity of exchanges with the neighboring, still influential and much closer Germanic academic world. This was supported by contributions from the two German states, particularly from communist East Germany, and from Austria and Switzerland as well as, occasionally, from Scandinavia, the Baltics or Eastern Europe. This is may be also the reflection of more open basic dispositions to outsiders found in Germanic academic circles, the easy acceptance of contacts with foreigners not speaking their language, contrary to their Southern European counterparts (including the French).

In a closer scrutiny of various disciplines, which cannot be detailed here for lack of space, one can identify different dynamics of openness to foreign scholarly arenas. In philosophy, the initial position of German and even French books proved to be much stronger than the general average, but the reception of foreign books all but ceased after 2006. In economics and history English becomes dominant only after 1989, while earlier it was limited by the competition of German and French. In sociology, a relative newcomer in the Hungarian scholarly field since the late 1960s, the absolute domination of English can be observed throughout the post World War II decades.

But the dynamics of contacts with the scholarly world abroad shows interesting divergences if books translated into Hungarian are taken as indicators. They represent, following Table 11.3/A, nearly one tenth of all books received in the Budapest Municipal Library in the last seventy or so years. Translations require a much more complex and policy-guided choice of works as well as generally more costly investments than the simple purchase of foreign publications. This is why the proportions of books of different origin conform more precisely to the changing political junctures than the acquisitions as observed in Table 11.3 above.

Initially, in the years of post-war reconstruction and political transition, very few books with social scientific contents were translated. Among them the largest share of German works and the equal parts allotted to English and French books indicates the heritage of the dominantly German orientation of the disciplines concerned, while signs of reorientation also show in the one fifth of all translations from cultural fields of East Central Europe under the process of Sovietization. The ensuing Stalinist years represented a dramatic turn marked by the absolute hegemony of translations of Russian and other 'socialist' language publications. This may have made up – together with books from East Germany – two thirds of translations in social science issues. The Hungarian publishers followed the 'party line' to compete with each other in outdoing prescriptions of five-year plans to bring to the local reading public as many works from 'brotherly' societies of the 'Peace Camp' as possible.

All this ceased in the 'political thaw' of the pre- and post-1956 years and later, during the decades of the Kádár regime, when only somewhat more than a third of translated books belonged to the 'socialist camp'. Still, until 1989 close to one fifth of all translations were published from Russian alone, exceeding the share of books translated from English or German. The fiction of 'socialist preeminence' was certainly an in-built piece of ideological conformism, kept up till very end of the regime in publication policies. Interestingly, in this virtual race between 'Westerners', German books had the upper hand over English ones during the socialist years, obviously due to works coming from East Germany.

Logically enough, after 1989, a brand new situation came about in this part of the publication market. Russian books all but disappeared, trans-

lations from Eastern Europe dropped to one fourth of their former proportions. English took over half of the market with German books second and French as third: a significantly weakening position. Interestingly and understandably, translations from other languages (especially Italian, Spanish and Portuguese) continued throughout the whole period under consideration to occupy one sixth of the translation market in the social disciplines. This section of the book market displayed thus more openness to outsiders than that of the acquisitions as a whole. Given the poverty of language skills in major though, in Central Europe, marginally-studied languages among Hungarian social scientists, translations remained the royal road of access to scholarly productions in Southern Europe, Latin America and elsewhere, regions in the process of intellectual coming of age.

Besides the redistribution of translated books by original languages, showing a decisive reorientation to the West, the passage of Communism gave rise to the dramatic multiplication of translations themselves, as if free market conditions were destined to eliminate the hitherto artificially maintained stagnation in this matter. Indeed, the yearly output of translated books grew by four times after 1989 (as shown in the last column of Table 11.4). This is a clear demonstration of the liberating effect of the fall of Communism in the field of social studies. There was a multiplication of translations from the West after 1989, signaling more clearly than did the increase of the acquisition of Western books (as in Table 11.3) the unprecedented intensification of exchanges between Hungarian social scientist and partners in the leading Western intellectual powers after the abolition of barriers to the international circulation of ideas and research results.

Some Recent Trends

Besides data from the book trade, there are very few indicators of new developments touching upon trends of Westernization and Europeanization in the social sciences under scrutiny during recent years (Conway 2010). Hereafter, we refer to relevant results of comprehensive surveys of students or/and graduates of higher education identified by their discipline

Table 11.4 Social science books translated into Hungarian from various languages as received in the Municipal Library of Budapest (selected periods – 1946–2013)

	East European	Russian	English	French	German	Other all	N =	Yearly average (rounded)
1945–1948	9.7	9.7	19.4	19.4	32.3	9.7	100	8
1949–1955	14.8	40.6	8.4	5.8	14.8	15.5	100	22
1956–1960	17.1	17.1	18.4	15.8	20.3	11.4	100	32
1961–1975	17.1	20.5	17.0	10.9	21.3	13.1	100	132
1976–1989	16.1	20.5	19.6	8.6	21.5	13.7	100	153
1990–2005	3.8	1.5	47.6	9.0	22.0	16.2	100	616
2006–2013	4.1	0.8	53.8	6.8	19.0	15.5	100	4738
Together	6.9	6.1	42.0	8.6	21.0	15.3	100	18,445

Source: Social Sciences bibliography of the Budapest 'Szabó Ernő' Municipal Library

(Veroszta 2013; Csákó 2002) and the policy changes due to the rampant *Kulturkampf* against some sectors of the humanities and social studies initiated by the Orbán government after 2010.

The surveys in question gathered information on life data, study track, social extraction and professional standing of students. Unfortunately, the most significant results are, as yet, not available and few of them highlight the topical area of Westernization. One of the surveys offers basic information on options for the study of foreign languages at secondary schools in 1998 with interesting and somewhat unexpected results. Though it confirms that 81 per cent of secondary school graduates had studied English, 68 percent of them studied German as well, followed by 12 per cent having benefited from tuition in French. Other linguistic options of this sort were more modest (6 per cent for Italian, 5 per cent for Russian and a mere 2 per cent for Spanish). (Computed from data in Csákó 2002.) It appears thus clearly that besides English, the German connection has been largely maintained among the young Hungarian intelligentsia engaged in social studies in the new millennium. Other data deriving from a survey of the early career of those having obtained a master's degree in the years 2009, 2010 and 2011 actually show that some 20 per cent of this cluster spent several months abroad during their studies and among them 10 per cent were abroad even more than one semester. The primary destination of such study trips was by far Germany and Austria, followed somewhat behind by the United Kingdom, France and Italy, the traditional European cultural powers. (Data from Veroszta 2013.)

Table 11.5 gives a more specific overview of the main study destinations of graduates and young scholars by disciplinary categories. The only countries listed here are those having attracted abroad more than five per cent of the three-yearly cohorts of Hungarian graduates.

Table 11.5 delivers, above all, two kinds of message. First, the social sciences were the main beneficiaries of Erasmus, Tempus and other European grants offered to ambitious students, graduates and scholars. A large majority of young scholarship holders were seeking opportunities abroad for social studies and the humanities. But the proportions were even higher in the main host countries, especially in France, the United Kingdom and Italy. In these, the traditional Western cultural powers, the

Table 11.5 Studies abroad of Hungarian graduates in the social sciences by disciplines and the main host countries (2009–2011)

	USA	Great Britain	Germany	France	Italy	Altogether
Law	3.6	4.4	8.8	9.6	6.3	4.9
Humanities	23.8	29.6	26.9	31.1	37.1	19.0
Social sciences	4.4	9.2	5.0	8.5	6.7	8.3
Pedagogy	2.0	4.1	4.9	1.1	2.9	6.9
Economics	31.9	23.3	20.3	25.5	18.7	22.4
<i>All social studies and humanities</i>	<i>63.7</i>	<i>66.3</i>	<i>61.0</i>	<i>74.7</i>	<i>68.8</i>	<i>57.7</i>
Technical	5.6	4.7	11.9	6.9	7.3	11.4
Natural sciences	4.0	6.3	4.7	6.6	4.1	5.8
Medicine	10.9	2.7	6.0	1.9	8.6	5.1
Computer science	5.2	3.8	3.7	2.4	1.3	5.8
Agrarian studies	2.4	6.0	4.5	2.9	3.5	5.3
Altogether	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey of graduates as in Veroszta (2013)

share of humanities exceeded or approached one third of students studying abroad, suggesting that the study of classical civilizations and languages may have influenced student options. The second disciplinary choice in terms of importance appeared to be economics regardless of study destination. It was the primary choice for close to a third of those studying in the USA. This is an obvious indication that those specialists of the new capitalist free market in Hungary were eager to consolidate their expertise from certified sources in the West.

