Serendipities

Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

Volume 8, No 1–2 (2023)

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Serendipities – Journal for Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

Editorial

International Circulations and Inequalities in the Social Sciences: An Introduction

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Abstract

This special issue calls for a critical, historically grounded, and interdisciplinary perspective on international circulations and inequalities in the social sciences. It emphasizes the importance of considering the social sciences as a whole and in relation to broader power dynamics. To address inequalities in the production and dissemination of knowledge in the social sciences from diverse perspectives, this special issue brings together scholars from different higher education systems, countries, and disciplines. Its five contributions examine various national contexts, international configurations, and historical periods, utilizing a range of methodological strategies, including document and archival analysis, secondary databases and descriptive statistics, prosopographical databases, and multiple correspondence analysis. The first section of this editorial proposes a socio-historical approach for reflexive study of international circulations and inequalities in the social sciences. The second section situates the five contributions within the transforming context of the internationalization of the social sciences, providing a periodization of these dynamics from the late nineteenth century until the present. Finally, a concluding section advocates for a renewed perspective on the subject.

Keywords

International, circulation, social sciences, inequalities

In 1798, 160 French scientists (including representatives of what would later be called the 'social sciences', e.g., geographers, anthropologists, and archaeologists) traveled to Egypt during Napoleon's military expedition (El Ashmouni and Bartsch 2014). The scientific knowledge that the French gained about Egypt during the invasion was later published in *La Description de l'Égypte*, a 23-volume encyclopedia gradually released from 1809 to 1828. In reaction, the governor of the Egyptian province after Napoleon's withdrawal aimed to create an alternative knowledge regime to resist Western imperialism and provide Egypt, a peripheral state of the Ottoman Empire, with its own historical narrative and national foundations (Reid 2003; Campbell and Pederson 2014; Adelman 2019). From 1826 to 1831, he entrusted Imam Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Tahtāwī with a five-year mission to Paris. In the account of his travel, al-Tahtāwī emphasized the geographic diversity of the student population in Paris and the concentration and cosmopolitanism of higher education institutions (al-Tahtāwī 2004). He also described the numerous available courses that students could take in various foreign languages, including Arabic (Edmonson and Edelstein 2019). Upon his return to Egypt, al-Tahtāwī achieved a prominent position in the Egyptian higher education system. He headed an office that translated European books into Arabic and Turkish for government schools and contributed to the establishment of the first press in the country (Salama-Carr 2007; Liauzu 2005; Elshakry 2008; Sarfatti 2022).

This trajectory demonstrates how international circulations enable the transfer of knowledge from one society to another. It illustrates the close relationship that early social sciences have been entertaining with economic and geopolitical interests at a global level. It also provides an empirical illustration of the tension between situated ways of defining scientific practice and knowledge. On the one hand, science, as a relatively autonomous social system, is considered to rely on mostly exclusive logics, which involve a rewarding system based on recognition from peers (Merton 1968; Bourdieu 1976; Gingras 2013). On the other hand, however, scholars and institutions are shaped by broader social concerns, the extent of which is defined by the changing autonomy of disciplines and national systems of higher education, particularly in relation to economic and political powers (Bourdieu 2001; Gingras 2012; Elias 2017). Due to these relationships and to their pretension of 'universalism', social scientists are prone to embody and reproduce a (very) unequal system, even though they possess the keys to detect these inequalities and work towards social change (Bourdieu 1995).

Simultaneously, this story reminds us that the international circulation of knowledge and scholars is not a recent feature of scientific fields (Heilbron 2023; Adelman 2019). Considering social science disciplines within their institutional and international framework allows us to account for their progressive development from the late nineteenth century onwards, with their own academic degrees and career systems, disciplinary societies and associations, information and publication networks, conferences, and scientific journals. These elements constitute the social practices and organization of disciplinary life in various national contexts (Gingras 1991, 2018; Abbott 2001; Revel 2015; Rossier and Benz 2022). Nevertheless, as we exemplified above, the circulation of scholars and knowledge in Europe existed long before that (Romano 2014; Soulier 2021; Hulsenboom and Moss 2022), while similar dynamics also occurred in India, Persia, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire (Dickinson 2001; Subramanyam 2004; Alam 2007; Casale 2010). The explorations by Western scientists of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, aligned with colonial interests, and the flows of correspondence between scholars also long predated the institutionalization of social science disciplines (Casanova 2004; Salomon 1971; Fumaroli 2018).

However, the modern era remains a crucial turning point as it systematized the nationalization of scientific communities, paving the way for their possible inter-nationalization, while establishing the social sciences as scientific disciplines with their own hierarchies and struggles for scientific credibility (Bourdieu 2001; Benz and Rossier 2023). This systematization resulted in the consolidation of academic and scientific inequalities at the national and international levels, encompassing countries, institutions, and individuals (Bourdieu 2023).

To address inequalities in the production and dissemination of knowledge in the social sciences from diverse perspectives, this special issue brings together scholars from different higher education systems, countries, and disciplines. Its five contributions examine various national contexts, international configurations, and historical periods, utilizing a range of methodological strategies, including document and archival analysis, secondary databases and descriptive statistics, prosopographical databases, and multiple correspondence analysis. The first section of this editorial proposes a socio-historical approach for reflexive study of international circulations and inequalities in the social sciences. The second section situates the five contributions within the transforming context of the internationalization of the social sciences, providing a periodization of these dynamics from the late nineteenth century until the present. Finally, a concluding section advocates for a renewed perspective on the subject.

A SOCIO-HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATIONS AND INEQUALITIES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The epistemology of the social sciences, grounded in individual and collective reflexivity, enables the investigation of the power hierarchies within which they are embedded (Elias 2017; Bourdieu 2022). Reflexive approaches highlight the tensions that exist between scholars' aspirations for global scholarly autonomy through ‘universalist’ peer recognition and the production and reproduction of deeply unequal research systems (Heilbron and Gingras 2018; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014). This situation calls for social scientists to engage in critical reflexivity regarding their own practices and epistemic universes (Fassin and Steinmetz 2023).

Consequently, a socio-historical approach can assist scholars in historicizing, reexamining, and deconstructing widely used concepts and units of analysis, such as the 'local', 'national', 'international', 'transnational', 'center', 'periphery', 'global', 'imperial', and even the 'social sciences' themselves. By doing so, it contributes to defining the actors involved in shaping these concepts while providing a deeper understanding of the social, geographical, and historical contexts in which such boundary-work occurs (Gieryn 1983; Abbott 2001). Thus, the meanings attributed to the notion of 'internationalization' are influenced by power relations at specific times and in specific contexts, which need to be brought to light. The power relations that shape the balance among scholars, between disciplines, and within academic institutions, have been extensively studied in nationally-oriented approaches (Ringer 1990; Weisz 1983; Bourdieu 1984; Lingelbach 2003). Therefore, it is essential to call for ambitious research programs that address these power relations at the international level.

Recent scholarship on international power structures and the mechanisms of global academic exchanges has raised questions about the role of transnational networks, foreign credentials, and cultural resources from leading Western institutions in providing scholars with powerful assets and prestige, thus contributing to the hierarchization of the social sciences (Dezalay and Garth 2002, 2006; Fourcade 2006; Vaucher and De Witte 2013; Klüger 2018; Rossier and Bühlmann 2018; Gingras 2002; Heilbron et al. 2018; Gautier Morin and Rossier 2021; Klüger et al. 2023). However, the influence of these logics varies across scientific and national contexts. Moreover, not all higher education systems assign equal importance to international mobility or the use of English in scientific articles.

Latin American social scientists have highlighted the significance of interdependencies between scientific, economic, and political systems since the late 1940s, with an active focus on promoting equitable global integration (Halperin-Donghi 1982; Love 1990; Prebisch 1949). The trajectories of social scientists across borders, local expectations, and career opportunities abroad differ significantly depending on whether they are situated at the core, immediate periphery, or distant edges of academic centers that concentrate symbolic and economic resources and establish the practical norms of knowledge production. Dependency-based approaches encourage the study of local cultures, economic structures, political dynamics, and transnational alliances from the perspective of these global inequalities (Cardoso and Faletto 1970; Santos 1970). It is crucial to examine how concepts, expertise, symbols of legitimacy, and research priorities indeed undergo cultural adaptations, reappropriations, and even reinventions as they travel from one context to another (Perry 1995; Dezalay and Garth 2002; Bourdieu 2002; Morgan and Howlett 2010).

This special issue calls for a critical, historically grounded, and interdisciplinary perspective on international circulations and inequalities in the social sciences. It emphasizes the importance of considering the social sciences as a whole and in relation to broader power dynamics. The social sciences face a dilemma between their transnational scope in producing scientific knowledge and their deep entrenchment within national contexts. The intensity of this entrenchment varies, with some national academic spaces appearing more nationally oriented than others (Fourcade 2009; Heilbron et al. 2017; Sapiro et al. 2018; Fleck et al. 2019). The political economy of borders, which characterizes the internationalization of the social sciences, also plays a crucial role in the circulation of people, resources, and ideas (Pries 2009). In this international context, specific forms of scientific imperialism and power relations are continually reshaped through conflicting definitions of the 'international', 'global', and 'universal' (Somsen 2008; Connell et al. 2017). The epistemology of the social sciences serves as a useful tool for scholars to reflect on the relationship between international circulations and inequalities, preventing the misuse and abuse of concepts that may perpetuate unwanted preconceptions (Duller 2020; Bourdieu 2023). The subsequent section provides an overview of the evolving contexts surrounding international circulations and inequalities within the social sciences.

INTERNATIONAL CIRCULATIONS AND INEQUALITIES IN CHANGING SOCIAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

The five articles featured in this special issue explore diverse social, geographic, and historical contexts of knowledge production spanning from the late nineteenth century to the present. In this second section, we present a chronological overview of evolving patterns of international circulations and inequalities in the social sciences, highlighting the key contributions of the articles to this field of study. We focus on three historical phases, each corresponding to different processes of international circulation: 1) the early institutionalization of the social sciences (from the nineteenth century until the First World War); 2) the world wars and the transatlantic nexus (from the inter-war period until the 1980s); 3) the globalization of the social sciences (since the 1990s onwards).

Early institutionalization of the social sciences

In the late nineteenth century, the expansion and specialization of higher education institutions led to significant global disparities (Charle and Verger 2012). Western social sciences, closely tied to the state, often aligned their research agenda with imperial expansion. As a result, the initial internationalization of the social sciences followed colonial and hegemonic lines (Abir 1977; Elshakry 2010; Adelman 2019; Asseraf 2022; Kárady 2020). In the French and British Empires, the emerging social sciences benefited from state funding and employment of experts who sought specialized knowledge about colonized populations (Singaravélou 2008; Steinmetz 2023). These developments simultaneously encouraged and marginalized efforts to establish alternative internationalisms of science and transnational networks among individuals excluded from Western countries (Meléndez-Badillo 2022).

The academization of the social sciences led to the gradual homogenization of legitimate practices and practitioners. Academic professorships became largely dependent on national systems of social promotion, in contrast to the social knowledge produced outside academia by trade unions, political groups, j ournalists, and independent researchers (Smith 2000). This homogenization process, coupled with the increasing closure of academic fields, resulted in the exclusion of women on a large scale and the establishment of gendered hierarchies within the production and reproduction of knowledge.

In this issue, Margot Elmer examines the gendered processes of institutionalization and internationalization of the social sciences at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles (1894–1919), where women from Central and Eastern Europe were admitted to the new social science curriculum. Elmer highlights the significance of international mobility for upper-class women who lacked access to university education in their home countries. However, she demonstrates that as women and foreigners, they were confined to fields with low academic prestige. Elmer's contribution sheds light on an understudied aspect of the early development of the social sciences, namely the underlying inequalities in accessing new academic disciplines and the subsequent professional opportunities that followed.

World Wars and the Transatlantic nexus

The interwar period marked a significant phase of systematic institutionalization and nationalization of the social sciences. During the First World War, belligerent states recognized the potential of the social sciences as tools for social engineering, scientific explanation, planning, and forecasting, even in colonial contexts. The complex relationship between researchers and colonial administrators influenced the development of social science concepts and theories of modernization and development, extending into the decolonization process with the dissemination of social innovations created by colonial authorities to manage colonized populations (Cooper 2004; Connell 2017; Patel 2020). However, the growing number of students from colonized regions studying at universities in Paris and London played a role in accelerating the development of decolonial and anti-colonial thinking, as well as facilitating the circulation of knowledge among countries in the Global South (Connell 2018; Watanabe 2021).

International organizations and philanthropic societies also began to play a more active role in shaping the concrete landscape of the social sciences through external funding and the implementation of international research agendas in areas such as economic development, agricultural policies, and public health (Marshall 1965; Jacobson 1966; Karl 1985; Tournès 2012; Parmar 2012). The 1930s were also marked by a massive exodus of Russian, Turkish, and European scientists to the United States and Latin America (Krohn 1993; Arendt 1994; Cağlar 2008; Burschel et al. 2011). Foreign universities provided a refuge for persecuted intellectuals (Cassedy 1997) and benefited from the cross fertilization of academic ideas and cultures promoted by them.

Examining the historical backdrop characterized by the increasing dominance of elite North American universities in the social sciences, particularly in the interwar period, Marie Linos (this issue) delves into the history of the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1930–1935) to problematize 'North'-'South' imbalances, mechanisms of exclusion, and imperialist logics embedded in a transnational project with universalist claims. Drawing on archival sources and printed materials, Linos shows the resistance of scholars from Southern regions, who had been excluded from the project, against the work of foreign authors who ignored the voices of local intellectuals. She also points out how the Encyclopedia served as a showcase for the concrete combination of tensions, contradictions, and oscillations between, on the one hand, a symbolic affiliation to European traditions mixed with a rhetoric of internationality and, on the other hand, a project to secure a leading institutional position, define a legitimate language of publication, and reinvent the world from a North American perspective.

After World War II, the valorization of foreign languages in peripheral national academic fields tended to reinforce existing class inequalities by privileging scholars with the time, resources, and dispositions to cultivate these skills (Beigel 2014; Hanafi and Arvanitis 2014; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014; Collyer et al. 2019), whereas writing and publishing in one's native language limited the dissemination and internationalization of certain research areas (Rodríguez et al. 2010). Meanwhile, the growing importance of funding and ranking agencies, selection committees, and awarding bodies exacerbated inequalities in opportunities to enter the academic field and earn academic credit. Social, geographic, and linguistic properties played critical roles in career advancement, faculty appointments, research productivity, scientific recognition, and access to information, networks, and funding (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010; Brink and Benschop 2014; Ammon 2010; Bol et al. 2018; Ni et al. 2021; Larivière et al. 2013; Benz and Rossier 2022).

