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

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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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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 postwar 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; Dammame 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 Gaïti 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 regimes[1] 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

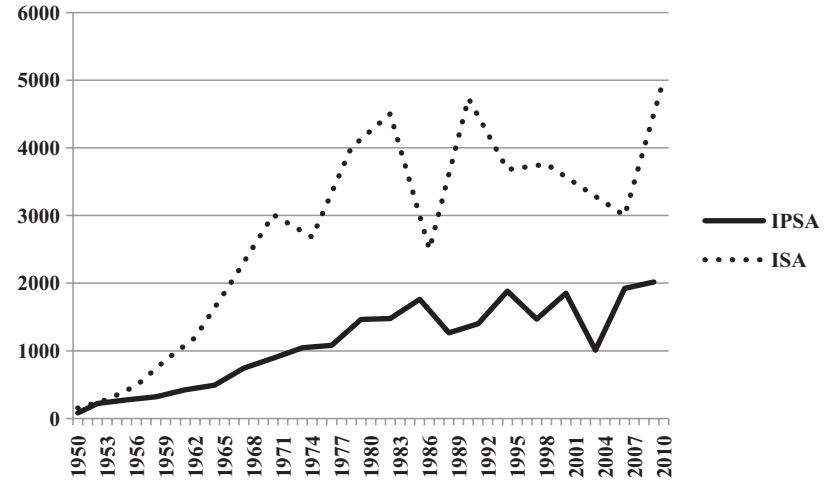

Fig. 4.1 Individual participation in World Congresses (1950–2012) (Source: realized by the author on the basis of data gathered from Platt 1998; Boncourt 2009, the IPSA and ISA websites, as well as personal communication with the secretariats of both associations)

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

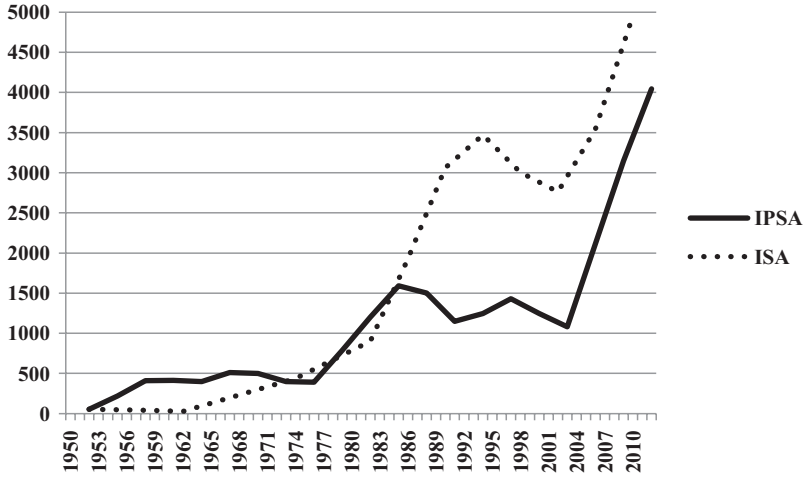

Fig. 4.2 Individual membership of associations (1950–2012) (Source: realized by the author on the basis of data gathered from Platt 1998; Boncourt 2009, the IPSA and ISA websites, as well as personal communication with the secretariats of both associations)

Table 4.2 ISA and IPSA's launch of new activities

	ISA		IPSA	
World congress	First world congress	1950	1950	First world congress
Bibliography	*Current sociology*	1952	1951	*IPS abstracts*
Specialized groups	Research committees	1962	1964	Research committees
Newsletter	*ISA Bulletin*	1971	1977	*Participation*
Journal	*International sociology*	1986	1980	*Internat. Pol. Sci. Review*
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	*New Delhi*
	Washington	
1990s	BUENOS AIRES	Madrid
	Berlin	Bielefeld
	Seoul	**Montreal**
2000s	**Quebec**	*Brisbane*
	Durban	***Durban***
	Fukuoka	
	SANTIAGO	
2010s	Madrid	Gothenburg
	Montreal	*Yokohama*
	Poznan	
	Brisbane	**Toronto**

North America	Western Europe	**Eastern Europe**	*Asia and Oceania*	LATIN AMERICA	***Africa***

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).