Table 11.6 presents more finely-tuned data on the size of the youngest generation of graduates in the social sciences who made study trips abroad.

When we track graduates in political science, one third of whom had been abroad, economics, ethnology and literary history are the three disciplines which saw close to one fifth of their youngest graduates travel out of the country for further studies. Proportions of those having had foreign academic experience offer an estimate of the relevant level of research orientation of various academic staffs. Education, social work and (more arguably) statistics belong to disciplinary choices with the lowest proportions of students having studied abroad. For the first two areas, graduates could obtain practical local professional positions to efficiently replace the

Table 11.6 Studies abroad and educated family background of Hungarian graduates in the Social Sciences (2009–2011)

	% with studies abroad	Rank order	% with one parent university graduate	Rank order
<i>Communication studies</i>	16.9	– 6	26.7	–
<i>Economics</i>	19.2	+ 3	32.6	+ 5
<i>Education, therapeutic pedagogy</i>	8.9	–	12.3	–
<i>Geography, cartography</i>	18.3	+ 4	26.1	–
<i>History, archival studies, archeology</i>	11.1	–	22.9	–
<i>Hungarian and comparative literature</i>	19.6	+ 2	26.6	–
<i>Law</i>	17.7	+ 5	34.3	+ 4
<i>Philosophy, aesthetics</i>	18.9	+ 4	25.6	–
<i>Psychology</i>	16.7	– 7	40.6	+ 2
<i>Social policy, social work</i>	8.2	–	13.7	–
<i>Sociology</i>	18.9	+ 4	31.5	– 6
<i>Statistics, computer sciences</i>	9.6	–	29.4	– 7
<i>Ethnology, folklore, antropology</i>	19.5	+ 2	38.5	+ 3
<i>Political science, European, international studies</i>	33.0	+ 1	47.4	+ 1
<i>Total (all other disciplines included)</i>	17.1		32.2	
<i>N =</i>	17,265		17,265	

Source: Survey of graduates as in Veroszta (2013)

search for new, foreign intellectual horizons. They may have had weaker linguistic skills (as suggested by the very low proportions of graduates of higher education among their parents). For statistics and computer science, the relative strength of local instruction, access to international training schemes and early engagement in professional work in a heavily demand oriented and fast expanding national market can be adduced as explanatory factors.

The parallel overview of data on studies abroad and the invested intellectual capital of the family (signaled by the proportion of higher educational graduates among parents in Table 11.6) also suggests that interest in studying abroad and an educated, middle class background – together with a disciplinary choice involving foreign orientation – often

went hand in hand. Political scientists had by far the largest proportions of graduates abroad and the highest share of those with educated parents. Ethnologists, jurists and economists showed above average scores for both variables. Psychologists presented an apparent major exception, having the second highest share of graduates with educated parents but a below average frequency of studies abroad. There again, the importance of early professional commitment of (largely female) graduates in an expanding free professional market may explain the limited attraction of studies beyond the frontiers.

Finally, one cannot avoid referring to the most recent developments in state policies concerning social studies due to the two Orbán governments of 1998–2002 and 2010 onwards. Though the new constitution ('Basic Law') voted by the coalition of the ruling 'Young Democrats' and the (electorally non-existent) 'Christian Democrats' in 2011 stipulates (clause X/2) that "In questions of scientific truth the state is not entitled to decide, the evaluation of scientific research is the exclusive competence of the practitioners of science", the governments of 'National Cooperation' have since their inception regularly transgressed this fundamental rule of modern democracy to which they had paid merely constitutional lip service. Their public claims and political action in this matter amounts to what has been an allegedly national (and explicitly nationalist) *Kulturkampf* of sorts against foreign influence, 'the Brussels bureaucracy' and, above all, critical social sciences supposedly imbued with 'alien' or (worse) 'liberal spirit'. The multiple aspects of this openly xenophobic policy range from the imposition of ruling party soldiers to head academic institutions to politically biased allocation of research funds to academic projects, the introduction of party criteria in academic appointments, an ideologically selective support for intellectual journals and book publications, the foundation of a network of new research institutions to promote social and historical disciplines able to counter 'liberal minded' social sciences, as well as a pervasive discursive agitation against representatives of the 'declining West' – like the 'Open Society Fund' of George Soros and other 'Western intruders' disguised, allegedly, as philanthropic institutions. All this action is not without anti-Semitic innuendos.

In 2011 the best-known free-thinking philosophers of the Academy of Science were publicly threatened with prosecution and trial for misappro-

priation of research funds – though the charges were eventually dropped. The ‘1956 Institute’ which had a brilliant scholarly record, and was founded and staffed by liberal social scientists belonging to the anti-communist ‘urbanite’ opposition, was abolished as an independent institution by government decree at the end of 2011. The same thing happened to the *Collegium Budapest* (1992–2011), part of the prestigious European network of ‘centers of advanced learning’, which annually hosted dozens of internationally established junior and senior grant recipients from all over the world. Other specialized scholarly establishments have similarly disappeared as autonomous agencies, as in the case of the ‘Georg Lukács Archive’ (2015). Others were condemned to cease the pursuit of scholarly work as was the Institute for Educational Research (1981–2011). The risk of unemployment, dismissal or openly negative discrimination in the distribution of research funds, looms large over social scientists, when they are out of line with state policy orientations (much as in communist times).

As a counterweight, as early as 1999 a *XXth Century Institute* was established. It is a richly endowed research center outside academia under the direction of an apologetic advisor of the first Orbán cabinet. It was instrumental in the setting up, in 2000, of the infamous *House of Terror*, a living monument to the falsification of the recent national past. Most of the premises are dedicated to a few thousand victims of Communism, while the presentation of the Nazi regime, under which over half a million people were martyred, is restricted to just two display rooms. In 2014 a new extra-academic historical institute entitled ‘Veritas’ (‘Truth’: no joke intended!) was set up to promote the ‘politically correct’ interpretation of contemporary national history. Its director achieved a doubtful country-wide celebrity by declaring that the first phase of the *Shoah* in Hungary, the deportation and massacre of some 18,000 allegedly ‘stateless Jews’ to Kamenec Podolsk in the summer of 1941 was merely an ‘administrative police measure’. More recently, in March 2017, the youth organization of the Christian Democratic Party, backed by the quasi-monopolistic government press, mounted a campaign against a gender study center to be established at the ELTE University in Budapest. Instead of the stigmatized gender studies (and in flagrant contradiction of the principle of the internal autonomy of universities), government agencies tried to impose on ELTE a program for the study of family life (This old style program

has finally not materialized for lack of any interest among students). In April 2017 an amendment to the law on higher education was passed by the Budapest Parliament and endorsed by the government in pursuit of a campaign against 'foreign agencies opposing national interests'. The very existence of the Central European University, an internationally recognized paragon of social science research and post-graduate education in the country, became thus endangered.

All this seems to amount to a master plan of sorts to dismantle, or at least devitalize, the existing research infrastructure in the social disciplines which are liable to be critical and promote in their stead new institutions staffed by well-resourced neo-nationalist and, presumably, neo-conservative bootlickers. Thus, the trend of opening up to the West, observed in the Hungarian social sciences, particularly after the fall of communism, appears to face serious retrograde state policies leading in the opposite direction.