In this issue, Marie-Gabrielle Verbergt addresses another crucial feature of this period, namely the uneven distribution of financial resources for research in the social sciences, the standardization of institutional evaluation, and the mechanisms governing its formalization. Specifically, she proposes an in-depth study of how external peer-review of research proposals has been negotiated and implemented in the European Science Foundation since the 1970s. The ESF, which once promoted ideals of fairness and transparency, has quickly adopted logistical instruments required to accommodate a growing number of projects while simultaneously requiring external reviewers to perform their work without remuneration. This case illustrates the strong organizational logic underlying resource allocation and institutional concentration at the European level during that period.

Globalization of the social sciences

The 1990s witnessed a new turn in the internationalization of the social sciences, with an increasing number of universities adopting managerial governance models that challenged traditional peer recognition mechanisms (Gingras et al. 2013; Musselin 2005; Benz et al. 2021). The formalization and systematization of competition-based regulatory models in the evaluation of research productivity and institutional performance, based on university rankings and the widespread use of h-indexes, have widened global inequalities (Gingras 2014; Brankovic 2022; Börjesson and Lillo Cea 2020). The proliferation of researchers, students, and staff, specialized journals, societies, as well as the intensification of transnational contacts and encounters, have not led to the democratization of science. Rather, the contrast has deepened between a small number of research clusters that claim a monopoly on legitimate scientific methods and academic practices, and other areas that lack access to scholarly networks, public or private funding, publishing institutions, and sources of scientific reputation or prestige (Gingras 2018). The uneven capacity to bear the growing costs of access to scientific production has made these hierarchical systems and the publishing industry major factors in the exclusionary mechanisms between institutions, countries, and regions of the world (Collyer 2018).

Top-tier universities in North America and Western Europe take advantage of their dominant position in a globalized yet fragmented space to set the standards of research and establish a symbolic hierarchy between 'worthy,' 'original,' or 'hot' research topics. They designate research problems that arise in their social and geographical contexts as 'universal' and studies of other national settings as 'case studies' (Alatas 2003; Baber 2003; Porciani and Tollebeek 2012; Gordin 2015; Heilbron et al. 2018). However, even dominant Western spaces are subject to reconfigurations and influences stemming from international dynamics. In this issue, Christian Schmidt-Wellenburg employs multiple correspondence analysis to demonstrate the association between French economists' positioning within the academic field and their public discourse on economic and social crises. In particular, he emphasizes the role of resources beyond the national frame in influencing the stances taken by economists concerning the controversies surrounding the euro crisis and the debates about the political and scientific economic models in France.

Another vantage point from which to observe today's international division of scientific labor and its hegemonic effects is the interaction and exchanges between distant regions of the scientific world. Despite the intensification of international co-authorship since the 1980s, collaborations often occur among researchers located in geographically and culturally neighboring countries. Recent trends to diversify and expand the scope of international collaboration have not overcome the long-lasting fracture between centers and peripheries (Leydesdorff and Wagner 2009). As more South American scholars engage in collaborative research with colleagues in the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Iberian Peninsula, they have come to rely heavily on English, the dominant language of scientific publishing today (Finardi et al. 2022; Guzmán-Valenzuela et al. 2022). Therefore, the internationalization of science has not led to a democratization of science at any scale. Rather, it has concentrated and centralized resources in a small number of research and teaching centers, creating new inequalities in access to resources and content, as well as peer and social recognition (Bandau et al. 2010; Wildavski 2012; Feld and Kreimer 2019).

In this issue, Stefan Klein and Carolina Monteiro de Castro Nascimento analyze the educational and professional trajectories of sociology professors in Brazil to highlight how access to the international arena produces hierarchies among them and governs their horizons of possibility. Their ascension to top-ranked universities located in the wealthiest regions of the country is closely correlated with their international experience, publications in foreign journals, and other objective signs of valuable resources acquired through international experiences. This article reflects on broader dynamics of knowledge production and academic legitimation by questioning the traditional divide between center and periphery.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Despite the extensive literature on the history of Western social sciences and their expansion, work remains to be done to write an 'equal' history of international circulations in the social sciences (Bertrand 2011), not only from the perspective of the peripheries of the empire but also from the perspective of the marginalized from within as they navigate an internationalized but polarized and hierarchical environment (Zemon Davis 1992; Carby 2019; Asseraf 2022).

While digitalization has created unprecedented opportunities for information dissemination, copyright laws and paywalled publishing have greatly hindered open access to scholarly publications and exacerbated inequalities between academic institutions based on their financial ability to provide their students and faculty members with private access to international scholarly materials (Salatino 2020). One consequence of these access restrictions is the emergence of online shadow libraries like the Z-Library, Sci-Hub, and Library Genesis Project (Libgen), which are pirate platforms or open-source search engines that provide free access to paywalled content. If most traffic on Sci-Hub and Libgen comes from Iran, Russia, China, Brazil, and India, the United States generates the second-highest traffic on Sci-Hub. The use of these informal systems is widespread and stems from the gap between the need to constantly update knowledge and the growing lack of financial resources (Karaganis 2018). Some scholars have launched an open access movement to address this problem, which goes to the heart of research ethics and inequalities in the international dissemination of knowledge. Academics in the Global South (Vuong et al. 2020), as well as international organizations such as UNESCO and the Confederation of Open Access Repositories, now advocate for the right to access all scientific research.

Over the past two decades, growing global wealth disparities and inequalities in research investment have further shaped scientific production, exacerbating existing hierarchies and rankings of countries and institutions (Piketty 2014, 2020; Savage 2021). The aim of this special issue is thus to highlight the ruptures in the course of scientific globalization, its shortcomings, the opportunities it has opened up, and the contradictions it has generated.

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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

From the East to the West: Trajectories of Foreign Women Studying the Social Sciences at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles (1894-1919)

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Abstract
This paper explores the experiences of foreign women studying the social sciences in a Brussels university during the Belle Époque. It seeks to unravel the motivations behind foreign women's pursuit of social science studies, by examining the educational and professional opportunities available to them. The paper begins by examining the challenges faced by women in higher education in Europe. It then delves into the social science curriculum, within the context of its early-stage of institutionalisation, and analyses the discrepancies between its different disciplines through the lens of gender. By focusing on some women' individual trajectories, this research aims therefore to provide insights into the intersecting realms of migration, gender, and academia.

Keywords
social sciences ; student migration ; women history ; university ; Belgium ; fin-de-siècle

> "[my diploma] reminds me of so many beautiful memories of my stay in Brussels [...] I still keep my sweetest feelings from there. Yes, you will say [...] the student life is always the most happy than anything else. Alas [...] what a big difference since that day until now, especially as I am married with my three boys. Anyway it is life, isn't [...][1]?"

This quote originates from a 1927 letter, written by Christina Velitchkova, a Bulgarian former social science student at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles from 1911 to 1914. Thirteen years after her graduation, she finally requests her diploma. She becomes quite emotional as she holds it, for it reminds her of a distant time when she was a student abroad, a time very different from her current situation as a mother in her home country. Although it may seem like an insignificant letter, the discrepancy between her current family life as a mother and her previous experience as a student in a foreign country perfectly encapsulates the various themes of this paper: the trajectories of foreign

[1] Archives of the Université libre de Bruxelles (AULB), Fonds of the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles (1ZUNB), 357. Letter of Christine Velitchkova to Miss. Hauman, secretary of the Institut des Hautes Études, 23 January 1927. The letter was originally in French with some grammatical errors retained in the translation.

women travelling Europe, from East to West, to study the social sciences at the Université Nouvelle in Brussels.

The Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles was a peculiar institution within the European educational landscape. Whereas the social sciences were slowly institutionalised within European higher education by the end of the 19th century (Duller and Fleck 2017: 5–6), they represented some of the central courses provided at the Université Nouvelle. In 1888, the rector of the *Université libre de Bruxelles* (ULB), Eugène Van Der Rest, opposed the creation of a sociology chair, arguing that this new scientific field was not yet a distinct area of study (De Bie 1988: 72; De Brouwer and Jottrand 2022: 112). The reservation of the ULB's administration regarding the social sciences, and their positivist methods, were key reasons leading to the foundation of a second university in Brussels in 1894 (Van Rooy 1976; Noël 1988), the Université Nouvelle, directed by Guillaume De Greef (1842-1924), first internationally known Belgian sociologist (Wils 2001: 313), with the help of numerous Belgian socialist intellectuals. In a nutshell, the founders of the Université Nouvelle were mostly socialist men, interested in the development of the social sciences, who felt that the administration of the ULB was too conservative and unable to offer an education suitable for a society facing contemporary social issues. "The teaching of the social science [...] must be considered as a necessity and a benefit"[2], stated Guillaume De Greef in 1894 and, accordingly, a doctorate in the social sciences was created at the Université Nouvelle in 1898.

In view of the disturbed context of its foundation, the Université Nouvelle faced severe difficulties if it were to be regarded as a legitimate institution by the Belgian authorities. As its diplomas bore no legal value in Belgium, the institution struggled to attract Belgian students. To survive in the very congested and competitive Belgian academic market, a small country with already four universities (De Messemaeker and Verbruggen 2019: 797), the Université Nouvelle developed a recruitment strategy targeting foreign students, a migratory phenomenon that intensified at the end of the 19th century (Karady 2002: 47). Between 1900 and 1914, more than 90% of the students at the Université Nouvelle were non-Belgian, sometimes even reaching 99%, such as in 1902[3]. In comparison, the most international university in Belgium was in Liège, with half of its student population being non-Belgian between 1906 and 1910 (De Messemaeker and Verbruggen 2019: 794). Nevertheless, this internationality was also the death knell of the institution. Unlike any other universities in Belgium, the Université Nouvelle remained open during the First World War. When the war ended, after years of administrative struggle with the Belgian authorities and during a time of post-war national union, the Université Nouvelle partially merged with the ULB and finally closed in 1919.

The intersection between a social science-driven institution and an international hub for foreign students led to the unfolding of a peculiar phenomenon that caught our attention: the foreign female students of the Université Nouvelle were, for the largest part, following the social science curriculum. Out of all the female registrations along twenty-five years of the institution's existence, 69% were in the social science. On the other hand, male registrations in the social science studies only represented 36% of the total number of male registrations[4]. What motivated those foreign women to pursue, in

[2] Guillaume De Greef, « La Liberté de la Science », *La Réforme,* 10 janvier 1894, p.1. Text written originally in French, the translation is mine, as for the rest of the quotations in the article.

[3] AULB, 1ZUNB, 247-263, Registration forms of the Université Nouvelle, 1895-1919.

[4] As for January 2023, out of 539 female registrations at the Université Nouvelle, 374 were in a social science or economic science curricula. On the male side, the ratio is of 1018 registrations in social and economic science out of 2818. One registration does not necessarily equal to one student, as a student could register several times during the same academic

such proportion, social science studies? Was this new scientific field more welcoming towards women, less burdened by strong disciplinary traditions? Was a degree in the social science useful in developing their careers? By trying to unravel these various themes, this paper follows a twofold aspiration: first, to better apprehend the realities of female students' migrations at the turn of the century, with a focus on the reasons that led them to leave their country and to matriculate in that peculiar Belgian institution. Second, this article aims at understanding the attraction that the social sciences had on foreign women, questioning their education and professional opportunities, in Belgium or abroad, and asking therefore if this gendered choice of education was constrained or not. At the intersection of the history of migration, the history of gender and the history of science, this work intends to approach the interconnections between a social science education and female student migration at the end of the 19th century.

Although women have traditionally been erased from the history of international thought and international relations (Owens and Rietzler 2021: 2), several women's trajectories can be highlighted by archival materials, as the Université Nouvelle left behind a considerable amount of institutional and students' documentations. Their registration forms include information regarding their name, date and place of birth, nationality, current and past studies as well as their local addresses in Brussels. This material enabled the creation of a database of almost every student who came to the institution during a twenty-five year period[5]. In order to gather private information, this work also makes use of the thousands of letters exchanged between the general secretariat and the students, displaying some of their personal stories and preoccupations. Moreover, the institutional archives also include some students' dissertations, which are especially enlightening to perceive how women approach their own gender condition within their academic work. Finally, each foreigner who came to the Belgian territory had to register with the local authorities, which led to the creation of millions of individual files available in the Belgian police archives. Despite this material, this article does not provide an extensive analysis of the trajectories of every woman who studied the social science in Brussels. Many students did not leave numerous traces of their stay in Brussels, and women even fewer. First, because they often came abroad with their husbands, the archives often revolve around their status as a couple rather than their individual circumstances. Second, the majority of women did not engage in any professional activities after their studies, which remains one of the main means to identify students. Because of this structural archival bias, corresponding to the gendered limitations of the time and because, until recently, women "were [...] not considered legitimate subjects of history" (Chaudhuri, Katz, and Perry 2010: xiv), the female footprints are complicated to follow. As a result, this article focuses on a handful of women for whom information is available, highlighting the trajectories of these often overlooked protagonists in history.

This paper begins by examining the situation of women's higher education in Europe, highlighting the various difficulties women faced and how this led them to travel to complete their studies. This section aims at understanding the Université Nouvelle's position in this complex landscape, and how it successfully attracted numerous foreign women. The second part focuses on the studies these foreign women pursued, namely the social sciences. The "social sciences" is a broad concept still in embryo at the time, and the various scientific disciplines it involved were not equally accessible to

year or across different years. Moreover, students whose gender is unidentified made 191 registrations. Nonetheless, it is important to consider that these numbers (and the rest presented in the article) are subject to slight changes in the future. Indeed, the Belgian administrations did not always correctly spell the foreign names, making their identification and their counting sometimes challenging.

[5] As for January 2023, we have counted 2213 individual students, of whom 366 are women, i.e. 17%.

women. Based on the educational offer of the Université Nouvelle, the social science curriculum means both a degree in "social science" and in "economic science", but this section will analyse the discrepancies between these two curricula, through the lenses of gender. Finally, the article concludes by trying to build a bridge between female students' migrations and the social science studies, two new phenomena at the end of the 19th century. By understanding the entanglements of the social sciences and migration, the conclusion aims at balancing the constraint factors and the new opportunities that early female higher education represented, but also, at questioning the active role foreign women played in the institutionalisation of the social sciences.