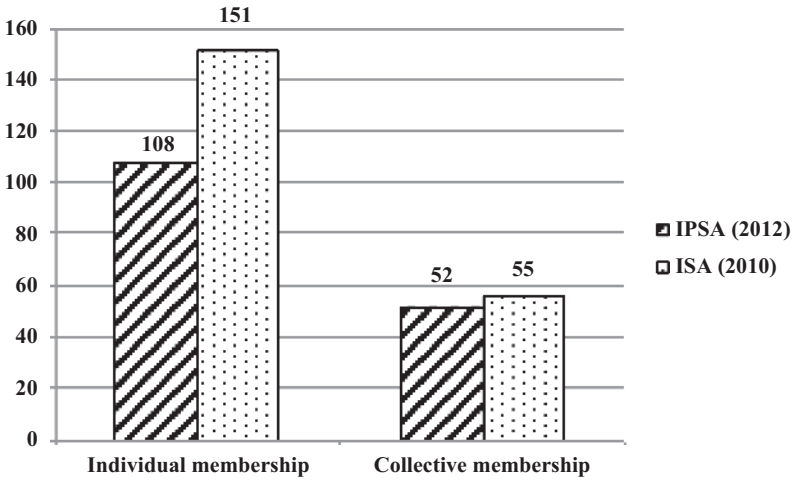

Fig. 4.3 Number of countries represented in each association (Source: Realized by the author on the basis of data communicated by the IPSA and ISA secretariats)

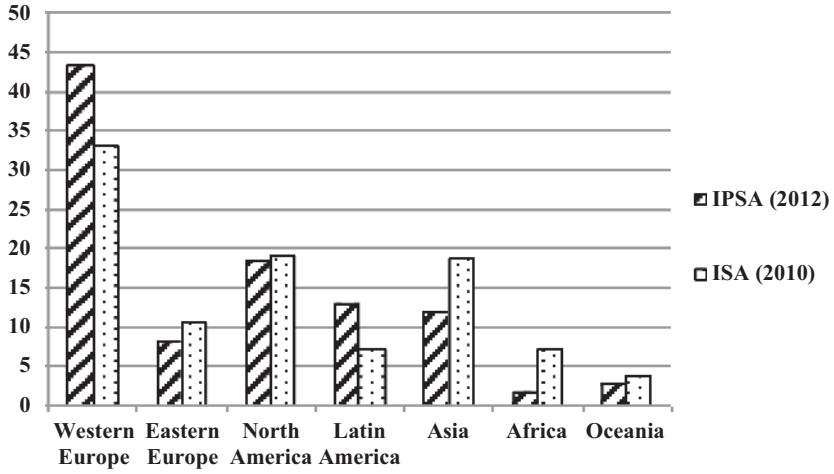

Fig. 4.4 Individual membership: breakdown by continent (percentages) (Source: Realized by the author on the basis of data communicated by the IPSA and ISA secretariats)

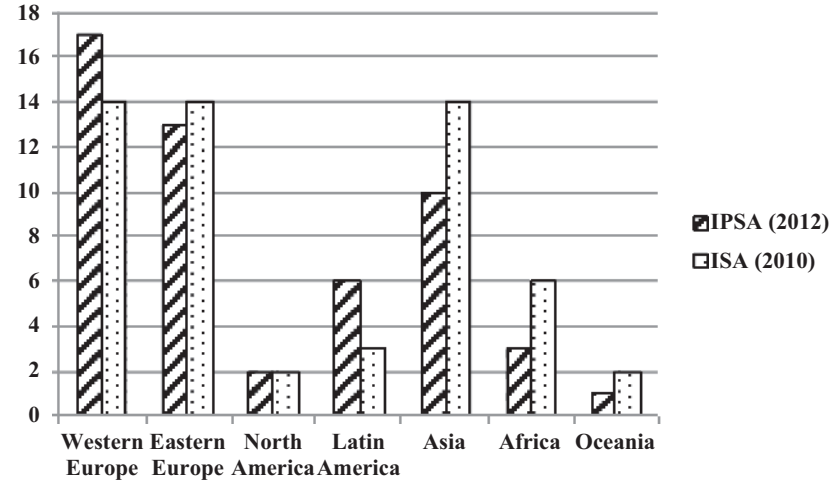

Fig. 4.5 Collective membership: breakdown by continent (percentages) (Source: Realized by the author on the basis of data communicated by the IPSA and ISA secretariats)

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 Gaïti 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 *International Political Science Abstracts* 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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