Conclusions

To conclude this study, we refer the readers back to its title. Westernization in the Hungarian social disciplines (just as much as in other fields of scholarly pursuit) has always been conceived of as an integral part of strategies of modernization. Under the pre-socialist regime, academia was dominated by German influences, owing to the geo-political position of the country. Both the state cultural policies as well as a large Jewish and indigenous German presence in the emerging modernizing elites contributed to this process. The disastrous fall of the old regime – with the disappearance of around one tenth of the population and the educated middle class through the *Shoah*, war losses, forced emigration and exile in the years 1944–1946, and the establishment of 'socialism' under Stalinist disguises (1948) prepared the ground for the attempt at a forcible Soviet-Russian cultural and ideological colonization. This involved those social disciplines which were permitted to exist (others being condemned and banned as 'bourgeois sciences'). Though some pieces of the colonial apparatus survived till 1989 (mandatory Russian tuition, courses imposed in 'scientific socialism' in higher education and the like), the failure of the

colonizing enterprise became clear by the 1960s when it began, partially, to be abandoned. In the re-emerging social sciences, Anglo-Saxon and (secondarily) German and (to a more limited extent) French orientations tended to reach hegemonic positions as indicated by, among other evidence, the specialized literature collected and accessible in major libraries. With the fall of the Kádárist regime in 1989 the social sciences in Hungary experienced an unprecedented expansion, accompanied by almost unhampered Westernization, as attested in indicators of productivity and the sudden rise of translations from Western languages. So it appears that the aggressive ideological colonizer was weak and has failed to persist.

The entry of Hungary into the European research space, formalized by its integration in the European Union (2004) secured for the social sciences more favorable conditions of development than ever before. In the meantime, government policies, at least till 2010, have not countered this development. With the advent of the ideologically-biased cultural policies of the self-proclaimed 'illiberal democratic regime' after 2010, an exceptionally successful historic moment of the Europeanization of the social sciences has been put at risk in Hungary.

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12

Western References in Asian Social Sciences (Japan and South Korea)

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According to the Thomson Reuters Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), Asia is currently third in rank for production of social scientific publications measured by continent. In 2007 it accounted for one sixth of social science output in North American journals and around one fourth of their European counterparts (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010). Its share in the major Western scientific citation databases is rapidly growing – around ten per cent of the total output. Asian social sciences are

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J. Heilbron et al. (eds.), *The Social and Human Sciences in Global Power Relations*, Socio-Historical Studies of the Social and Human Sciences,

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73299-2_12

also strongly internationalizing. SSCI data on citations in the 200 most-cited journals in Asian social science published between 1993 and 2005 show a rapid decline in citations of papers from the author's own region (referred to as "self-citation"). North American journals accounted for 54.1 per cent of the citations and European journals for 41.8 per cent (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010). Furthermore, in the past two decades the rate of transnational publications with at least one Asian author has been rising. These figures indicate the global importance of Asian social science at a time when Asia is gaining prominence in the world-system (Lee 2000) and call for a better understanding of the patterns of scientific transnationalization and of the position of non-Western countries in global social science.

To grasp more accurately the relationships between Western and Asian social sciences, this paper analyses the place of Western references in Japanese and South Korean social sciences, with a special emphasis on sociology. We start our inquiry with a case study based on a collection of data from the Japan Sociological Society, the Ministry of Education, the National Diet Library and other academic libraries, as well as from several discussions and interviews with Japanese sociologists. South Korean social sciences, then, provide another case study, with data coming from the SSCI, the Korea Citation Index (KCI-Thomson Reuters), the Ministry of Education and the Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI), cross-checked with results from a fieldwork survey and several interviews ($n = 33$) with Korean publishers, journalists, translators and professors, scholars and students in sociology and political science.

It was not always possible to get commensurate data for Japan and South Korea, as each country has its own statistical system and has followed a specific path with regard to the importation of Western social sciences. We nevertheless believe that contrasting the two cases is fruitful as our findings tend, first, to relativize the idea of a unilateral dependency of East Asian sociology towards North American or European authors. Indeed, the dependency of the social sciences of the Global South with regard to the West has various dimensions that need to be differentiated analytically (Keim 2010). The Western research traditions may, first, define the legitimate research questions of the Global South. The Western research traditions may also define the theoretical frames, methods,

concepts and the references used by Global South social scientists. Finally, Western countries may have a prominent role in the institution building and the funding of research communities outside their regions or in the training and the mechanisms of social recognition (degree certification, publishing, visibility in international scientific databases etc.) of the dependent countries' researchers. In this chapter, we discuss only some aspects of the structural and historically long relation of domination between Western social science and their counterparts in Japan and South Korea.

More precisely, we address the following issues. First, there is a puzzling discrepancy between scientific dependency in terms of academic training on the one hand, and citation on the other. To put it differently: many East Asian scholars have studied in American institutions or have been otherwise influenced by American fields of social science; yet this has not resulted in obvious intellectual dependency in terms of references: Japanese and South Korean scholars refer first to their respective fellow-national colleagues and to European social scientists, and only thereafter to North American social sciences. These findings significantly differ from case studies where the dependency of the Global South towards the Global North – and especially North American social sciences and humanities – appears stronger (see, among others, Alatas 2003, 2006; Canagarajah 2002).

Second, Asian social scientists refer to Western works in a significantly different fashion: citations of North American authors are more often *orthodox*, that is to say, non-critical and in line with the asymmetric patterns of global scientific relations; whereas European works of social science tend to be more often used to *critically* reassess these very asymmetries. In short, reference to Western sociology and political science in Asia can be both a sign of the systemic dominance of the West and a resource to put such dominance into question.

We argue that the logics of this dual reception cannot be understood without taking into account how national academic and scientific fields shape the acclimation of social sciences. We follow Bourdieu's claim that it is necessary to take power relations within these fields into account to grasp the structure of the international circulation of ideas (Bourdieu 1999). Moreover, we complement this field-centred analysis at the

national scale with a world-system analysis of the international exchange of social sciences. In the past fifty years, world-system analysis has developed as a general method to explain, through a transnational and relational lens, a variety of economic, social and political phenomena taking place at the national, regional, or local level (Wallerstein 1979). Its first expression stems from a re-interpretation of unequal economic exchanges between the so-called “First World” and “Third World” countries: for Wallerstein and other world-system analysts, the current capitalist economy could not have existed and prospered without the international division of labor between core and peripheral regions. Analogies and modifications to this core-periphery model have been made in order to analyse the transnationalization of culture (De Swaan 1998; Heilbron 2001), the social sciences (Heilbron et al. 2008; Beigel 2010; Keim 2010), and the humanities (Bennett 2014). Most of these contributions stress the fact that in cultural or scientific world-systems, cores and peripheries are not static, with variations occurring in terms of domains, disciplines and professional fields. Moreover, contrary to the economic realm, many cores can co-exist in global cultural or scientific spaces.

Our paper allows gaining a better understanding of these notions. It shows that a strong division of scientific labor existed at least until the 1970s between core and peripheral countries. In core countries, scientists aimed at formulating theoretical and nomothetic propositions, whereas in peripheral countries, they studied cultures and built case studies in an idiographic fashion (Alatas 2003; Pletsch 1981; Wallerstein et al. 1996). Yet this geography of scientific cultures and practices has become more complex in recent decades. Peripheral positions in the world-system of social sciences can be defined in significantly different ways. Keim has suggested that the underdevelopment of academic infrastructures, intellectual and cognitive dependency, and marginality in terms of international recognition should be clearly distinguished. If some countries (and institutions) can be peripheral in all these dimensions, others are peripheral in only one or two of them (Keim 2010). These differences in the periphery itself call for a more accurate characterization of the core-periphery model and the addition of a third category, as Wallerstein himself did when he studied the capitalist world-economy. Our paper argues, along this line, that the current position of East Asian sociology in the

global system should be accounted for in terms of its semi-peripheral status, since it is neither fully central nor fully peripheral. Asian research infrastructures and communities are stronger and more dynamic than in many other countries of the Global South. Yet, at the cognitive level, Japanese and South Korean social sciences aim neither at being universal, nor at simply importing theoretical references for purely empirical research. Rather, their in-between position allows them to adapt and reframe central references, and eventually to use them in a counter-hegemonic fashion.

Orthodox and Critical Western References in Japan

Japan was one of the first non-Western countries to modernize successfully. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it showed that non-European people could catch up with Europe. As scholars and politicians came from all over the world to study Japan (Roussillon 2005; Aydin 2007), they stressed the role Western knowledge had played in the process of modernization. Indeed, Japan reached international recognition and resisted imperial encroachments because it had been able to use what had made the West dominant. Social sciences were a crucial part of this new apparatus: they gave the Japanese an enhanced ability to understand and control society and politics, and therefore to build a powerful nation.