"REGRET AND FEAR": THE ADMISSION OF FEMALE STUDENTS IN EUROPE AND AT THE UNIVERSITÉ NOUVELLE

The educational path of Maria Skłodowska, better known as Marie Curie, was far from unhindered and illustrates the many obstacles women faced while trying to access higher education at the turn of the century. She and her sister, Bronislawa, first had to enrol in a clandestine Warsaw structure, the *Flying University,* a patriotic institution fighting against the russification of the Polish territory, where many women trained. In 1891, she then left Poland to complete her education in Paris, as almost every female student of the Flying University did (Bartnicka 2014: 27–28). A complete education would indeed have been almost impossible in her home country, as women were not allowed to study in Russian Poland until 1915 (Lišková and Holubec 2020: 187).

In 1906, a former female student of the Université Nouvelle asked for a recommendation to enter the University of Freiburg, stating that "the admission of foreign women to universities in Germany is very difficult, almost impossible"[6]. Indeed, the Polish women were not the only ones struggling to enter universities, and issues regarding women's education rose in every European country. In Austria and Germany, women could not become regular university students before the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century, depending on the university's regulations (Pfefferkorn 2017: 122). The latest to accept women was the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität of Strasbourg, in 1908 (Hillenweck 2014). In contrast to Central Europe, South-Eastern European countries, with their rather new higher education institutions more open to reforms, stood out for their relative early acceptance of women in universities: the University of Bucharest and the Serbian *Grandes écoles* have admitted women since the 1880s (Lišková and Holubec 2020: 187). Nevertheless, in Bulgaria, a newly constituted country with only one university in Sofia (founded in 1888), women were not admitted as regular students before 1901, and after graduating, continued to be confronted with many barriers for decades (Daskalova 2004: 92). Moreover, even when women could access higher education classes, they did not have the same opportunities as male students. The Russian example is very telling: whereas Russian women had various training opportunities, with the existence of higher education courses for women - 43% of medical students in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century were female (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009a), these structures could not accommodate every woman leaving high school and wishing to pursue their education. Furthermore, the courses given in these female institutions were less advanced than those given to their male counterparts and very unevenly developed depending on the branch of study (Karady 2002: 53). In 1903, the secretariat of the Université Nouvelle received a letter, confirming this bias: Claudine Antchoukova complained about Russian women's schools giving "no solid knowledge"[7]. Consequently, and like others such as

[6] AULB, 1ZUNB, 322-335, Letter from R. Kowarsky to a professor, 2 September 1906.

[7] AULB, 1ZUNB, 316-321, Letter of Claudine Antchokouva to the administration of the Université Nouvelle, 23 December 1903.

Maria Skłodowska, many Eastern European women travelled to the West in order to complete their education.

At the end of the 19th century, the student migrations indeed materialized in a one-way traffic: from Eastern to Western Europe, drawing a clear pattern of "unequal exchanges" within the European academic market (Karady 2004). Western European capitals, as well as the French and German languages, indeed held a strong "symbolic capital" attracting foreign students (Karady 2002). More precisely, Belgium, France and Switzerland were the main receiving countries of the female student's migration before the First World War, but they were not immune to the debates surrounding female admissions within their university structures. In France, regardless of an early opening, with the example of Julie-Victoire Daubié, the first French woman bachelor of Letters in 1861, the presence of women in universities remained a limited phenomenon (Pfefferkorn 2017: 117). Switzerland was an "ambiguous avant-garde", paving the way in 1860 but only in some universities - Geneva, Lausanne and Neufchâtel-, while the more religious ones in Fribourg and Basel were less prone to organise a mixed education and waited respectively until 1895 and 1905 (Tikhonov 2014). In the same vein, in Belgium, women could enter university from 1880 in Brussels, but the Catholic University of Leuven only accepted them in 1920 (Despy-Meyer and Becquevort 1980: VII). In general, both Belgium and Switzerland, two small countries with numerous universities, were more welcoming towards foreign female students, because the national higher education offer largely exceeded the national demand, and universities needed to extend their students' recruitment beyond the country's frontiers. Nevertheless, although foreign students were appreciated, their presence had to be regulated: in order to avoid overflowing the national professional market, foreign students obtained a special type of diploma that granted no benefit to the Belgian territory, especially in regard of the liberal professions (Dhondt 2006: 120).

The Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, a new university facing four others in Belgium, clearly aimed to attract female students. During his speech at the inaugural conference of the Université Nouvelle, on the 25th of October 1894, Edmond Picard, one of the founders, declared:

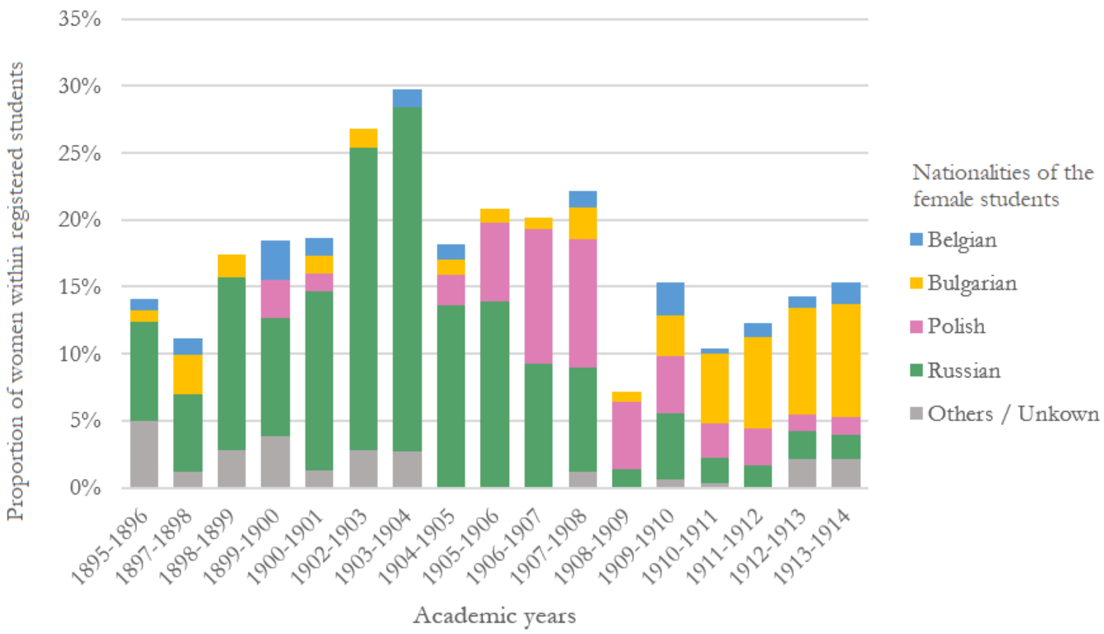
> "Until now, Women have only been admitted to universities with a reservation that lead to regret and fear. It is natural that this attitude should change […] Our sisters will find [at the Université Nouvelle] the serene and fraternal hospitality which is due to them and [we] need to have, no longer simply instruments of pleasure and housewives, but true and trusting collaborators […]"[8].

This hearty welcome towards women bore fruit, since they represented, on average, 17% of the students at the Université Nouvelle before the First World War. During the same period of time, at the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), the main university in Brussels, the number of female students was much lower: in 1913, only 111 women were enrolled out of a student body of more than

[8] Gallica, Correspondance et Papiers Elisée Reclus, t. VII., Edmond Picard, « Le But, les tendances, l'organisation de l'Université Nouvelle – discours prononcé par M. Edmond Picard à la séance solennelle d'ouverture le 25 octobre 1894 », *L'Université Nouvelle, organe de l'Ecole libre d'enseignement supérieur et de l'Institut des Hautes études de Bruxelles*, 9 December 1894.

a thousand and, in 1919-1920, women represented only 7.9% of all the students (Uyttebrouck 1984: 18; Gubin and Piette 2004). The vast majority of the female students at the Université Nouvelle were non-Belgian. If this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the Université Nouvelle was an institution oriented towards international students, it is important to note that Belgian women faced additional barriers to enter universities. Since 1890, a complete diploma of secondary education was mandatory in order to register within universities, which was not available to Belgian women. Therefore, they were required to pass a certification in front of a jury before being able to go to the university. This situation ended in 1920, when the secondary schooling systems for men and women were unified in Belgium (Despy-Meyer and Becquevort 1980: X–XI). Swiss women were confronted with the same types of difficulties, which also explains the prevalence of foreign women within the higher education institutions (Tikhonov 2014).

Figure 1: Proportion of women within the registered students, with their nationalities, at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, from 1895 to 1914



Regarding the nationalities of foreign women, the situation at the Université Nouvelle was quite similar to other Western universities at the time, where the vast majority of international female students came from the Russian Empire (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009a). At the Université Nouvelle, foreign women mostly came from Russia (40%), Bulgaria (26%) and Poland (18%)[9]. However, 80% of Bulgarian women came after 1910[10], concordantly with the expansion of a female student body in Bulgarian universities (Sretenova 1994: 872). Amongst female students of the Université Nouvelle,

[9] The polish students of the Université Nouvelle, for the vast majority, self-identified as « Poles » in their registration forms, although Polish territory was scattered between the Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian Empires before 1918.

[10] AULB, 1ZUNB, 247-263, Registration forms of the Université Nouvelle, 1895-1919.

most numerous were those of Jewish heritage, coming from the Russian Empire[11]. In 2009, the historian Natalia Tikhonov-Sigrist estimates at 60% the percentage of Jews among Russian students in Switzerland and Belgium between 1870 and 1914 (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009b: 118), which is consistent with the two thirds of Jewish Students within the foreign students who came to Paris from Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, according to Victor Karady. The high proportion of Jews from the Russian Empire in Western universities was due to the *numerus clausus* they were victims of since 1887, limiting their admission to a quota in universities (Gouževitch and Gouževitch 2002: 122). Moreover, pogroms and persecution were still common in the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century, leading many Jewish people to choose the path of permanent emigration (Karady 2009). Finally, the Jewish population of the Russian Empire was actively seeking education as having a doctor's degree allowed them to live outside their confined areas or to have a well-paid job. The proportion of educated Jewish women was even higher than Jewish men: on the one hand, Jewish families preferred to send their daughters to secular Russian schools, while their boys were destined to undertake traditional religious studies; on the other hand, there was no *numerus clausus* in Russian female high schools (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009a).

The Jewish community was not the only one marginalized within the Russian Empire and seeking refuge in Western universities. Foreign students in France, Belgium and Switzerland were often recruited among minorities living in Russia, such as Poles, Armenians, Georgian or Germans (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009a). At the Université Nouvelle, only five registered women were German, two were Georgian, none were Armenian but Polish women came to the Université Nouvelle in large numbers after 1905. This increase in Polish women can be explained by the political turmoil of the Revolution of 1905 and its fallout, leading to a massive emigration of the youth and political opponents from the territories controlled by the Tsar (De Messemaeker and Verbruggen 2019: 795; Weill 2009: 191). Belgium, which had an established reputation as a liberal shelter for political refugees after welcoming Karl Marx, Victor Hugo and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in the 1850s, was already an attractive destination for Polish patriots or Russian political exiles (Stengers 2004: 341). Moreover, the Université Nouvelle, with its connection to the Belgian Socialist Party and the École russe des Sciences Sociales de Paris – an institution originating from excluded Russian intellectuals (Gutnov 2002), such as Maksim Kovalevsky who gave lectures for years at the Université Nouvelle – was strongly attractive for these political and ostracized communities. Angelica Balabanoff, one of the pioneers of European socialism and the only female member of the International Socialist Bureau alongside Rosa Luxemburg, studied at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles from 1897 to 1899. In her memoirs, she explained her decision to go there in these words:

> "At that time, most Russian high school students went to the University of Zurich, but one of the girls [...] told me about a university that immediately fired my imagination - the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles. Until then [...] I had never met anyone who openly declared himself a socialist or anarchist. In Brussels, there was a place where such people lived, where they expressed themselves freely, where they were admired and respected, and where students from all over Europe came to sit at their feet. As this girl described to me the life of the students, their

[11] It is difficult to assess, with certainty, the percentage of Jewish students at the Université Nouvelle. In some few cases, Jewish students put as their nationality in the registration forms "Israelite" or "Jew". In the police archives, it is sometimes specified when the foreigner is of Jewish faith. The names of the students can also help to determinate their religion.

freedom to investigate, the men who taught there, I realised at once that it was Brussels rather than Zurich that I should go to" (Balabanova 1981, 32–33)[12].

From what the archival materials display, women seemed to be fairly treated at the Université Nouvelle. Indeed, while universities were accessible to women, it did not always mean that this feminine presence within science networks was appreciated. Going back to Marie Curie's example, the controversy surrounding her candidacy in 1911 at Académie des Sciences, reluctant to nominate a woman – despite her Nobel Prize and Davy medal – proves the persistence of sexist obstacles (Pigeard-Micault 2017: 1273). In 1893 at the Parisian Sorbonne, a students' group was protesting against the "invasion of women" in Letters studies (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009b: 124). In a 2020 article, Monika Bednarczuk shares the testimony of a female Russian student, Inna Kalinina, in Geneva in 1887, who was sexually harassed during the lessons by a male student who went under the bench to look at her legs. She then left the class with another female student, the Polish Józefa Krzyżanowska, under the shouts of protesting classmates and kissing sounds (Bednarczuk 2020: 14). Years later, in 1895, Inna Kalinina became a student at Université Nouvelle but no trace of similar events can be found in the archives. In 1894, when a professor at the Sorbonne was still opposed to the entry of women into universities, several female students were highly esteemed by the teachers of the Université Nouvelle. Angelica Balabanoff noted in her memoirs that she was Elisée Reclus' favourite student (Balabanova 1981: 36) and that her literature professor, Célestin Demblon, always spoke highly of her and followed her work until his death in 1924 (Balabanova 1981: 36–39). In 1911, Paul Reclus, professor of geography, wanted to give a grant to a polish student in the social sciences, Zofia Unszlicht, insisting that "of all the students [...] Miss Unzlicht is one of the most intelligent and hardworking"[13].

In addition to the lack of evidence of discrimination endured by women, several other elements seemed to indicate that the Université Nouvelle was rather welcoming to foreign women. First, foreign women were encouraging each other to come to the Université Nouvelle: for example, in 1916, Marthe Schoppof came to the Université Nouvelle being "sent by" a former student, Maria Liloff[14]. Second, numerous female students came with their husbands, or another female family member. This "chain" migration is very typical of the Jewish community, displaying their will to emigrate permanently (Falek-Alhadeff 2011: 141), but could also emphasise the existence of informal networks, with close friends or family members advising each other about universities accepting foreign women. For example, Zofia Unzslicht arrived in Brussels in January 1907[15], followed by her two sisters, Melanie and Stefania, in May 1907[16]. All three enrolled at the Université Nouvelle in the social science curriculum, but Melanie only stayed for one year, while her two sisters stayed for three years. Zofia even resumed her studies in economics two years later, in 1911-1912[17]. Esther and Rachelle (Richa) Lipnik, two sisters born in Grodno in 1883 and 1884, arrived in Brussels as a pair

[12] The book was originally written in English in 1938. However, we could only access the French translation of the book made in 1981. This is, therefore, a personal translation from French to English.

[13] AULB, 1ZUNB, 176-183, Letter from Paul Reclus to Arthur Hirsch, 4 February 1911.

[14] AULB, 1ZUNB, 205-218, Letter from Joseph Octors to Guillaume De Greef, 11 December 1916.

[15] Archives Générales du Royaume (AGR), Fonds de la Police des Étrangers (PdE), 831844 Sophie Unszlicht. City of Brussels, Information sheet, 11 February 1907.

[16] AGR, PdE, 838305 Mélanie et Stéphanie Unszlicht, City of Brussels, Information sheet, 13 May 1907.

[17] Later on, Zofia and Stefania (who became Brunowa, following her marriage to the communist journalist Julien Brun), became active members of the Polish Communist Party together with their brother Józef. In 1937, Zofia and Józef were sentenced to death during the Stalinist purges.

in October 1903 to attend, initially, courses at the ULB,[18] though both subsequently enrolled in the social science program in 1903-1904 at the Université Nouvelle[19]. Esther married the Russian engineer Boris (Ber) Woulbroum and their family settled in Belgium[20]. Finally, the two cousins, Adèle and Régina Plonskier, took social science courses at the Université Nouvelle between 1905 and 1907 and lived together[21].

Another female mutual aid network surrounded Jozefa Joteyko. Born in in 1866 in Poczujki (in current Belarus), Joteyko, who studied in Geneva, Brussels and Paris and earned a PhD in Medicine, was indeed actively recruiting female students to the Université Nouvelle. In 1898, she became a lecturer in physiology in 1898 at the ULB, where she was appointed director of the laboratory of experimental psychology and also worked at the Solvay Institute of Physiology (Wils 2005). Joteyko founded an International Faculty of Paedology in Brussels (Löwy 2005: 149) that maintained strong connections with the Université Nouvelle. In June 1912, Joteyko intervened with the administration of the Université Nouvelle to reduce the registration fee of the Polish student, Marie Winska, who, for lack of funds, had to stop her studies in social science[22]. She also recommended to the administration Kato Mikeladze, a young Georgian woman[23]. Finally, Joteyko helped to organise the lectures of two Polish female scientists at the Université Nouvelle[24], Wanda Szczawinska, about childcare, and Michalina Stefanowska about physiology.

The migration of female students at the turn of the century was rooted in a double discrimination, being a woman, and also often being a member of a marginalized group, especially the Jewish community. Beyond the optimistic image of the construction of an European intellectual space, student migrations were often, conversely, the result of constraints and exile strategies. While the Université Nouvelle appeared as a welcoming host institution for women rejected from their national structures, leading to family or group emigration and recommendations between foreign women, the studies that foreign women underwent at the Université Nouvelle revealed, nonetheless, that the institution was not immune to several gender bias.

"JOURNALIST, WRITER, EDUCATOR, ETC.": WOMEN STUDYING SOCIAL SCIENCE

At the end of the 19th century, female students were scattered among three main scientific fields within European universities: medicine, natural sciences and letters. Since women were perceived as "naturally" inclined to heal and care, medicinal professions were more rapidly accessible to them, whereas letters' studies offered the possibility to become teachers, as well as being a typical part of the bourgeois education (Puche 2021: 6; 2022: 93). In contrast, the law sector was mostly closed to women (Tikhonov-Sigrist 2009b: 65), as the Belgian example of Marie Popelin illustrates: doctor of law in 1888 from the ULB, she was never able to practice law during her lifetime. Women were only allowed to become lawyers in Belgium in 1922 (De Bueger-Van Lierde 1972). However, because a social science education and its degrees were still very rare in higher education, there is little data about women and the social sciences at the time. In her work about female students at the ULB,

[18] AGR, PdE, 719363 Boris Woulbroum, Commune of Ixelles, Information sheet, 10 September 1903.

[19] AULB, 1ZUNB, 270, Course registration book, 1903-1904.

[20] AGR, PdE, 719363 Boris Woulbroum, Naturalization act of Esther Lipnik, Watermael-Boisfort, 1 October 1928 & Naturalization act of Boris-Ber Woulbroum, Watermael-Boisfort, 11 August 1928.

[21] AULB, 1ZUNB, 271-272, Course registration books, 1905-1907.

[22] AULB, 1ZUNB, 18-32. Letter of Jozefa Joteyko to Joseph Octors, 4 June 1912

[23] AULB, 1ZUNB, 18-32. Letter de Jozefa Joteyko to Guillaume De Greef, undated.

[24] AULB, 1ZUNB, 33-40. Letters of Charles Van Borren to Joseph Octors, 14 June 1909 and 23 May 1910.

Andrée Despy-Meyer notices, with surprise, that many of them registered at the École des sciences politiques (School of political sciences) even though "this school grants very few career opportunities to women". Unfortunately she does not extend on this matter (Despy-Meyer and Becquevort 1980: XIV). This next section is therefore an attempt to understand the attraction of social science studies for women at the turn of the century, from the case study of the Université Nouvelle.

As explained previously, foreign women at the Université Nouvelle were mostly following the social science curriculum. This phenomenon can first be explained by the educational offer of the university. The faculties of sciences, medicine, or letters, which hosted the majority of female students, closed in 1899. For example, Maria Ulyanova (1878-1937), Lenin's younger sister, enrolled at the Université Nouvelle to study natural sciences during the academic year 1898-1899. Nevertheless, after unsuccessful attempts to have the diplomas of the Université Nouvelle officially reckoned by the Belgian authorities, the administration of the Université Nouvelle decided to restructure its educational offer and to focus on a handful of faculties – social science, economic sciences, and law – and closing the others. As law remained rather inaccessible, women were directed towards a training in the social or economic sciences.

However, women tended to pursue the social science curriculum and not economics. Out of all female registrations in social science studies, only 12% were in economic science. On the other hand, 64% of male registration in the social science was in economics. In fact, economic studies were specifically designed to prepare the future public servants of new Eastern European countries. For example, between 1898 and 1910, the Bulgarian government funded 451 grants for Bulgarian students to study abroad, in order to train the future public servants, doctors and engineers of the country (Karady 1998: 96). More precisely, economics was conceived in 1909 by the Université Nouvelle's administration with the help of a former Bulgarian student, Philippe Panayotoff, with the precise goal of training professors, public servants of the Ministry of Commerce, and economic journalists (Elmer 2022: 185–86). These professions were not accessible to women, which explains their absence in this field. More generally, economics, like history (Smith 1995), was still widely perceived as a masculine discipline, displaying the persistence of informal masculine spaces within universities open to both genders. Angelica Balabanoff explained in her memoirs that, after two years of study at the Université Nouvelle, she decided to pursue her education in political economy in Leipzig. She wrote:

> "There were a few women among the students, but they were subject to special regulations. It was probably the combination of three circumstances that made me the object of special attention: I was a woman, a Russian, and I did not want to study arts and letters, but political economy. I found out that I needed a signed permission from each professor to attend his classes and that the more conservative he was the less likely I was to get it [...] As a woman and a graduate, why would I still spend time at university? And above all, why did I want to study political economy?"(Balabanova 1981: 43–45).

If women were not studying economics, what was the content of the "social science" lessons they attended? The social science curriculum at the Université Nouvelle was organised according to the scientific conception of the rector, Guillaume De Greef. Inspired by Auguste Comte's classification of the sciences, De Greef saw the study of social science as a progression between scientific disciplines, from economy to genetics, aesthetics (art studies), collective psychology, ethics, law, and finally, politics, while sociology was the link between all the various social science disciplines[25].

[25] AULB, 01Q/5036, Guillaume De Greef, *Précis de sociologie*, Paris, Felix Alcan, 1909, p. 9.

Scientific disciplines such a physiology, in which he included pedagogy and paedology (studies of the child) were not, according to De Greef, actual social sciences but necessary fields to know before approaching social science[26]. More specifically, in order to obtain a degree of doctor of the social sciences from the Université Nouvelle, students had to pass exams in sociology, criminal sociology, geography, physiology, philosophy, political economy, statistics, evolution of legal institution, and biology. The diploma of doctor of economic science was more oriented towards political economy, evolution of credit, accounting, and commercial law[27]. In other words, the diploma in social science that the foreign women of the Université Nouvelle pursued offered a broad transdisciplinary education across an extensive spectrum of human science disciplines, which was however difficult to translate into professional opportunities. However, what professional perspectives could women with a social science education expect to achieve?

In January 1913, the secretary of the Université Nouvelle, Joseph Octors, explained to a young woman named Marie-Thérèse Koerner that she could be interested in a training in the social sciences “for a career as a journalist, writer, educator, etc."[28]. Octors was not wrong in his enumeration. Indeed, two main opportunities existed for women trained in the social sciences: first, to become a schoolteacher or a teacher, especially in girls’ school, and second, to use their knowledge to approach their own gender conditions, sometimes by journalistic mediums.

The increase in young women’s schooling had made teaching a widespread career option for women. As such, several female students at the Université Nouvelle were connected to the networks of Belgian pedagogue Ovide Decroly (1871-1932), founder of several schools at the beginning of the 20th century in Brussels. Decroly introduced innovative teaching methods, based on a renewed pedagogy and scientific methods, with the goal of ensuring the children's happiness, self-sufficiency, and moral qualities (Wagnon 2016: 127). Numerous links existed between the Université Nouvelle and Decroly’s networks: on the one hand, Decroly’s pedagogues often gave lectures there, and on the other hand, Decroly encouraged the female teachers employed in his schools to attend classes at the Université Nouvelle, such as the Belgian Germaine Geelens who joined the Université Nouvelle in 1911 (Smolski 2001: 106).

The example of Emma Vittenberg[29] clearly demonstrates these connections between female employment and the new the social science of pedagogy. Born in 1886 in the parish of Līgatne in present-day Latvia, she was raised in a wealthy family, her father working in agriculture (Marihina and Zigmunde 2015: 62). In 1905, after marrying Eduard Trauberg, she became a home teacher of history and German[30]. The couple left Latvia for Belgium in 1908[31], both becoming students at the Université Nouvelle. While her husband studied law, Vittenberg trained in the social sciences. During her studies, she also worked in Ovide Decroly’s schools (Marihina and Zigmunde 2015: 62). The outbreak of the First World War prevented her from obtaining a PhD and she fled with her

[26] Mundaneum, Fonds d’Henri Lafontaine, 235. “Projet présenté par M. De Greef : Tableau général ou plan d'ensemble sérié des cours et Conférences de l'Institut des Hautes Études et Sciences sociales”, undated.

[27] AULB, 1ZUNB, 435. Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, *13e année universitaire (1906-1907). Programme des cours,* Brussels, Veuve Ferdinand Larcier, 1906.

[28] AULB, 1ZUNB, 322-335. Letter of Joseph Octors to Marie-Thérèse Koerner, 13 January 1913.

[29] Her birth name was Vittenberg, which also could be spelled Vitenberga. She married in 1905, becoming "Vittenberg-Trauberg" and remarried in 1921 becoming Liekne. Today she is better known as Emma Liekne.

[30] AGR, PdE, 878941 Emma Wittenberg. Note of the Brussels police, 10 October 1911.

[31] AGR, PdE, 878941 Emma Wittenberg. Commune of Ixelles, Registration sheet, 12 October 1908.

husband to England in 1914. Back in Latvia in 1917, Emma's studies in Brussels were not recognized, so in 1919, she resumed her study in pedagogy at a Latvian University, but did not graduate. However, she became, in the same year, the head of a female secondary school in Riga, a position she held for nearly 20 years until the outbreak of the Second World War, during which she was executed by the Nazis with her family[32]. During her career, she attended the international congress of language teachers held in Paris in 1937, as well as the international congress of secondary school teachers in Riga in 1933. She also wrote several articles on pedagogy, the education of girls, and the importance of language learning, using her education in Belgium to compare the situation in Latvia and in Belgium. Her tragic path emphasises the difficulties students could face when returning to their home country with a foreign degree, especially in the "social sciences", a very new discipline.

The social science curriculum was also one of the first levers that women used to discuss their own place in society. The example of Emma Vittenberg, who addressed the education of girls through her work, shows that pedagogy was already a means of addressing the issue of gender. Kato Mikeladze used her studies in the social sciences at the Université Nouvelle to develop a more distinct feminist perspective. Born in 1877 in Kutaisi, in actual Georgia, Mikeladze arrived in Brussels in 1910, after studying in Moscow, to take courses in the social sciences at the Université Nouvelle. After living in Paris, she returned to Georgia where she founded a women's league and a newspaper, *The Voice of Georgian Women*, through which she helped to elect five women to the Georgian parliament in 1919, during the country's first democratic elections. In this newspaper, Mikeladze analysed and compared the different legal provisions concerning women's rights. Already in 1898, she wrote that science demonstrates that the discrimination endured by women comes from economic and political inequality and not from a lack of agility or intelligence. Mikeladze died in 1942 in poverty and anonymity, twenty years after having been excluded from the Georgian writers' union for having criticized some male writers on their ways of describing women only as mothers or prostitutes (Barkaia and Waterston 2017: 28–30).