This early modernization has placed Japan in an ambivalent position. Its power is ultimately premised on a body of knowledge imported from the epistemic and political centre of the world-system. At the same time, Japan became a model to emulate; many countries wishing to modernize drew on its experience. It can thus be described as a periphery in the centre or a centre in the periphery. In addition, the social sciences in Japan had various and sometimes opposite functions. They strengthened imperial designs as well as fuelled anti-systemic movements. Japan's importation of the social sciences must therefore be addressed with regard to its shifting global positioning and the diversity of the political and intellectual understandings of Western texts available there.

To understand the social sciences in Japan, we suggest that it is necessary to differentiate *orthodox* and *critical* social sciences. Orthodox social sciences consist in the body of knowledge instrumental in the development of the modern Nation-State and global capitalist exchanges, whereas critical social sciences have allowed for critical reassessments of the power relations that sustain these very political and economic frames. Arguably the difference is ideal-typical and often not as clear-cut as it may seem. But the difference remains heuristically sound and allows for a better understanding of the various importations of Western scientific references in Japan.

Institutionalizing the Social Sciences in Japan

European social sciences were introduced in Japan as the country integrated into the economic and political world system in the second half of the nineteenth century. Reversing more than two centuries of official seclusion – even though Japanese leaders had been careful enough to closely monitor European scientific progress (Bellah 2003) – Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912) embarked on a wholesale process of Westernization of Japan. The Emperor encouraged his subjects to “seek knowledge all over the world”, and Japanese scholars and politicians began systematically to tour important relevant centers of knowledge across the world. Following the Iwakura Mission (1871–1873), thousands of students were dispatched to the West to acquire Western languages and concepts of science, as well as to translate the main scientific/political texts. On their return to Japan, they set up the institutions that were to modernize the country (Kunitake 2009). Imperial Universities were founded (starting with the University of Tokyo, *Todai*, in 1886) and soon complemented by private universities. European disciplines, among them sociology, were quickly incorporated into the new curricula.

Early on, translators struggled to create a new word that would convey all the nuances of the idea of “social” that had been acquired from the European languages in tandem with the modern scientific and political revolutions (Heilbron et al. 1998). As the terms *shakai* (society) and *shakaigaku* (sociology) gained official currency in the 1890s,

the translations of Western theorists and sociologists helped the Japanese acclimate to a radically new view of what the Japanese had previously known under the loose label of *gun* (collectivity). Western “experts” (such as Fenollosa, who taught American-styled sociology and political economy at the University of Tokyo from 1877) were soon joined by local scholars who had been trained abroad (Masakazu Toyama, who had studied in England and in the USA, and was a specialist on Spencer, became the first officially appointed Japanese sociologist at *Todai* in 1893). In just a few decades, Western sociology became an established body of knowledge in Japanese universities. A Japanese Sociological Association was created in 1924 (Usui 2006). As with other social sciences – such as folklore and ethnology, or philosophy (Inaga 2013) – the main source of inspiration was from Germany, even though British-American and French sociologies also had an important influence. Since Germany was regarded as a late modernizer, similar to Japan, and also because German authors allowed for a broad range of scientific and political questioning (see below), their influence on Japanese social sciences went beyond any other until 1945 (Barshay 2007).

In many respects, the Japanese case seems to follow a pattern similar to the one many other non-Western people experienced. As the West was then at the center of global power relations, it was paradoxical that other countries had to Westernize if they were to resist Westernization. Science was a central component of this transformation. Yet Japan was a special case among non-Western countries, for it was considered the only such country to have fully modernized by the beginning of the twentieth century. This had at least two consequences. First, the scope and the depth of the importation of social sciences was remarkable. Not only were the social sciences seen as a tool for the modernization of the state and the nation; they also allowed for a radical critique of the power structures of modernity (at least until the military began repressing dissenting voices in 1937). The success of the spread of the German social sciences, for instance, can be explained because they provided orthodox (that is to say valuable technically-oriented insights for Japanese officials involved in a Bismarckian-styled process of nation building) and, at the same time, critical resources for Marxist intellectuals (Lie 1996).

Second, whereas Japan had been on the verge of being colonized in the 1860s, it managed to become an imperialist power just a few decades later. By administrating large parts of Asia, Japan contributed to the diffusion of European knowledge: Japanese Imperial universities opened in Seoul (1924) and Taiwan (1928), and Western texts translated by Japanese scholars became sources of inspiration for the Korean and the Chinese intelligentsia. Moreover, the social sciences were fully instrumental in colonial projects (Moore 2013) because they helped to categorize the populations and legitimize Japanese rule. Knowledge and power became closely linked, for the former was the source of political, military, and economic power. Knowledge granted Japan a central place in the world-system and proved so efficient that the pre-war scientific networks were reactivated to reshape Japan's prosperity after 1945 (Mizuno 2010).

The early institutionalization of Western social sciences in Japan, in sum, was a global, but ambivalent process. European knowledge stood, first, for a Western-centred global system. But it was also central to Japan's attempt to build a modern nation and to gain preeminence in this very international system. Finally, such knowledge was decisively associated with the political hope of building an alternative political system to the modern-capitalist one. Domination and emancipation, nationalism and internationalism: social sciences in Japan were at the intersection of various and partly antithetical projects of global modernity. 1945 was only a partial break with the past, as these trends have continued to shape the Japanese reception and interpretation of Western social sciences until today.

Japanese and North American Social Sciences After 1945

After 1945, Japan was quickly reintegrated into the world-system under American occupation. American social sciences therefore replaced the European ones, though without fully dislodging them (some disciplines, such as philosophy, have remained German-influenced). Moreover, the patterns of importation set up before 1945 were still active: the diffusion of the social sciences continued to be shaped at the intersection of national

and international constraints, and by the tension between state-oriented expectations and critical functions.

This intertwining of the international and national scales has framed one of the main patterns of importation: Japan has rebuilt as a nation by extensively borrowing from the American social sciences. Explaining the rise of Japanese fascism and imperialism, but also reconstructing a modern and democratic society, implied using theoretical tools that the Americans readily supplied. The main intellectual figures of this period, such as Maruyama Masao, who had been trained in German social sciences before the war, began endorsing American liberal theories (Hiraishi 2003). American Anthropology, likewise, replaced European theories, as many young Japanese graduates were hired to carry out sociological surveys and provide data for the occupying forces. These graduates soon after established the field of Japanese Studies, where their cultural approach helped to frame a sense of Japan as a homogeneous community, but also as an imperfectly modern country.

The importation of American social sciences gained momentum because they offered “modernizing expertise”. Modernization theories, which were part of American Cold War policies (Berger 2003), found in Japan a very fertile ground. Even at the end of the 1960s, when they had basically lost all credibility in America (Gilman 2007), such theories continued to have a huge influence in Japan, where the number of sociological articles on Talcott Parsons – the main figure of the school – regularly increased during the next decades (Fig. 12.1).

Not all these articles were positive, but even when they criticized Parsons they showed the continuing relevance of the capitalist-modernization question in Japan. The fact that the Japanese GDP kept on expanding until the 1990s (Palat 1993) partially accounted for this rise in the number of references to Parsons. But Japan’s position in global economic exchanges is not the sole explanation. The structuring of the national scientific fields on American lines is equally important. In the 1960s, the acclimation of the modernist scientific apparatus reached a new threshold, with more students entering the academy (from 65,954 in 1959 to 95,026 ten years later) and contributing to further diffusing the social sciences. The nationalization of transnational social sciences was a successful process in Japan, as the country developed largely autonomous

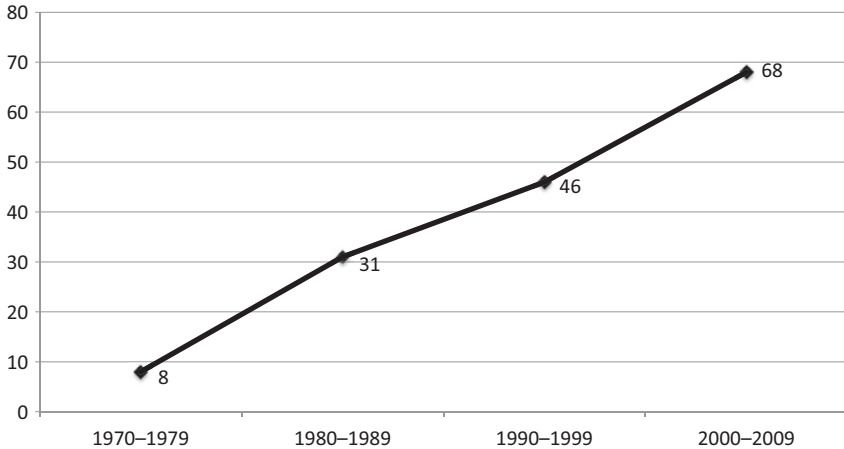


Fig. 12.1 Articles on Talcott Parsons in sociological Journals (1970–2000) (Source: Japanese Sociological Association Database)

scientific fields. Until the 2000s many Japanese social scientists interacted mostly with their Japanese colleagues and wrote in Japanese only (as the density of local scientific interactions was sufficient), but doing so they relied on questions and references that were originally mainly American (Okamoto 2010).