The connections between the social sciences and the issues endured by women unfold clearly in the intellectual production of female students. Within the twenty-five years of the Université Nouvelle's existence, only 60 student dissertations (namely an end-of-study written work, in order to obtain a doctoral degree) were preserved in the archives. Among these, seven dissertations were written by women, and four of them addressed gender issues directly. After studying the economic sciences, Hélène Bornstein submitted a thesis in 1910 entitled "La femme dans l'industrie" ("The Woman in Industry"), a pamphlet on female workers which concluded that "the dignity and freedom of women" must be achieved through their work and under socialist conditions[33]. In order to obtain a doctorate in economic science, Debora Rabinovitch defended, around 1914, a thesis on the "protection of maternity", in which she advocated for a maternity insurance to protect all mothers, even working ones[34]. For this thesis, the administration of the University asked Jane Brigode, a liberal and feminist politician, and member of the Belgian League for Women's Rights (Jacques 2006), to be a member

[32] AGR, PdE, 878941 Emma Wittenberg. Considered by Nazi Germany as a communist, she was shot on March 27th 1942 in the Bikernieki Forest in Riga, shortly after the execution of her husband and son (Marihina and Zigmunde 2015: 66). Emma Liekne's affiliation with socialist and communist ideas is, however, uncertain, although both her husband and her son certainly were. The Russian police nevertheless warned the Belgian police in 1908 that she had been a "member of the socialist-revolutionary party". (Letter from the Deputy Director of the St. Petersburg police to the Director General of the Brussels Public Security, October 23, 1908).

[33] AULB, 1ZUNB, 478. Hélène Bornstein, *La Femme dans l'Industrie,* 1910, p 149.

[34] AULB, 1ZUNB, 534.Debora Rabinovitch, La protection de la maternité comme problème de la politique sociale, 1914.

of the jury[35]. Marthe Schopoff presented a dissertation at the end of the war, in 1919, on the education of women through literature. She considered that the woman, after having "freed herself from the humiliating yoke that the secular prejudices had inflicted on her" must continue to seek the "ideal of the manners"[36]. Finally, in 1912, after a social science curriculum, Zofia Unzslicht investigated the economic conditions of crime. A large part of her work therefore focused on prostitution caused by economic conditions, and she claimed: "to cure the woman it is necessary to assure her needs and to provide her with the resources that she draws from the prostitution, deprived of other means of existence"[37].

In summary, women's choice of training at the Université Nouvelle was very limited, with the absence of medical or natural sciences studies. Deprived of the opportunity to become a lawyer or a public servant, women were left with only one curriculum: social science. With this education, women specialized mostly in children's and girl's education, which were not even proper social sciences, according to De Greef's scientific classification. In other words, women were confined to a narrow and less prestigious scientific and professional direction. However, these constraint factors should lead us not to overlook the positive aspects that some trajectories have shown. As demonstrated by Angelica Balabanoff's example, women at the Université Nouvelle could still pursue an education that was almost impossible to access in other higher education structures, such as political economy lessons. Furthermore, women could discuss their gendered condition within university structures, at a time when they struggled to even be admitted as regular students. The intersection of gender issues and social science studies at the end of the 19th century reveals a very ambivalent conclusion: although it was one of the few options available to them, it still enabled women to find a place and to have a voice in a very masculine scientific setting.

CONCLUSION: FOREIGN WOMEN TRAINED IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE, AN UNPRODUCTIVE PHENOMENON?

When Christine Velitchkova emotionally recalled her time as a student in Brussels, while being a mother of three, she highlighted the feeling of freedom and happiness foreign women felt studying abroad. Even though European universities were reluctant to admit women, female students were warmly welcomed at the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles, both as women and as foreigners, and could follow classes traditionally restricted to men, such as political economy. However, this happy outcome should not overshadow the several discriminatory policies that underlie these hindered female paths towards higher education. Foreign female students at the Université Nouvelle were, indeed, primarily coming from Eastern Europe, where they could not access university and, in addition, they were often members of marginalised communities, especially the Jewish one. Moreover, the fact that the Université Nouvelle effortlessly opened its doors to foreign women should not only be perceived as a selfless decision purely based on internationalist and feminist ideals, but also as a very pragmatic play from an outcast institution in order to secure students' registrations. Finally, women's choice of a field of study was influenced by their place in society and most women still chose to study a discipline that suited their gendered condition. At the Université Nouvelle, because the number of faculties was limited, the female student body was concentrated in the social science curriculum, which was a new field at the forefront of this peculiar institution's scientific agenda. Trained in pedagogy and education, women could use their education mostly to become

[35] AULB, 1ZUNB, 205-218. Letter of Joseph Octors to Jane Brigode, 9 December 1915.

[36] AULB, 1ZUNB, 540-541. Marthe Schopoff, *Esquisse littéraire et éducative,* 1919.

[37] AULB, 1ZUNB, 508. Zofia Unszlicht, *Des conditions économiques de la criminalité,* 1912, p 26.

teachers in schools, often schools for girls, while also having the opportunity to speak about their female condition within their university work.

However, as occurred with Christine Velitchkova, most women who studied the social sciences at the Université Nouvelle did not make use of their education and did not subsequently pursue any professional activity. Actually, foreign women stayed on average only one year at the Université Nouvelle and often left without any diploma (Kympers 2012: 149). Does it mean that this social science training for foreign women was merely an incidental effort that bore no fruit? Clearly, according to the Belgian authorities, it was. Such an institution seemed to bring nothing to the Belgian civil society: it educated foreigners and women, neither of whom were able to practice in the Belgian territory; and most of all, it trained *social scientists,* a new type of scientific persona without any clear career path. The education of foreign female social scientists must therefore have seemed, for many actors of the time, a pointless and useless occupation. As a result, Belgian authorities repeatedly refused to consider the Université Nouvelle de Bruxelles as a legitimate higher education institution.

Nonetheless, such a perception is flawed; these foreign women had an impact on the course of the feminisation of higher education in Europe as well as on the institutionalisation of the social sciences within these structures. Because they represented no threat to the professional market, and, therefore, seemed inoffensive to the patriarchal order of Belgian society; foreign women were more easily accepted within Belgian universities than Belgian women, and the same phenomenon can be perceived in Switzerland (Tikhonov 2014). While Belgian feminism, largely coming from a bourgeois upbringing, was mostly focused on women's political rights (Jacques 2009: 7–15), foreign women fought for their right to education (Kołodziejska-Smagała 2022), and by doing so, they helped to open the way to a truly mixed-gender higher education. Moreover, their studies in social science demonstrate their resilience, their adaptability, and their desire to be educated. Turned down in most universities, unable to freely choose their career, women had to make the most of what they got, and they did not refrain from training in a still new discipline, whereas their male counterparts were following more typical educational paths. Therefore, whereas it is difficult to show with certainty a positive outcome from the emergence of the social sciences for female education and professionalization, except for some glimpses shown in this article, it seems undeniable that these foreign women helped to institutionalise these new disciplines. Nowadays, the social and human sciences witness more female students than males (Huang et al. 2020) and perhaps this phenomenon is no stranger to these pioneer women who, either by choice or through lack of choice, became *doctoresses* in social science.

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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

Between universality of science and Western provincialism: Unveiling the "imperial gaze" of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1930-1935)

Marie Linos

Abstract

This paper examines the imperial gaze that the social sciences could endorse during the interwar period, while attempting to establish themselves as a global field. It specifically focuses on the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (ESS), an ambitious scholarly undertaking in the social sciences, edited by economists Alvin Johnson and Edwin Seligman. Fifteen volumes were published between 1930 and 1935 in total. By looking at the ESS' contributors and articles, the paper questions the ambivalence between the universal appeal and rhetoric of this project and the actual outcome, which enforced a core/periphery division in the field of the social sciences. This indicates that, even if the ESS and its contributors defended a progressivist stance regarding colonialism, this scientific enterprise could not escape from the imperial culture that had deeply permeated US and European (social) science.

Keywords

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences – Imperial gaze – United States – Social Sciences – Imperialism – Progressivism - Circulations

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INTRODUCTION

In 1933, the American historian Ralph Gabriel reviewed the seventh and eighth volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (*ESS*) and praised both its quality and ambition:

> "The number and the geographical distribution of the writers is impressive [...] There is abundant evidence that the work is maintaining its high standard of scholarship. The editing is intelligent and the proofreading conscientious." (Gabriel 1933, 526)

However, even though he explicitly referred to its internationality, he criticized what he believed stood for a form of Western narrow-mindedness:

> "The ideology of Russia, and of the Western hemisphere south of the Rio Grande finds almost no direct expression in these volumes, which deal with such inclusive subjects as internationalism, imperialism, and government. The single contributor from Latin America

> presents only a short biographical sketch. The article on the Kuomintang instead of being written by a Chinese intellectual appears over the signature of two Westerners from Nanking University. The long discussion of the Indian question is written by an Englishman. In such a selection of authors the volumes reflect the provincialism of Western civilization" (Gabriel 1933, 527).

This ambivalence between, on the one hand, the international character of the *ESS* which aspires to codify a global social science, and on the other hand, the circumscribed focus on North America and Europe regarding its selection both of topics and contributors perfectly epitomizes the purpose of this paper.

The *ESS*, a colossal work of fifteen volumes, was published between 1930 and 1935. It represents the first attempt to achieve a state of the art in the social sciences on an explicitly global scale. The project was first sketched by American sociologists in the early 1920s, and then supervised by two economists, Edwin Seligman and Alvin Johnson, both trained at Columbia University, where Johnson, then director of the New School for Social Research, was once a student of McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Edwin Seligman. The project was conducted under the auspices of ten U.S. disciplinary associations that delineated *de facto* the boundaries of what was called the "social sciences" during this period, i.e., the disciplines of economics, sociology, political science, anthropology, statistics, social work, history, education, law, and psychology.[1] The choice of the format was not incidental: an encyclopedia, as a genre, necessarily appeals to an imaginary that goes back to the Enlightenment.[2] By claiming this legacy, a symbol of European erudition, the American social scientists stated their intention to assert their intellectual independence, without breaking up with the old continent. Nearly 2,000 researchers, from the United States and abroad, participated in this gigantic undertaking, consisting of approximately 2,000 topical articles and 3,000 biographical notes. Given its stated ambition and unprecedented scope, the *ESS* constitutes a reliable observatory of the social sciences in the interwar period.

By focusing on the *ESS*, this paper exposes some apparent contradictions regarding internationality, universalism, colonialism, and imperialism. As hinted by Ralph Gabriel's allusion, even though the protagonists behind the *ESS* were very vocal about their universalist intentions, the outcome displayed a quite strict definition of international, limited to the North-Atlantic world. Divided in three parts, this paper explores this ambivalence by first, examining the rhetoric of universality that was put forward by *ESS*' initiators and attempting to understand how it helped to put the project in motion. Second, it describes how the protagonists of this undertaking conceived the international sphere, by analyzing the recruitment of the contributors, but also by inspecting some articles in the *ESS*. Third, it tackles the issues of imperialist and colonial ideologies in the encyclopedia, looking into its connections with progressivism in the United States; showing how, despite its universalist pretensions, the *ESS* necessarily carried out what sociologist Raewyn Connell (1997) has called an "imperial gaze" on social science, which has been defined as a structure in which the observed find

[1] The American Economic Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Anthropological Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association of Social Workers, the American Historical Association, the American Psychological Association, the Association of American Law Schools, and the National Education Association.

[2] A reference assumed by the initiators of this project: Memorandum "An Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences", undated [1924] (Columbia University Library (CUL), Rare Books and Manucripts Library (RBML), ESS Records, series I, box 1, folder 47).

themselves defined in terms of the privileged observer's own set of value preferences (Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 1998, 207-208).

This paper is primarily based on archival material, mainly the *ESS* records that are kept at the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library (RBML) of Columbia University, but also some records of the philanthropic foundations which funded the project. It combines both an analysis of these records and of the *ESS* itself, as well as some quantitative insights and descriptive statistics based on a prosopography (a collection of the contributors' biographies). It also relies on recent works that have described the polarization of the social sciences globally and its consequent inequalities, by highlighting the imperialist ideologies, or the political and academic hierarchies, that underlie these knowledge dynamics (Go and Lawson 2017, Rodriguez Medina 2013, Nugent 2010, Steinmetz 2009, Kramer 2002). In that sense, this paper aligns itself with literature on international relations focusing on hierarchy and demonstrating how anti-imperialist conceptions were connected to and fueled euro-centrist assumptions (Hobson 2014, Bell 2019). The paper therefore connects to studies, in the fields of international relations and history, that seek to grasp the re-formulations of universality and internationalism (Gorman 2019, Long & Schmidt, 2005) as well as its tacit or explicit appeal to universality in scientific discourses (Forman 1973, Schroeder-Gudehus 2012). This current work intends to contribute to this valuable scholarship by zooming in on the case of the *ESS*.[3] The historical perspective this paper aims to bring here should, however, document the way global structural inequalities were shaped in the field of the social sciences and how these mechanisms were rooted in a political, economic, and social framework in which politics and science were deeply tied together.

FRAMING THE *ESS*: UNIVERSAL CLAIMS OVER NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The *ESS* took its initial shape in a national context. Indeed, after the First World War, the U.S. social sciences stood out for their institutional organization, the number of their protagonists, the funds they were allocated by the philanthropic foundations, and consequently the prosperity of their intellectual programs. For example, in 1909, already, more than 170 colleges were offering a course in sociology to their students. In 1923, a graduate student could obtain a Ph.D. in social sciences from at least 15 universities in the United States (Young 2009: 96-103). Between 1923 and 1928, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation alone gave more than $20 million to social sciences' research projects (Seim 2013: 207). This institutional dynamism largely explains why a project like the *ESS* sprang up in the United States, where all the conditions for its making (both material and immaterial) converged, and why it could hardly have happened elsewhere at this period.[4] Even though the project was embedded in this U.S. backdrop, its main protagonists immediately deployed a universalist rhetoric, presenting the publication as an international reference work.

Chiefly, the *ESS* was to be used as an affirming tool of the scientific legitimacy and position of American scholars globally at a period when international scientific relationships were redefined. At

[3] Among the very few works that have focused even briefly on the *ESS*, the discussion of its international scope remains very superficial and largely unquestioned. See for example this quote from Lentini (2008): "*Se il centro dell projetta è New York, la proiezione dell'ESS è infatti decisamente* mondiale." ("If the center of the project [was] New York, the projection of the ESS [was] in fact decidedly worldwide").

[4] After the Second World War, the social sciences formed a more established field, and other major publications sprang up whose international ambitions, like those of the *ESS*, were even more asserted. One could think of the *Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (1964), edited by sociologists Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, under the auspices of UNESCO, which was then translated to Spanish (Bayle & Morales 2018).

the inaugural launch of the first volume of the *ESS* in January 1930, American historian Allen Johnson – not to be confused with Alvin Johnson – delivered a speech that clearly emphasized this aspiration:

> “The publication of this scholarly encyclopedia marks a definite stage in the history of the social sciences in this country. It is equivalent to a declaration of intellectual independence, for hitherto such large enterprises have been promoted by European scholars […] But for some time it has been apparent that the old-time deference of American scholars to European masters was passing […] I see therefore in the publication of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* American scholars shaking off their dependence upon the trans-Atlantic world and assuming their rightful place among the scholars of the world.”[5]

Further on in his speech, he did, precisely, connect this national zeal with the universal claims of science, stating: “Self-reliant scholarship does not mean narrow nationalism […] So it is that while this Encyclopedia is American in its origin, in its organization, and in its expression, it is universal in its appeal.”[6] National ambitions were therefore quickly coupled with a rhetoric of universal knowledge that was supposed to assert the scientific character of the social sciences. The reference to “European masters” emphasizes, however, who was specifically pointed out in this discourse. The inclusion of foreign researchers, namely Europeans, was discussed at the inception of the project, so as to claim both its internationality and its legitimacy, and the two were intrinsically linked from the very beginning of this undertaking.

On the level of global scientific relations, American social scientists had, indeed, a decisive move to make. Even though European references works existed (one could think of the *Dictionary of Political Economy*, originally edited between 1894 and 1901, or the *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaft*, periodically revised and which more recent edition was underway – eight volumes between 1923 and 1929 – when the *ESS* was launched), an American addition could, according to the social scientists from this country, nonetheless, offer fresh perspectives on the field largely invested by old European masters, precisely by instilling a cosmopolitan spirit. American economist Allyn A. Young, who was about to accept the offer of William Beveridge to join the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, thus not the most chauvinistic scholar of the United States, captured this in a letter to Edwin Seligman:

> “The three volumes thus far published of the *Handwörterbuch* indicate that it is to be distinctly more German, and less cosmopolitan, than the earlier editions were – and it has always seemed to me that there were somewhat narrowly nationalistic […] It is now recognized in Europe, I think, that in some respects at least the social sciences have made more rapid strides in the United States than in any other country. An American dictionary, summarizing the remarkable progress we have made up to date, would attract world wide interest and attention.”[7]

It is no surprise that American scholars considered themselves as the appropriate emissaries for this international calling in the 1920s. Even though the United States finally took part in the Great War, and the country did not escape the “intellectual mobilization” (to borrow an expression used in the *ESS*: [Lerner] 1930: 189), academics from this country were more eager to restore unruffled global scientific relationships in the years immediately after the conflict. They therefore deployed scientific

[5] A. Johnson’s speech at the ESS reception, undated [31 January 1930] (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 3, folder 7).
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] A. Young: Letter to E. Seligman, 8 March 1926 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 2, folder 2).

diplomacy largely based on the rhetoric of the universalism of science, which in return gave them the opportunity to break up once and for all with the scientific provincialism and inferior position they experienced during the nineteenth century (Chagnon 2018). The *ESS* was therefore a material and scientific expression of these redefining global dynamics. Even if the U.S. did not engage in the international structures set up in the 1920s (such as the League of Nations or the International Labor Organization, for example), several scientific, but also political, networks remained heavily invested in the spheres of international organizations, and its protagonists were proactive advocates of this liberal international spirit (Ollivier-Mellios 2018, Brooks 2015, Williams 1954).

This rhetoric of universality was also deployed to assert the scientific character of this social knowledge. Choosing the genre of the encyclopedia was a way to appeal to the Enlightenment, a moment when this congruence between rationality, science, and universality had been truly celebrated. These universal claims precisely offered social scientists the unique occasion to better establish their legitimacy in the scientific field in general, therefore strengthening their position towards natural scientists (Ross 1991). What was at stake was to ascertain the very scientific nature of social sciences. A letter from the Harvard Law School professor Felix Frankfurter to support the project sent to Edwin Seligman insists on this very idea: “I am sure that you and your associates […] will demonstrate that social problems can be brought under the discipline of a scientific temper as rigorous and as uncompromising as that which governs the so-called natural sciences.”[8] The *ESS* thus promised to satisfy their appetite, both on a global and a local scale, pushing further along the path of professionalization set out in the late nineteenth century (Ross 2003: 205-237). By taking part in this work, social scientists were promoting their disciplines both within the academic spheres, and to a lay audience, therefore actively participating in the more general societal recognition of social sciences, which could only strengthen their own professional position.

The universal claims of the *ESS* must, however, also be considered in regard to its other key protagonists. Firstly, the philanthropic foundations which decided to fund the project. The *ESS* turned out to be expensive; the final cost being around 1,1 million dollars, almost twice what was initially planned. Despite the large amounts at stake, the foundations – mainly the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), respectively contributing up to $675,000 and $275,000 – chose to stick with the project.[9] Among various reasons, the universal aspirations of the *ESS* contributed to this collaboration. The American philanthropic foundations, indeed, completely aligned themselves with the international liberal spirit the *ESS* intended to promote, as their own actions, specifically the ones conducted by the RF throughout the world, which again took place at a moment of redefinition of internationalism’s principles and practices, may be compared to the ambitions the *ESS* outlined (Tournès 2007: 188, Rietzler 2011: 46-47). Moreover, by funding a reference work in the social sciences along the scientific lines they brought to the fore – empirical, inductive research that must contribute to somewhat practical changes in society (Bulmer and Bulmer 1981: 369-370) – the foundations were deliberately endorsing a handbook for future research in this field on a global scale.

Finally, this story would not be complete without considering the interests of the publishing house, Macmillan. After meeting with several publishers, Edwin Seligman decided to work with the

[8] F. Frankfurter: Letter to E. Seligman, 8 March 1926 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 2, folder 14).

[9] Confidential monthly report “Publication projects in general and the ESS in particular”, March 1937, (Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), RF Records, series 200.S, box 329, folder 3924); G. Brett: Letter to F. Keppel, 11 September 1937 (CUL, RBML, CCNY Records, series III, Grant Files, box 139, folder 14).

multinational company, which could secure ESS' sales internationally, therefore ensuring financial profits from various countries and for a longer period. Moreover, having an international publishing home was another way to guarantee a widespread circulation, and to become a reference globally. In this way, Alvin Johnson and Edwin Seligman quickly understood that the universal appeal in tone, that scientific discourses withhold intrinsically, at least in their view, would prove insufficient, and it was to be completed by international recruitment. Alvin Johnson made this apparent to Edwin Seligman, writing that: "Every significant continental name added to our list of contributors will help to create the right atmosphere."[10] And this is what they decided to do.

A PROJECTED MAP OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES' WORLD

In the summer of 1927, after securing most of the funding he was seeking for the *ESS*, Edwin Seligman undertook a journey to Europe to promote the project. After arriving in England, he travelled to Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and lastly, France.[11] Earlier that year, Seligman had written to several European scholars to establish a foreign advisory committee for the publication. Five countries were represented: Germany, England, France, Italy, and Switzerland. The preface of the *ESS*, in the first volume, mentions this trip abroad, explicitly trying to put some emphasis on the international character of the work:

> "In the course of a trip which included virtually all of the important universities from Oslo to Florence, he conferred with hundreds of the most distinguished scholars scattered throughout Europe. He was both astonished and heartened by the enthusiasm that was manifested on all sides, and by the readiness of virtually everyone to lend his hearty cooperation in what was recognized to be not only a gigantic project but one which would, be of great importance to the progress of the social sciences throughout the world." (Seligman 1930a: xviii-xix)

The phrasing reveals a very polarized conception of the world, since all major universities abroad are located between Oslo and Florence, and the endorsement of the scholars coming from these institutions was largely enough to ensure the success of the *ESS* throughout the world. Indeed, almost all foreign contributors of the *ESS* came from Europe: of the 1958 social scientists who took part in the publication, half of them came from the United States and the other half mainly from Europe.

As we can see, only 5% of the whole group of authors (which represents slightly less than 100 scholars) came from countries outside Europe or the United States. Two thirds of this remaining group were from countries that had received the status of dominion as defined by the Balfour Declaration of 1926.[12] The scholars from these countries, besides being white, had been mainly trained in England or in the United States. Some territories such as the African continent (except for South Africa) and the Caribbean islands (except for one Cuban scholar) were even completely excluded. The remaining 33 contributors were mainly from Latin America and East Asia. The largest community from this group was the Japanese social scientists. From the 11 individuals who were born and (at least partly) studied in Japan, nine had previously undertaken studies abroad, mainly in the United States, and four were currently in the United States when asked to contribute to the

[10] A. Johnson: Letter to E. Seligman, 18 July 1927 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 2, folder 14).

[11] Invoices for Seligman's trip to Europe, 27 September1927 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 1, folder 20).

[12] This is, in the case of the *ESS*, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. The Balfour Declaration recognized autonomous communities within the British Empire and conferred them equal status. The dominions, mainly colonies that were ruled by a white European elite, had thus a special form of independence towards the British government.

ESS. This situation exemplifies the way these scientists, coming from non-European countries, were selected. These authors were chosen because of their interpersonal relationships with people closely involved in the *ESS*. This scenario is also true for contributors coming from China, or from Latin American nations.

Table 1: Nationalities of the contributors of the ESS

Country	**Number of contributors**
United States	958
Germany	256
United Kingdom	226
France	122
Russia	62
Italy	49
Austria	42
Canada	40
Poland	32
Hungary	22
Netherlands	18
Belgium	14
Spain	14
Sweden	13
Switzerland	12
Czechoslovakia	11
Japan	11
Australia	10
South Africa	7
Ireland	7
Denmark	5
Norway	5
New Zealand	5
Yugoslavia	4
Argentina	4
India	4
Romania	3
Portugal	3
China	3
Turkey	2
Mexico	2
Chili	2
Cuba	2
Lebanon	2
Finland	2
Latvia	2
Greece	1
Brazil	1
Total	1958

From the 11 contributors from this latter region, three had previous connections with Columbia University, suggesting that they had known Edwin Seligman before they were invited to write for the *ESS*. The recruitment process of these contributors was thus entirely different to the one applied to Europeans: even though the editors obviously reached out to scholars they personally knew, this was not the logic behind the invitation of the circa 900 European social scientists who took part in the *ESS*. This illustrated a strict hierarchy in which Europe represented the center whereas the other regions remained peripheral. European scholars' production appeared as the "implicit reference" to a system of "Euro-normality" that was not at all questioned by the *ESS*' protagonists (Kaviraj 2009: 189). The scientific community displayed in the *ESS* thus delineated a North-Atlantic space geographically speaking, relegating other regions to a subaltern position. The way the main protagonists of the *ESS* envisioned their community shaped a division between a scientific center and its peripheries.

This marginalization was also made obvious by the type of articles that were assigned to the contributors. From the 11 contributors from Latin America, only one, Guillermo Subercaseaux, who worked at that time for the Chilean Central Bank, and who was also Edwin Seligman's friend, wrote a topical article, "Paper Money," while the others were only assigned biographical notices that were brief and less significant. Radhakamal Mukerjee, who was Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology at the University of Lucknow, was also the only Indian contributor who wrote such an article, "Land Tenure in India", a topic he had extensively studied since 1920, the year he received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Calcutta, with a dissertation entitled "Socio-Economic Change in the Rural Indian Community". This means that, not only did these contributors represent less than 5% of the whole group of authors, but also the total amount of their writing was not even equivalent to 1% of the total words assigned in the *ESS*. Additionally, all the contributors coming from these "peripheral" regions were men. Even if women were not excluded from the *ESS* (about 7% of the whole group of contributors, which is low but not insignificant when compared to other major editorial undertakings in this period), they exclusively came from countries in the North-Atlantic region.

Moreover, these researchers were not even invited to write on the subjects that directly concerned the regions they were coming from, as hinted by Ralph Gabriel's review in the introduction of this paper. The editorial team was not completely blind to the issue created by its selection process. For example, the team allocated the introductory part devoted to the development of the social sciences in Latin America to Moises Poblete Troncoso, a Chilean jurist working for the International Labor Organization. Troncoso had accepted the invitation to write it, but submitted a piece exclusively focusing on the social sciences in Chile and Argentina, completely ignoring other countries. Rather than asking him to amend his piece, as he would usually do with other contributors, Alvin Johnson reached out to the American sociologist Luther Bernard. First suggesting that Bernard should fill gaps in the article, Alvin Johnson then simply agreed to have him take care of the whole piece, stating that he will do his best to "try to escape international complications."[13] The editorial team was thus aware of the risks of antagonizing the Latin American scholars by assigning such articles to a U.S. sociologist, but it did not prevent them from doing so.

Other scholars pointed out the absence of complete regions in the articles of the *ESS*. A month after the publication of the first volume, Philip K. Hitti, a historian born in Lebanon and teaching at

[13] A. Johnson: Letter to L. Bernard, 19 April 1929 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series IV, box 1, file 135).

Princeton University since 1926, wrote to Alvin Johnson to cancel his subscription to the *ESS*, explaining that:

> "The Introduction of the first volume covers the development of social thought and institutions practically all over the world with the exception of the Moslem and Arabic world, and that in spite of the fact that the Arabs were the bearers of the torch of culture and civilization for many centuries in the Middle Ages. The article on Agriculture and its different phases deals even with India, New Zealand, Japan, and Latin America, but has hardly a reference to the Near East."[14]

Even though Alvin Johnson defended its work by explaining that the *ESS* was trying to be comprehensive, but would always suffer from some obvious omissions, this statement highlights the inevitable connection between the misrepresentation of contributors coming from certain regions of the world in a work that advertised itself as "international" and the coverage of specific topics related to these same parts of the world.

Figure 1: Table of contents of the article "Government" in the ESS (ESS vol. 7 1932: 8).

8 Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences

GOVERNMENT
History and Theory.......W. J. Shepard
United States.......Arthur W. Macmahon
British Empire
Great Britain.......Harold J. Laski
Dominion of Canada.......Robert A. MacKay
Commonwealth of Australia.......W. K. Hancock
New Zealand.......J. B. Condliffe
Union of South Africa.......Edgar Brookes
Irish Free State.......Andrew E. Malone
British Commonwealth of Nations.......W. Y. Elliott
France.......Maurice Caudel
Belgium.......Maurice Caudel
Italy.......Bolton King
Germany.......A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy
Switzerland.......William E. Rappard
The Netherlands.......A. C. Josephus Jitta
Scandinavian States
General.......Knud Berlin
Denmark, Iceland and Norway.......Knud Berlin
Sweden and Finland.......Georg Andrén
Russia
Imperial Russia.......Paul Gronski
Soviet Russia.......Otto Hoetzsch
Baltic States.......Malbone W. Graham
Succession States.......Robert Braun
Balkan States.......R. H. Markham
Turkey.......Albert H. Lybyer
Spain and Portugal.......José Ots y Capdequi
Latin America.......Herman G. James
Japan.......Kiyoshi K. Kawakami
China.......Arthur N. Holcombe

In his reply to Hitti, Alvin Johnson addressed the issue of the universality in the *ESS* from a new angle. Indeed, if the *Encyclopaedia* had to be international, the situations explained, and the examples given in the articles should also be geographically spread. However, the space limitations prevented the enumeration of all cases from every country Two solutions were available: either to break down general thematic articles by adding subsections for each specific regions (the article on Government, for example, is of that kind, divided into 28 subsections, see figure 1), or to dedicate entire articles to specific geographical areas. Hence, the *ESS* contains such articles as "Chinese Problem," Egyptian Problem," "Near Eastern Problem," "Philippine Problem" to cite a few.