The intricacy of the national and transnational levels appears clearly if we look at the research topics tackled by Japanese scholars. Some topics became central because they had a special relevance at the national level (for instance, the question of migration, as Japan opened up to international migration at the end of the 1980s). Other topics received similar scrutiny, as they were constructed as “national social problems”. While Japan entered the murky waters of neo-liberal policies, the number of articles on inequalities almost quadrupled between the 1980s and the 1990s, and doubled in the next decade as did articles on poverty (with a twofold increase in the same decades). The question of ageing, which was rarely touched upon in social science publications until the 1980s, became a pressing topic, too, as the Japanese population became one of the oldest in the world. As the social sciences continued to expand (the number of PhD candidates rose from 2654 in 1990 to 6195 in 2000), and the research content came to reflect questions internal to Japanese

society. Yet this localization of knowledge does not mean that Japan shut itself off from international influences. On the contrary, these two trends were mutually constitutive.

One may gain a better understanding of this process by scrutinizing how questions surrounding the situation of women in Japan were tackled in the social scientific literature. Such questions have long been debated in Japan thanks to a strong critical feminist movement. But in the 1990s, as deep inequalities remained between men and women, even conservative politicians began to stress the detrimental effect of this situation of workplace inequality on the Japanese economy, prompting a renewed attention to the problem. Yet, paradoxically, the number of articles with the keyword “women” decreased during these years. In fact, this trend is merely indicative of the fact that Japanese scholars have been catching up with the transformations of American social sciences. Questions about *women* have been replaced by questions about *gender* (the increase of articles with the keyword “gender” in Japan has more than compensated for the decrease of studies on women/feminism). Hence questions about women that had roots in national political debates came to be rephrased in the vocabulary of global American gender studies (Marx Ferree and Tripp 2006).

Critical Uses of European Social Sciences

But social sciences concurrently provided critical resources. Radical intellectuals quickly re-organized after the war. The Democratic frame of the American occupation paradoxically gave intellectuals the opportunity to develop a harsh critique of the capitalist order. Critical social sciences have thus seen a second pattern of circulation between the West and Japan. The critical social sciences have a more ambiguous place, though, as they are embedded in and subversive of the world-systemic relations. This contradiction became more decisive in the 1960s when the Japanese Communist Party came under harsh criticism from left-wing intellectuals for its support of the USSR. These intellectuals stressed the lingering Stalinism and the anti-intellectual bias of a Japanese Marxism that was more dogma than scientific tool. They noticed that,

for all their differences, Japanese Marxism and Modernization Theories had one thing in common: both assumed that Japan was an imperfect modernizer (Harootunian 2000) and they had consequently failed to serve as tools of analysis of what Japan really was. Doing so, these intellectuals critical of orthodox Marxist carved a space for a reflexive use of social sciences. The end of the 1960s also brought major political changes that weakened the influence Marxism intellectuals and American-styled Modernizers had enjoyed since 1945 (Kersten 2009). Anti-systemic protests developed, targeting the US and the Soviet dominance alike, and opened up a new phase of geo-cultural relations.

In this context, the importation of alternative (especially European) social sciences, gained momentum. This did not mean that the American channels of importation ceased to exist, but rather, that other references managed to circulate and to challenge the structure from the inside. The reception of Michel Foucault can help us gain a better understanding of this process.

As Fig. 12.2 shows, Michel Foucault was introduced at three different time periods. In the 1970s, with the first translations of his works, Foucault became associated with a new wave of European post-structural thinkers. Then, his death in 1984 prompted a second round of translations (1985–1991). During both these periods, importation of his work

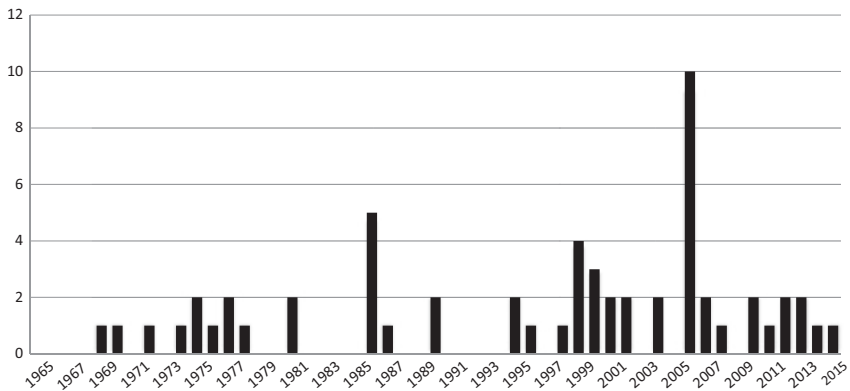


Fig. 12.2 Articles on Michel Foucault in sociological Journals (1970–2000) (Source: Japanese academic libraries statistics)

was premised on two intertwining networks. The first one was political: Foucault was seen as a major theoretician of the renewal of Marxism in the aforementioned anti-systemic fashion. When Foucault travelled to Japan in 1978, Yoshimoto Takaaki, a highly influential scholar of the Japanese New Left, interviewed him. Moreover, Foucault's fate in Japan was linked to the network of his translators: they were French-speaking scholars who belonged to French departments, more than to philosophy departments (still dominated by German-speaking philosophers). His early reception was that of a semi-outsider; it occurred outside major academic departments and political trends. Yet this semi-marginality was also the condition for Foucault's fame: a critic of the apparatus of European modernity, his Japanese readers appropriated him for the theoretical possibilities he offered to challenge this very modern apparatus in Japan.

The third instance of Foucault's reception took place in the first decade of the 2000s. This was partly linked to the release of several unpublished texts in French. But this new interest was more decisively sparked by the numerous contacts that had taken place, from the 1990s on, between Japanese and American academia. In that decade, the number of Japanese studying in the US reached an historical peak (50,000 each year on average). Likewise, the number of Japanese scholars who travelled abroad for academic purposes rose from 33,380 in 1993 to 165,569 in 2012 (roughly 20% of them to the US). In the fields of the social sciences and the humanities, these scholars brought back home the main American references, which, for many of them, turned out to be French post-structuralist ones (Cusset 2008). Foucault's reception in Japan became, to a large extent, an American reception (there are respectively 147, 127 and 124 titles on Foucault in English, French and Japanese in Japan's academic libraries).

Anti-systemic trends in the global circulation of the social sciences, then, are not disconnected from mainstream ones: English and North American universities have shaped the scientific world system as well as provided the resources to put such a system into question. On the one hand, the structure of scientific exchanges shows a robust continuity in the *longue durée* since the post-Meiji period: European and American social sciences have framed the scientific apparatus of Japan. They have

allowed the country to become a modern nation and a major regional/international player in a context of globalization (Sasaki 2011). In 2015, the first five destinations for Japanese scholars abroad were the US (21 per cent), China (9.8), Korea (9.5), Germany (5.5) and France (4.7), showing the stability of Japanese-Western exchanges, as expressed by the dominance of the US and the continuing relevance of the European countries Japan has been historically linked with. But the figures also show the capacity for Japan to re-position itself as an alternative global center in Asia (Befu and Guichard-Anguis 2001), where it acts as a scientific hegemon. This trend has been instrumental in the development of regional connections, where “Asianization” is meant to provide Asian scholars with alternative indigenous tools to decipher their societies (Alatas 2006). Yet Japan has somewhat reluctantly endorsed the role of hegemon reminiscent of its imperial past. While more conservative-minded scholars such as the legal specialists have participated in the diffusion of Japanese norms in Asia (Giraudou 2009), Japanese sociologists have been more cautious. This does not mean that they have not developed strong regional ties with their colleagues but, rather, that they have stuck to a universal concept of science and a political critique in line with Left-wing ideologies.

On the other hand, these global relations have made it possible for anti-systemic trends to develop. Not only did an originally European Marxist tradition take root in Japan almost as soon as the country was integrating into the world economy, but Japanese intellectuals have continued to use European social sciences until today to critically reassess the power relations of the world system. The strong dependency on American social sciences since 1945 has complicated these alternative exchanges, but did not put an end to them. On the contrary, as North American universities became world centers of radical thinking, they promoted the global dissemination of a new brand of counter-hegemonic theories. Many Japanese scholars have conducted research in the United States in the last few decades and this has facilitated the critical appropriation of Western social sciences by non-Western intellectuals. Western social sciences, in this respect, have been tools to deconstruct the very hegemony that made them global.

Western Social Sciences in South Korea

In South Korea, as in many other Asian and non-Western countries, the institutionalization of social sciences cannot be separated from the influence of Western modes of thinking.¹ In the nineteenth century, European texts circulated among members of the Korean elites through Chinese translations. Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer and Benjamin Kidd were among the first authors to be translated. Yet, after China's defeat in the Opium Wars, Korea adopted an isolationist policy that officially prevented the introduction of Western thinking and technology. But at the end of the century, Korean reformists and/or nationalists borrowed from those Western thinkers whose texts had been translated into Japanese. The colonization of the Korean peninsula by Japan between 1910 and 1945 resulted in the further introduction of social thought from Europe, especially from Germany, through Japanese channels. Numerous terms of Western social sciences, still in use today in Korea, came into existence after having been translated into Japanese between the end of the nineteenth century and the middle of the twentieth century.

The first course in social science was created at Seoul Imperial University, which was the only institution of higher education in Korea under Japanese rule, as the Japanese Governor strictly controlled the education of Korean elites. In Seoul Imperial University Korean students were a minority accounting for twenty to thirty percent of the students. Korean elite families or American missionaries also created a few private colleges – eighteen of them existed in 1943. If some Korean scholars had been trained in Europe and the United States, most of their publications consisted of handbooks and offered translations of classical authors from the European tradition of social thought. The first course of sociology was created at Seoul Imperial University in 1927 and was delivered by a Japanese professor, while two other courses were given in private universities.

The situation changed slowly at the end of the Second World War. Under the United States Army Military Government (1945–1948), Seoul Imperial University became Seoul National University (SNU). A Law Faculty was created. Economics, sociology, and political science were

recognized as disciplines and became part of the Faculty of Humanities, along with philosophy and literature. Between 1945 and 1959, sociology departments were created in three other universities. Seventeen departments of economics and sixteen departments of political science were founded during the same period.

The increase in the number of social science academics resulted in the creation of various professional associations and national journals relevant to the new disciplines (see Table 12.1) (Kim 2015a, c). In this context, sociology was institutionalized a few years after economics and political science. When it was founded in 1957 the Korean Sociological Association had only seventeen members (Shin and Han 2010). Consolidation continued until the 1970s. The Korean Social Science Research Council was created in 1976 and connected several disciplinary associations. One year earlier, a Social Science Faculty had been created at SNU, with ten departments. As SNU was the most prestigious university in the higher education system of South Korea, its institutional settings were reproduced and directly influenced the orientation of other universities. In the mid-1970s the perimeter of the social sciences thus became stabilized nationally. All these changes tended to institutionalize the difference between the social sciences and the humanities.

Table 12.1 South Korean Social Science Associations and Academic Journals (year of creation)

Domain	Association	Journal
Geography	1945	1963
Psychology	1946	1968
Economics	1952	1953
Pedagogy	1953	1963
Political Science	1953	1959
International Politics	1956	1963
Public administration	1956	1967
Social Welfare	1957	1979
Sociology	1957	1964
Business administration	1957	1971
Ethnology	1958	1968
Journalism & Communication	1959	1960
Economic History	1962	1976

Source: Information reconstituted from the data provided in S. E. Kim (2015c: 69)

The number of students and faculty members began significantly growing from the 1970s on. Three educational reforms in 1979, 1980, and 1995 opened up the higher education system. South Korea had 189 universities in 2015, compared to 72 in 1975.² There were almost twelve times more students of the social sciences in 2014 than in 1971. They accounted for 25.7 percent of the total students at university level. This group is the most significant in terms of student numbers of the academic fields ahead of Law, and the Natural Sciences.³ The number of social science faculty members has also risen accordingly, from 219 in 1970 to 2505 in 2010. There were 33 Economics departments in 1970, but by 2000 there were 150, and in that year there were 64 Political Science and International Politics departments and 42 Sociology departments (see Table 12.2), with Sociology growing faster than other disciplines since the 1970s.

The increase in the number of social science faculty and students in Korean universities has impinged on the structuring of the research fields. Disciplines have organized and become autonomous communities. The demise of the authoritarian military regime in 1985 enhanced the freedom of research and speech and made new fields of inquiry possible. The publishing market also opened up at the same time, allowing for the translation of foreign books. The educational reform of 1995 resulted in a rapid increase in the number of Master and Doctoral students in all disciplines. Most academic journals of the Social Sciences now publish four issues a year (as opposed to one or two in earlier years).

Parallel to this process of institutionalization, professionalization and growth, at the end of the 1990s the authorities implemented policies promoting the internationalization of South Korean Social Sciences. The political context of the early 1990s paved the way for comparative research

Table 12.2 Evolution of the number of social science Departments

	1970	1980	1990	2000
Economics	33	58	82	150
Political science	22	26	43	64
Sociology	4	10	32	42

Source: Korean Educational Statistics Service: <http://cesi.kedi.re.kr/index>;
 Statistics of Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI): <http://khei-kheistory.com> (accessed in May 2016)

Table 12.3 Number of social science journals registered in SSCI

	S. Korea	Japan	China	Taiwan	Singapore	Total
2007	3	7	5	1	1	17
2015	15	11	11	4	3	44

on the political transitions that were simultaneously taking place in other regions of the world. NGOs also contributed to introducing new research topics that were on the international agenda, such as human rights, gender studies, global peace, environment, and criminal justice. South Korean social scientists were asked to tackle research questions that went beyond the usual national framing of their analyses. Funding agencies signed agreements with their foreign counterparts such as the Humboldt Foundation, the Australian Research Council, the Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences, the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science, and the French *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, with the aim of allowing South Korean students to travel abroad for their research and to participate in international conferences (Shin and Han 2010). Academic courses in English developed, as well as incentives for Korean social scientists to publish in English-speaking journals. Some Korean journals began publishing in English whole or partial volumes. The *Korean Political Science Review*, the *Korean Economic Review*, and the *Korean Journal of Sociology* publish two issues a year in English, while the Korean Social Science Research Council publishes its own journal in English.

Another sign of the growing internationalization of Korean social sciences can be found in the number of journals that are included in the list of the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) (Shin 2007). In 2015, among East Asian countries, South Korea had the highest number of journals just ahead of Japan and China (see Table 12.3).^{4,5} It is in this general context of internationalization that the place of Western references can be assessed.

Western References in the Social Sciences and the Humanities

Drawing on the KCI, a Korean Journal Database produced by the Thomson Reuters Web of Science, we have compiled references to

more than twenty classical sociologists and theoreticians between 2004 and 2016.⁶ Across the journals,⁷ Marx is the most cited author ahead of Foucault, Weber, Habermas, Bourdieu, Mauss, Durkheim, Rawls, and Spencer. Gramsci, Giddens and Tocqueville are cited less frequently, and US sociologists (Parsons, Merton, Coleman or Alexander) are quoted infrequently. Within sociological articles alone, Marx is still the most often quoted author before Weber, Durkheim, Bourdieu, and Foucault. Habermas and Giddens are mentioned four times less than Marx; other social scientists like Parsons, Merton, Tocqueville, Spencer, Honneth and Latour were cited fewer than ten times in thirteen years. Another inquiry into the articles published in the 2015 Korean edition of the *Korean Journal of Sociology* shows that references to foreign (51 per cent) and national authors (49 per cent) are almost equal (4 issues, 32 articles with an overall amount of 1852 references).