However, this appellation is worth noticing: the description of specific political, social, and economic events that had happened or were underway were indeed precisely framed as "problems", and only

[14] P. Hitti: Letter to A. Johnson, 28 February 1930 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series IV, box 4, folder 144).

regions outside the North-Atlantic world were labelled this way. Even in the 1930s, this choice was challenged. Asked about the list of prospective articles titled "race relations," the historian Charles Beard questioned the pertinence of the word "Problem":

> "Why "Chinese Problem" […] What is a problem? Who makes it a problem. (*sic*) Everything is a problem from the problematical point of view […] A problem assumes a point of view and a solution, real or possible."[15]

Johnson honestly recognized that the title was "lazy," but a way to synthesize the Chinese situation: "We want to concentrate on that nest of relations that come up out of Occidental penetration. The problem is such from our point of view."[16]

The perspective was thus the key: the way these issues were framed remained a fundamental element of the analysis provided. Since most contributors came from Europe and North America, the *ESS* was reflecting, willingly or not, their standpoint. So, under the rhetoric of universality of science, the grounding of scientific practices still displayed deep inequalities, since scholars from what was considered as the core, would impose their categories upon those coming from peripheries. It is thus no surprise that the "Chinese Problem" article begins with this statement:

> "The first of these two problems is one which has repeatedly arisen in Chinese history and is apparently the result of a constitutional malady of the traditional Chinese social and political system. It seems to spring from the inevitable degeneration of imperial dynasties and the consequent incapacity of the reigning houses to produce an indefinite succession of rulers capable of performing satisfactorily the exacting social and political duties required of occupants of the Dragon Throne." (Holcombe 1930a: 431)

Those words were written by Harvard University professor of Political Science, Arthur N. Holcombe, who had travelled to China at the end of the 1920s and had just published a book on the Chinese Revolution. His approach to Chinese politics in the *ESS* must be understood through the faith he had put in Chinese revolutionaries and their ability to reform the country and to move towards modernity. His views on China were, in fact, more nuanced than this statement suggests, and he praised enthusiastically this "scholastic Empire" in which "scholars played a more important role […] than in any other great empire" (Holcombe 1937: 40). But, to Holcombe, as to many of his contemporaries, modernity meant adopting a western-style system, in politics, but also in social and economic fields, informed by the American social sciences. In May 1930, he signed a paper for the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, in which he underlined the importance of Harvard graduates in the Chinese revolution:

> "The extent of their influence surprised me, although it is not surprising that graduates of American colleges should take a prominent part in the revolution, since the most important fact in the whole revolutionary process up to the present time is the seizure of power in China by men with Western educations or under the influence of Western ideas, and American colleges have taken the lead in furnishing the new China with such men and such ideas." (Holcombe 1930b: 983)

Holcombe repeated this connection between a beneficial revolution within Chinese society, and what he envisioned as "the West" at the end of his *ESS* article, reaffirming his faith towards Chinese people

[15] C. Beard: Letter to A. Johnson, 14 October 1930 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series II, box 4, folder Race Problems).
[16] A. Johnson: Letter to C. Beard, 15 October 1930 (*Ibid*).

to “regenerate their state [...] unless [...] their exposure to the influence of the West [would be] thoroughly brought to an end.” (Holcombe 1930a: 435).

Again, these statements capture how U.S. scholars praised cosmopolitanism, but always framed their ambitions to place the United States at the center of a new scientific geography. The openness towards the rest of the world was thus restricted by this “Western” focal perspective, or as Kaviraj would put it, the West acted as the north of the compass.

Figure 2: : Arthur N. Holcombe and Chinese alumni from U.S. Colleges (Holcombe 1930b: 985)

FIRST ANNUAL DINNER OF THE HARVARD CLUB OF NANKING
T. S. Wei, '16, M.B.A. '18, Grad. '19-20; G. L. Chen, M.B.A. '22; Fu-yun Chang, '14, LL.B. '17; Professor A. N. Holcombe; F. S. Chien, '10, Grad. Bus. '10-12; Chien Yang, M.B.A. '18; T. S. Ch'en, A.M. '22, Ph.D. '24; C. H. Chen, '16, Grad. '16-17; K.-L. Lou, A. M. '21; C. C. Tseng, A.M. '24.

PROGRESSIVISM, COLONIALISM, AND IMPERIAL CULTURE IN THE ESS

Arthur N. Holcombe was not at odds with the mainstream of the U.S. social sciences during those decades. His trajectory was even emblematic of this developing field: born in 1884, he graduated from Harvard University with a Ph.D. dissertation in economics, which dealt with the public ownership of telephones. Holcombe later worked for the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission and advocated for several progressive reforms.[17] He maintained a keen interest in politics and juggled with these occasional commitments while teaching at Harvard University. When the Department of Government was established in 1910, he joined it immediately and began to study American political parties (Maas 1979: 278-279). Overall, Holcombe did not stand out from most of the contributors to the *ESS* who were leaning towards the left-wing of the political landscape, an

[17] I use “progressive” as an umbrella term for a different set of various and dynamic ideas that were elaborated at the end of the 19th century in the U.S. and under the same impulses in the social thought, as historian Daniel Rodgers had tried to qualify it (Rodgers 1982).

involvement they often demonstrated by taking an active role in special commissions or other peripheral positions in politics.

Those researchers were not very supportive of colonialism or imperialism and were rather sympathetic towards the independence claims of colonized countries, which they had often visited, as the example of Holcombe shows. These journeys certainly opened them to new cultures and inevitably nuanced their opinions on the alleged superiority of the white man, participating, for example, in the replacement of naturalist explanations with cultural schemes, less racist in their conceptions (Degler 1993). Their perspectives were also aligned with the stated anti-colonial agenda of the progressivist representatives in the U.S., even if literature has rightly complexified the narrative around the equation that linked progressivism to anti-imperialism, showing how key progressivist politicians ultimately promoted imperialism, and how more left-leaning representatives were thus differentiating themselves from a "mainstream" progressivism by adopting a clear anti-imperialist stance (Dawley 2003, Johnson 1995). Other studies have also insisted on the connections between progressivism, pragmatism, internationalism, and this anti-colonial stance that was, if not effectively observed, still highly advertised and a rallying point among its advocates (Throntveit 2008). The article "Indian Question" signed by Henry N. Brailsford, a British journalist, who had visited India in 1930 and became an ardent promoter of Indian independence, contained an explicit statement in that direction: "It is manifest to all but a minority of Englishmen that their direct rule over a subject dependency cannot continue. It is no longer a question whether self-government is desirable; it is inevitable." (Brailsford 1932: 673).

Brailsford was a close friend to Alvin Johnson who stayed at his cottage when he was visiting England during the summer and the two men certainly shared their political opinions.[18] This pledge regarding the independence of India was, however, not accepted by all researchers. George F. Shirras, Professor of Economics at Gujarat College in Bombay, complained about the article to Edwin Seligman, regretting that the editorial team had assigned this paper to a biased researcher.[19] Although Seligman immediately rejected the criticism by affirming his trust in Brailsford's abilities and knowledge,[20] the episode reveals the tensions behind this issue of the independence of colonized countries, a subject that was still debated among social scientists globally.

The main contributors to the *ESS*, i.e., those who wrote numerous articles or topical ones, however, supported the colonized people's cause. Writing about the "Philippine Problem," in which the United States had a direct involvement, the political scientist Roy Veatch, who graduated from the Brooking Graduate School, like many members of the editorial team, concluded with an explicit vow:

> "One may be forced to the conclusion that it [the Philippine problem] never will be permanently solved until the Filipino people become an independent nation able to work out their own destiny in a world which will not require them to appeal to arms either for the achievement or for the maintenance of their independence." (Veatch 1933: 115).

The same could be said for the article "Backward Countries" whose label could also sound very imperialistic. The tone of its author, Melvin M. Knight, an historian also very close to Alvin Johnson, was, however, going against the Dollar diplomacy of the country (Rosenberg 1999):

[18] H. Brailsford: Letter to A. Johnson, 25 August 1934 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series IV, box 2, folder 55).

[19] G. Shirras: Letter to E. Seligman, 27 October 1932 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series IV, box 10, folder 83).

[20] E. Seligman: Letter to G. Shirras, 20 November 1932 (*Ibid*).

> "Considered from this practical angle of neglected opportunities, the connection of backwardness with imperialism becomes clear. Remote peoples—even those living under primitive conditions—are not backward in the context of their own culture. It is only when these regions are brought into the circle of economic imperialism that their neglected economic possibilities take on significance." (Knight 1930: 380)

So, despite the titles of the articles, the content of the *ESS* appeared less colonialist, but the framing remained the same, exclusively focused on what the protagonists called "the West". The other parts of the world, if not completely absent, were only considered from the perspective of the scholars coming from Europe and the United States.

This one-sidedness of the *ESS* is also visible through the topics related to "race relations". The label "race relations" was quite famous during the 1920s and the major American philanthropic foundations were financing studies exploring this issue (Seim 2013: 133-37). The prospective list of entries related to "race relations" (the same Charles Beard received) was almost exclusively sent to white scholars. The only African American scholar who received it was Abram L. Harris, who was finally asked to write the article "Negro Problem," together with the American political scientist Sterling G. Spero. The *ESS* marginalized the Afro-American scholars the same way it did with researchers coming from regions outside the North-Atlantic space: only five Afro-Americans took part in the *ESS*, and Harris was the only one who was assigned a topical article which, again, he had to share with a white scholar. During this period, Harris had been appointed at the Department of Economics of Howard University and had received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. Nonetheless, his selection was most certainly less due to his recognition as a brilliant economist, than to the fact that he personally knew several members of the editorial board, being himself involved in several socialist activists' groups (Genizi 1972: 248-249). Even if the article "Negro Problem" was indeed progressivist in its outline, highlighting how "Negro inferiority" had been wrongly established,[21] the editorial team did not offer Black scholars many opportunities to express their voices in the *ESS*, even though in the 1920s and 1930s, Black colleges were quite numerous (more than 70) and enrollment reached peak levels (Redd 1998: 35, Allen & Jewell 2002: 244-247). Articles related to the notion of race were also all given to white scholars, mainly anthropologists who defied the simplistic racial explanations. However, the invalidation of a truly racist science did not equal the inclusion of Black scholars, whose participation remained therefore incidental.

Besides the marginalization of groups of scholars, and its impact upon the content of the *ESS*, it was the definition of the social sciences themselves that the protagonists of the *ESS* had in mind that enforced another layer to these core/periphery dynamics. When asked to define what "social sciences" encompassed during the discussions preceding the launching of the project, the instigators of the *ESS* remained very vague. Even though the introduction to the first volume opens with a section entitled "What Are the Social Sciences?" written by Edwin Seligman, the characterization was still formulated in very basic terms. Seligman thus simply defined the "social sciences" as the sciences related to the "phenomena of the mind", later calling them "cultural sciences" without giving more precision (Seligman 1930b: 3). This difficulty in settling on a precise definition can be explained by the plurality of the intellectual programs those sciences comprised. What made social sciences stand

[21] The authors write, for example: "The insistence upon white supremacy is based upon the doctrine of Negro inferiority [...] In various mental test Negro groups have scored lower than whites. But detailed and careful analyses of army alpha and numerous other intelligence tests indicate that whatever the causes of divergence in mental scores – and education and economic opportunity seem to be important factors – race offers no clear-cut explanation for them." (Harris & Spero 1933: 353-354)

together was not the topics they would cover – which could be very broad – nor the methodology – which could also be diverse – but rather a common performative ambition towards society in general that could be defined as progressivist.

In 1933, Chicago welcomed the International Exhibition entitled, "A Century of Progress." Obviously, science – in general – had a major place in this exhibition, since it was depicted as the motor of this progress. The American sociologist Howard Odum elaborated a plan in which the social sciences also had their place in the Hall of Science. To Odum, as to many social scientists,[22] science had led to major progress in industry, which completely transformed society, but also led to major societal issues. This was the mainspring of the social sciences: to heal society from its social scars, to establish a true democracy where no one would be left behind. Of course, this story did not seduce the main protagonists of the Exhibition, as it put a damper on the narrative of progress surrounding science and industry and this initiative was simply abandoned (Jordan 1994: 185-190). This episode, however, reveals the conception the American social scientists had of their field: it was a form of knowledge that was elaborated to resolve issues created by industrialization, a conception that has been successfully transmitted until the very present (Connell 1997: 1511).

In *Unthinking Social Science* (2001), Immanuel Wallerstein demonstrates that the concept of "Industrial Revolution" played an important role in generating the inequalities in the field. He argues that the narrative surrounding the "revolution" that took place in Great Britain around the end of the 18th century results from a peculiar perspective focusing exclusively on European history that served the ideological agenda of Europe's hegemony. In the *ESS*, the article "Industrial Revolution" written by the British economic historian Herbert Heaton, then teaching at the University of Minnesota, played indeed a prominent role: it was one of the most referred to articles through the cross-references in the whole publication (with 76 citations). Besides this notion, the fact that the American social scientists conceived the social sciences as a remedy for the problems of industrialized society inevitably impacted the spatial dynamics enforced in the *ESS*. Other countries could potentially have a few scholars studying their society, but as a field, the social sciences were born into industrialized societies and therefore a product of the North-Atlantic world.

Overall, it appears the *ESS* exhibited a more progressivist stance than the "region-problem" label would suggest, but this progressivist pledge was underlain by a narrative which ultimately made the social sciences the very product of Western culture. Combined with the imperial culture that infused the entire American and European society of the period (Kaplan 1993, Go 2013), this perspective imposed a core/periphery perspective on the work which inevitably contributed to the marginalization of certain regions of the world and the construction of the hegemony of others.