The importance of Western social scientists is confirmed when one looks at scientific books published in Korean. Statistics on the number of translated books in various fields of knowledge in 2014 show that more than 1400 foreign books in the social sciences were translated into Korean that year. Translations amounted for roughly 17.8 per cent of the total number of social science books published.⁸

Two provisional observations must finally be made regarding the place of Western references in Korean social science journals and books. First, there are more incentives for younger social scientists to publish scientific articles in journals in the KCI or in the SSCI than as chapters in books if they wish to enter the field as their professional and to make a career within it. For those authors, publishing in English or in internationally referenced journals increases the likelihood of their quoting Western authors. In this general context, Economics and Business Administration journals are more open to citations of Western authors than are their sociology and political science counterparts. Secondly, in Sociology at least, European canonical authors are more often quoted than North Americans. At first sight, this last result may seem paradoxical since, post 1945, the United States has played a greater role than European countries in the building of Korean social sciences and in the training of Korean social scientists, including in Sociology.

The Prominent Role of the United States in Social Science Training

The United States Army Military Government played a fundamental role in the re-building of the South Korean education system after the Korean War. Only two per cent of the budget of this government was dedicated to education, but the funding had a strong impact. Universities attracted almost one third of the total amount of the budget for education and the re-building of SNU absorbed a significant part of it. Private philanthropic foundations (the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Korea-USA Foundation, the Asia Foundation) and US universities (Harvard University, The University of Minnesota) also took part in the structuring and development of the higher education and research system after the Korean War, through the funding of research centres, professional associations, journals and libraries. Between 1951 and 1967, despite restrictions on international travel, 7598 individuals studied abroad, 86 per cent of whom went to the United States. They were trained in the arts, humanities and social sciences and in engineering and the natural sciences.⁹ Korean students favoured institutions that were already connected to Korean universities like the University of Minnesota for natural sciences, the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville for students in education, the East-West centre of the University of Hawaii in Asian studies or the Harvard-Yenching Institute for the social sciences (Yim 1998).

After restrictions on international travel were eased at the end of the 1980s, the number of Koreans getting their PhDs abroad rose rapidly (a fourfold increase from the 1970s to the 1980s, and a 2.4-fold increase from the 1980s to the 1990s). The US was still the favoured destination for more than fifty per cent of the doctoral students of all disciplines.¹⁰ Japan came second, followed by China, the UK, Germany and France. China's third position is the only change in this global hierarchy, since it did not attract Korean students before the end of the last century. While the US remains the main destination for Korean students getting their PhDs abroad, there is growing "Asianization". That being said, the main destinations may vary from one discipline to the other (see Table 12.4). If we look at the exchanges between 1945 and 2013, China is more

Table 12.4 Korean holders of a foreign PhD, by discipline and by country (1945–2013)

Discipline	USA	Japan	Germany	France	Great Britain	Russia	China	Others	Total
Education	1292	75	91	26	50	11	9	123	1677
Economics	999	107	89	65	56	28	83	40	1467
Business administration	858	109	52	20	88	4	33	56	1220
Political science	501	70	78	57	95	43	79	79	1002
English literature	620	1	3	2	77	0	0	33	736
Philosophy	159	39	261	68	17	6	68	93	711
History	144	151	67	77	34	35	104	75	687
Law	133	80	326	37	33	4	51	17	681
Linguistics	300	26	23	56	29	7	18	58	517
Sociology	255	41	76	23	39	7	11	16	468

Source: Statistics of Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI), 2015: <http://khei-khei.tistory.com> (consultation in May 2016). Reconstituted data

attractive for Economics than France and the UK. For Business Administration as well as for Political Science, the UK is more popular than Germany and France. Germany is chosen more often than the United States for Philosophy and Law. In Sociology, Korean students have been more attracted by Germany than they were by Japan and the United Kingdom even though the United States remains by far their first destination.

Despite the number of foreign-trained Korean PhD students in the social sciences, they are only a minority of the PhD holders in the country today. Yet, the high value of their degree compensates for their small number. This value can be measured by taking into account their share in the staff of universities and researchers of various disciplines (See Fig. 12.3).

Korean scholarly elites in the social sciences are still largely drawn from those with United States degrees. In Economics and Political Science scholars trained abroad accounted for more than seventy per cent of academic staff nationally in 2013 and almost the same percentage in Sociology.¹¹ In the most prestigious universities, members of social science faculties tend more often to have been trained abroad, especially in the US. More than ninety per cent of the professors in the top three leading faculties of the Korean social sciences (*i.e.* Economics, Political Science, Sociology in SNU, Yonsei University, and Korea University) obtained their doctoral degrees in US universities. Yet, except in Economics, their scientific publications remain mainly oriented towards discussing their Korean colleagues: as we have seen, the use of US scientific references remains secondary in Korean social science journals. How can we interpret this relative de-Americanization of US-trained Korean social scientists and sociologists?

The structure of US academic fields, first, partly explains why US-trained Korean social scientists do not extensively employ US references. While domestically they often hold a dominant position in their field and in Korean society, in the US professional scene they are marginal and face difficulties in producing research recognized as original (Kim 2015a). The most important incentives for their publications and their careers come from the academic and scientific fields in South Korea, which have been more national and autonomous, and they can critically

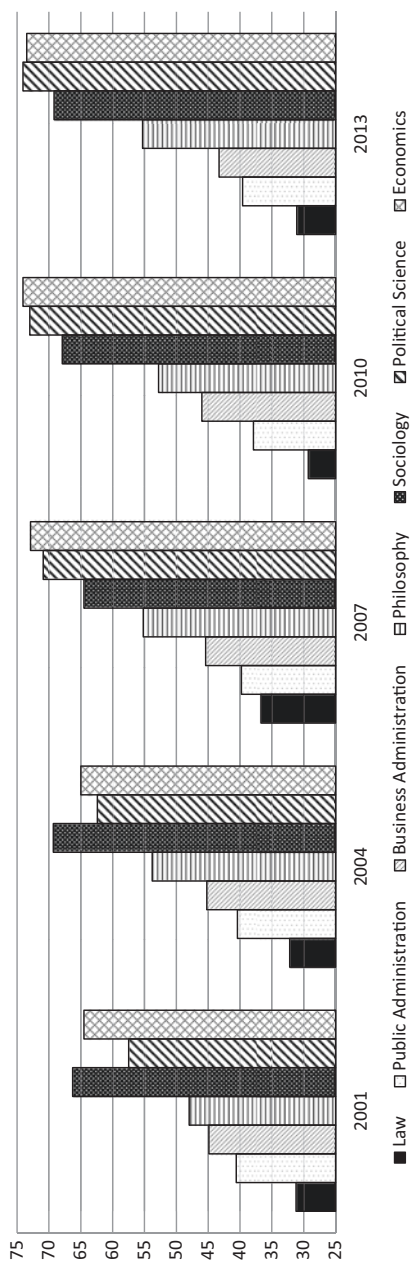


Fig. 12.3 Share of foreign-trained Korean PhD holders among academics with a permanent position (percentage), 2001–2013 (Source: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, Seoul, 2014; Statistics of Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI): <http://khei-khei.tistory.com> (consultation in May 2016). Reconstituted data)

assess Western influence. As noted earlier, US domination over Korean social science has been a constant concern for Korean researchers since the 1960s. During several post-war decades the problems and research questions regarded as legitimate were those shaped by North American paradigms. Korean Economics adopted the toolbox of neo-classical economics at an early stage. Sociologists were influenced by modernization theories (Kim 2007). Political scientists followed the political development model. Critical viewpoints began to appear only in the 1980s in the wake of challenges to the military regime. Researchers sought to better take account of the specificities of Korean culture and society.

The political division of Korea, the economic and political dependency of its Southern part and the history of the worker's movement in the peninsula have been progressively taken into account by social science researchers. Other novel topics appeared in the 1990s such as labour, inequalities or gender issues, as well as questions related to the history of colonial Korea. In the decade following the end of the dictatorship, the academic community became more divided along political and epistemic lines between traditional social scientists and researchers who were critical of the conservative agenda and the US influences of mainstream social science practices in the country. Some professional associations were created in order to unify the various new progressive agendas such as the Korea Progressive Academy Council (1988). Internationalized researchers capable of importing research questions from the United States opposed others who feared a kind of 'epistemic neo-colonialism'. The latter were more inclined to historicize research problems and to question the specificity of Korean society. This struggle has survived the political turmoil of the 1980s (Kim 2009). Korean social sciences are still divided between two poles, with the use of North American references being a sign of belonging to the "less Korean" of these two groups.

Controversies regularly stimulate debate over the intellectual identity of Korean social sciences. In a book published in 2006, the sociologist and public intellectual Hi-Yoen Cho argued that the sociology of Korean society should be made first and foremost by Korean sociologists and that their use of foreign concepts should only be premised on a deep understanding of foreign thinkers (Cho 2006). Kyung-Man Kim, a sociologist trained at the University of Chicago who teaches at Sogang University,

argues a contrary position: that Korean social sciences do not have any specificity and are not essentially different from Western social sciences. Korean researchers should therefore not look for any national identity and, rather, should try to speak beyond their borders: “The only way to overcome dependence on Western academia,” he wrote, “is for scholars to withdraw from the temptations of the media and political power and bury themselves in research, to criticize the dominant agents of the global intellectual field and thereby engage them in dialogue” (Kim 2015b; Choi 2015).

These debates are triggered by the scientific policy of the Korean State. Complying with “global standards” of research has become the new official policy during the past decade. National funding agencies in science are evaluating journals, institutions, and researchers according to their number of publications included in the SSCI, the Science Citation Index, or the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (Han and Kim 2017). Participation in multinational research projects is also an element for the evaluation of researchers. In this context of a state-driven race towards internationalization, resistance is growing among Korean social scientists, especially among those who have been trained in Korean universities. In the 2000s, research projects, international conferences and workshops, and exchange programs developed between East Asian countries including South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, and Singapore. Sociological associations from these countries meet on a regular basis. Incentives for internationalization have strengthened regional ties and may result in a progressive Asianization of the Korean social sciences (Chang 2014).

In this context, the use of European references has appeared both as an alternative way of internationalizing one’s research and as a critical resource against the domination of the US social sciences. References to the “French theory” and to French sociologists have been particularly useful in this respect as they allowed taking power relations and domination processes within Korean science and society into account and as an object of inquiry in itself. The dual logic of these relations to Western authors and references confirms Bourdieu’s insights about the role of the fields of reception in the international circulation of ideas. The Korean case shows the gap between the continued dominance of US Universities

in the training of Korean academics and researchers on the one hand, and the resilience of European references, on the other. This gap can be explained when looking at the professional norms of the disciplinary fields of the Korean social sciences and the political impact of these references. The norms regarding entrance into those fields and regarding recognition as professionals are different from the norms regulating scientific exchanges within the fields. The first type of norms tends to select individuals who are familiar with US references, whereas the second favours more and more individuals critical of US scientific imperialism. Referring to European authors allows Korean sociologists to find a middle way between those contradictory injunctions.

Conclusion

Comparing South Korea and Japan is not an easy task. As was said before, each country has followed a unique path of scientific development, which makes any claim to lump them under a common categorisation dubious. We nonetheless believe that our theoretical approach – premised on Bourdieu's concept of field and on a world-systemic perspective applied to global social science production and circulation – might allow us to draw some parallels. South Korea and Japan share, first, a relatively similar position in the global scientific exchanges *vis-à-vis* the West. Both had to import European sciences and have relied also on North American ones. Students' and scholars' exchanges in recent decades, as well as the hierarchy of theoretical references, show the abiding centrality of the West in the scientific world-system of the social sciences. In this respect, and taking into account other dimensions of their social science communities such as their size or their history, both South Korea and Japan share what we have called a semi-peripheral status.

Yet our survey shows that it is necessary to go beyond this characterization. Japanese and Korean scientific fields are relatively autonomous and have become fully national: academic and scientific interactions at the local level matter at least as much as references to Western central traditions and discourses. Yet there is a clear discrepancy between the Western

training of many East Asian scholars and their propensity to actually refer to their Western colleagues: even though South Korean and (to a much lesser extent) Japanese academics have been trained abroad, they refer only selectively to North American and European social scientists.

If our empirical results do not allow us to account fully for this situation, we may nevertheless suggest some hypothetical explanations. In terms of a world-system analysis applied to social scientific production, these cases confirm the link between transnational exchanges and the emergence of nationally defined academic and scientific fields. The formation of autonomous and self-referential scientific disciplines in Korea or Japan is, in other words, an outcome of the global spread of Western social sciences, with these processes being two sides of the same coin.

Finally, to develop this hypothesis further would require a better characterization of the “semi-peripheral” status of South Korea and Japan in sociology and the social sciences. In terms of scientific exchanges, such a position seems to accommodate partly contradictory trends. A number of recent case studies dealing with South American countries including Argentina and Chile, and with India, South Africa and Poland (Warczok and Zarycki 2014) and other Central and Eastern European countries (Bennett 2014) and with Israel, have all used the same category to describe the position of these countries in the world-system of some of the social sciences or the humanities.

Our analysis in terms of fields can be understood as an attempt to address the problems raised by the general scope of the world-system analysis. It offers a nuanced view of what is otherwise hypostasized under the broad label of *South Korean* or *Japanese* disciplines. We showed how opposite positions structure the fields and how these very oppositions account for the various ways East Asian scholars can tap – or not tap – into global scientific intellectual and cognitive resources. Some positions inside the Japanese or South Korean social sciences fields are “more peripheral” than others, whereas some are more inclined to be “central”. These positions, we believe, structure different scientific strategies, as scholars are more likely to play a national or an international card, not to mention the card of a counter-hegemonic Asianization of the social sciences (Chang 2014).

In sum, the logic and the evolutions of the field both shape, and are shaped by, various world-systemic structures, and can therefore allow us to gain a better understanding of the aforementioned ambivalence of the international position of South Korea and Japan in scientific exchanges. By doing so, we hope to have avoided the possible pitfalls of a too much ahistorical world-systemic approach: the relations South Korean and Japanese scholars have with the national, Asian or transnational scientific spaces are not given once and for all. The internationalization of the South Korean social sciences in the last two decades shows clearly that recent State-sponsored incentives have been as decisive for the evolution of the scientific production of the country as the semi-peripheral position since the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Here again, field-level sociological and historical analyses usefully complement our understanding of global relations.

Notes

1. For a complete overview of the intellectual relations between Korean and Western sociology, see Park and Chiang (1999).
2. Korean Educational Statistics Service: <http://cesi.kedi.re.kr/index>; Statistics of Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI): <http://khei-khei.tistory.com> (Consulted in May 2016).
3. Korean Educational Statistics Service: <http://cesi.kedi.re.kr/index>; Statistics of Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI): <http://khei-khei.tistory.com> (Consulted in May 2016).
4. This is partly the result of the South Korean higher education institutions' policies. Articles published in SSCI journals count more than articles in any Korean language peer-reviewed journals for first position recruitments. This tacit professional rule created an incentive for Korean scientific journals in the social sciences to develop their publications in English and to enter the SSCI database (Shin 2007; Han and Kim 2017).
5. Figures for some Western countries in 2007 are the following: USA (1018), the UK (467), Netherlands (116), Germany (67), Canada (25), Switzerland (24), France (20).
6. Data from KCI before 2004 are still incomplete and constantly updated. This explains why our table starts after this date.

7. “The KCI takes into account today 1412 journals in the social sciences, 747 journals in the human sciences and covers 24 disciplines”: <https://www.kci.go.kr/kciportal/ci/clasSearch/ciSereClasList.kci> (accessed January 2017).
8. Annual reports of the Publication Industry Promotion Agency of Korea (KPIPA), 1990–2014. In these reports, social science books are themselves one category, differentiated from other non-fictional books and from “how to” books.
9. For 1951–1952, the data are from the Monthly Bulletin of the Ministry of Education (in Korean), June 1958: 17, quoted in (Yim 1998).
10. Statistics of Korea Higher Education Research Institute (KHEI), 2015: <http://khei-khei.tistory.com> (Consulted in May 2016).
11. The corresponding percentages in the natural sciences (33.3 percent in 2015) and engineering sciences (34.4 percent in 2015) are only about half (Han and Kim 2017).

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