CONCLUSION

In 1931, reviewing the first volumes of the *ESS* for the *Annales*, the French historian Marc Bloch commented on the international character of the publication:

> "Most of the members of its editorial board are American: the only language used is English. There is nothing particularistic, however, in the general design of the enterprise. Without losing

[22] Dorothy Ross has convincingly shown how U.S. social scientists addressed what she has called the "crisis of American exceptionalism" trying to "counteract the ill effects of industrialization" (Ross 1991: 96).

> anything of a certain color of soil, which it would have been very regrettable to see dissipating, it is resolutely, healthily international: by the recruitment of its collaborators —if the United States provided the highest number of them, all the other principal nations, beside them are represented —by the choice of the studied questions, which touch the whole world, by the spirit of the study, absolutely foreign to any bias.” (Bloch 1931: 391)

It is well worth noting the choice of Bloch’s vocabulary: resolutely, healthily international. When faced with such a word, one can only conclude that part of the universal ambitions of the *ESS* were achieved, even though only a small portion of the world was involved in its conception. In the tumultuous global political context of the early 1930s, the *ESS* certainly stood out for its internationalist pledge, in the eyes of a European liberal such as Bloch. Indeed, while it emerged in a U.S. context, it was immediately framed into an international setting. To the instigators of the project, this publication should assert the brand-new hegemony of the United States in the social sciences. In a post-war context, the U.S. scholars were in a great position to restructure international scientific relations by playing the card of scientific diplomacy, when Europeans nations were still holding grudges towards one another. The editorial team was, however, very conscious of the necessity to include foreign scholars into their encyclopedia to make it a truly global reference. This explains why nearly half the contributors came from Europe. The scholars from non-Western cultures were, however, completely marginalized. They would represent only a small portion of the contributors and were only asked to write small pieces, mainly biographical notices. The articles related to specific regions outside the North-Atlantic space were also given to U.S. or European researchers who applied their own perspective to the situations they were describing. Indeed, this very narrow recruitment, geographically speaking, for a work that boasted of being international or even universal, inevitably led to content that was also focused on specific issues and parts of the world. This situation was also encouraged by the editorial team, who made clear their intentions to privilege the Western perspective on the world.

In that sense, the *ESS* indeed displayed an imperial gaze. Protagonists of the *ESS* could not escape this imperial gaze as they were embedded in a society largely infused with an imperial culture, as the sociologist Julian Go has shown in his work (Go 2013, Go & Lawson 2017). It explains why this core/peripheries dynamic was established since, according to American or European scholars, the best research – the highest-level works – was accomplished by scholars coming from the North-Atlantic space and therefore, ignoring researchers outside these boundaries had virtually no effect upon the quality of the work. Of course, their own perspective and definition of the social sciences as an industrial product made their assumption regarding their scholarly domination a self-fulfilling prophecy. The perspective these social scientists adopted made them unable to see the social sciences in the “peripheral” regions (at least what they considered to be so) as anything but an “exported” product of Western societies. Moreover, this understanding was even widespread in these non-Western regions. In his piece on the development of the social sciences in Japan, Japanese sociologist Teizo Toda, professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, stated that “Sociology, like other branches of the social sciences, developed under western tutelage.” (Toda 1930: 321) The identification between the social sciences and the West, almost defined as an epistemological category, had thus been accepted outside the quite restrained circle in which it was built and has remained unquestioned for a long time. [23]

[23] For recent debates regarding the Chinese case, for example, see Chen 2021.

It does not mean, however, that the *ESS* reproduced a conservative outlook: actually, the content of the articles was rather progressivist, generally supporting the nationalist aspirations of colonized people and decrying the economic greed of colonial great powers (including the United States). It is worth mentioning that this was not always the case for every scientific discipline. Recently, Davis (2021) has demonstrated how the specialty of international relations in Australia, for example, conveyed a conservative agenda, being largely infused with settler colonial ideas. The *ESS* took an opposite political stance. Still, this ideological agenda could not supersede an imperial complex in which Western societies were embedded and which completely structured their frame of thought. Even though social scientists in the *ESS* were mostly opposed to colonialism and imperialism, it did not prevent them from maintaining a hierarchical conception of the world that impacted the knowledge they produced.

But, as the quote from Marc Bloch demonstrates, the main objectives of the *ESS* regarding its internationality were satisfied. This reference work also epitomizes a crucial moment in the restructuring of the social sciences globally. The leadership of the United States in that field has been achieved during these interwar years, and what happened during the period after the Second World War was only a continuation and a reinforcement of dynamics that had taken root before. Commercially speaking, the encyclopedia sold well, even though it was published during a major and global economic depression. It was even a commercial success in a wide range of countries. China and Japan, for example, became an important market for the *ESS*.[24] A few attempts to translate the work were also discussed, but never came to fruition. The proposals came mainly from Latin America, to translate the publication either into Spanish or Portuguese, and one was formulated by Egyptian officials to work on an Arabic version.[25] So, despite its narrow internationality in practice, the *ESS* was eventually recognized as a reference work even in regions that were left out of its scope. In this, its attempt to codify a certain version of a global science was successful. The analysis of both its contributors and its content, as well as the archival investigation, nonetheless prove that more than a global science, the *ESS* promoted a “globally oriented” social science (Nugent 2010: 7), revolving around a new core: the United States.

[24] R. Hutchinson: Letter to E. Todd, 18 February 1932 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 3, folder 18).

[25] E. Seligman: Letter to N. Butler, 22 May 1934 (CUL, RBML, ESS Records, series I, box 1, folder 11); G. Brett: Letter to R. Fosdick & G. Jessup, 17 January 1945 (CUL, RBML, CCNY Records, series III, Grant Files, box 139, folder 14); H. Latham: Letter to Carnegie Corporation of New York and Rockefeller Foundation, 27 October 1950 (*Ibid*).

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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

“Rigid criteria should not be established”? A history of external peer review in European humanities funding

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Abstract

This article asks when and why external peer review was introduced in the European Science Foundation’s Standing Committee for the Humanities. Based on archival research covering the period 1975-2005, this article finds that 1997 was a key date for the introduction of external peer review in this committee. Up to that year, a lack of selection criteria in combination with highly flexible procedures made it possible for a small elite to allocate funding based on personal convictions and ties. It also finds that external peer review procedures were introduced for three distinct reasons. First, on the level of ideas, external review procedures were linked to accountability, fairness, and transparency. Second, external reviewers could assist the committee members with the logistical challenge of reviewing a growing number of applications. Third, within a changing European funding landscape, optimizing external peer review procedures and expertise was economically opportune for the European Science Foundation. Within historical studies on research evaluation, this economic dimension of the history of peer review has so far been overlooked.

Keywords

European Science Foundation; humanities; research funding; history of peer review

INTRODUCTION

Few scholars nowadays question the importance of grant funding in the academic ecosystem. Like prizes and citations, grants have been part of academic’s “cycles of credibility” throughout the entire 20th century (Latour and Woolgar 1979). Yet the importance and practice of obtaining competitive funding has, over the past half century, significantly changed (Bloch et al. 2014; Hicks 2012). More than ever before, academics are investing time (and money) into funding applications, while grant agencies have become increasingly focused on fair and efficient evaluation practices. This has

[1] The research for this article was made possible by the support of the Flanders Research Council (FWO) and the Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence, where I received a Postgraduate Vibeke Sørensen Grant (2021) to carry out archival research. I would like to thank the editors of this issue as well as the following colleagues for their remarks and supportive criticism: Berber Bevernage, Frederik Buylaert, Eline Mestdagh, Wouter Reggers, Walderez Ramalho, and Kristoffer Kropp. Special thanks go to Catherine Rosbrook, and to Pandelis Nastos and Gjovalin Nikolli for their help at the HAEU.

resulted in a flourishing international “grant industry”, with manuals, reviewing, and consultancy services reaching all corners of the academy (for example Lock 2015).

How did this evolution come about? When were grant-giving practices professionalized, and which factors guided this evolution? This article addresses the history of grant peer review by interrogating how evaluation practices in European humanities funding changed between 1975 and 2005. This thirty-year period is characterized by the internationalization and standardization of science and higher education (Altbach and Knight 2011; Odin and Mancias 2004), the rise of the “knowledge society” policy discourse (Olssen and Peters 2005; Kenway et al. 2006; Seddon 2009), and the institutionalization of external peer review as a central evaluation practice in science (Baldwin 2019; Forsberg et al. 2022; Hansen 2022). This was the timeframe in which ideas – that we now take for granted – about “good governance” in scientific management were still in full development (Stampfer et al. 2010) and during which notions like “conflict of interest” were introduced at different paces across scientific fields (Hauray 2021).

To illustrate how these changes occurred in humanities funding on an international level, this article empirically concentrates on the European Science Foundation’s Standing Committee for the Humanities. The ESF was established in 1974 as an intergovernmental non-profit organization made up of various member organizations: mostly national funding agencies and academies. Its principal objectives were to (i) advance cooperation in basic research, (ii) promote the mobility of research workers, (iii) assist the free flow of information and ideas, and (iv) facilitate the harmonization of the basic research activities supported by member organizations (ESF-311). These goals very much echoed the European Communities’ overarching political ambition to achieve European integration. But while the EC had been somewhat involved in the constitution of the ESF, it had at that time very limited competences in the domain of research policy (Unger 2020; Guzzetti 2000). Therefore, before the European Research Council was established in 2007 (König 2017), the ESF’s Standing Committee for the Humanities (SCH) had, for three decades, been the main international humanities research funding panel at the “European” level.[2]

The article consists of two, chronologically split, parts: the first deals with the period before formal external peer review was introduced in the SCH in 1997; the second with the period following that date. The central question at hand here is *why* external peer review was introduced in the ESF Standing Committee for the Humanities. The turn from internal review and critique practices to external peer review has long been a major occupation among historians of this subject (Csiszar 2016; Barany 2018; Fyfe et al. 2022). Interestingly, the term “peer review” only originated in the mid-1970s in the United States of America, while it took until the late 1970s and 1980s for external peer review to become central to the idea of scientific rigor, and institutionalized in many European journals, associations, and agencies (Baldwin 2019; Forsberg et al. 2022).

Obviously, this story only covers a very specific case study within the history of funding agencies, as it is very explicitly written from the perspective of European-level humanities funding. What is striking, however, is how “late” external peer review was introduced in the SCH, and how quickly it was further institutionalized after 1997. Before that date, a lack of selection criteria in combination with highly flexible procedures made it possible for a small elite to allocate funding (and associated prestige) based on personal convictions and ties. Though it was precisely this lack of criteria that shaped the conditions in which academic inequality could be reproduced, this hyperflexible

[2] Europe here having an extended geographical meaning, reaching north up to Iceland and south to Israel.

framework also – in a more positive interpretation – created an environment in which a practice of "participatory grantmaking" could blossom (Gibson 2017). When external review was finally introduced in the SCH, this was done for three distinct reasons. First, on the level of *ideas*, external review procedures were linked to fairness and transparency. Second, external reviewers could assist the committee members with the *logistical* challenge of reviewing a growing number of applications. Third, within a changing European funding landscape, optimizing external peer review procedures and expertise became a new stream of capital for the European Science Foundation. The history of peer review, here, reveals an *economic* dimension.

METHODOLOGY

Scholars who are interested in the history of funding and reviewing often deal with sources that belong to the category of "academic occluded genres", i.e., those types of texts that "operate to support and validate the manufacturing of knowledge, directly as part of the publishing process itself, or indirectly by underpinning academic administrative processes" (Swales 1996: 46). Since these sources are often confidential or simply not conserved, histories of funding often rely on scattered archival materials, sometimes supplemented by interviews. The archives of the European Science Foundation were, however, fully deposited at the Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence when the ESF was re-branded as Science Connect in 2015. Because of this, the ESF archive provides a unique collection for scholars studying research evaluation in the late 20th century.

To reconstruct the Standing Committee for the Humanities' history, I drew upon the specific sub-section of the ESF archives made by the SCH. More specifically, I consulted minutes of panel meetings, application letters, research proposals, CVs and lists of all panel members, and internal and external reviews of both funded and non-funded projects. Though the materials deposited at the HAEU are not exhaustive – further research could, for example, reconstruct communication between the ESF and national research agencies by looking at the archives of national agencies – this collection still sheds light on the decision-making process and outcomes of the committee. The minutes of SCH panel meetings were especially useful. These were preserved in folders that also include (some of) the preparatory documents for these meetings, allowing me to estimate how many projects were funded by the SCH within this period (a list that categorizes the 273 selected projects with budget estimations is added to this article in table 1; I am certain of all calculations except for the "exploratory workshops" funded by the SCH). During meetings, panelists also regularly discussed the committee's own procedures, as well as broader changes in the European funding landscape and the way they perceived their own organization. This article is therefore largely based on the minutes of the SCH's meetings, and the documents submitted in preparation for these meetings.

Based on the representative lists of the SCH secretary, I also compiled a complete list of all 156 panelists who served as ESF Member Organization representatives between 1976 and 2005. For 107 of them, I have been able to retrieve the CVs they submitted at their entry to the panel, which I have used to track their affiliations and career-stages. Via application files – sometimes added as preparatory material for meetings – I have also gained insight into the forms used to apply (or lack thereof). Because not all applications were attached to meeting files, however, I have not been able to systematically gather data on the profile of applicants.[3] Finally, I conducted interviews with four panelists who served in the early and mid-1990s to finetune and double-check my interpretations of the changing committee procedures. These interviews confirmed that external peer review was introduced only at the end of the 1990s in the SCH, and that during the prior period, panelists were able to put their own proposals on the SCH's agenda.

FROM THE SET-UP TO THE EARLY 1990S

The Standing Committee for the Humanities officially commenced its work in 1978, yet its overarching mission had already been set by a small "Working Group on the Humanities" a year earlier: the committee was to act as a catalyst for European humanities research by sponsoring collaborative research projects on a bottom-up basis (ESF-311, "Meeting 19/01/1977"; "Report 1-2/11/1977"). As a forum organization, the ESF relied on the initiative of the member organizations to put projects on the agenda. In concrete terms, this meant that from 1978 until 2012, the representatives of these organizations met at least twice each year to discuss projects and decide what to fund. In 1978, the ESF gathered representatives from twelve countries (the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Norway, Greece, France, Switzerland, Spain, Denmark, Austria, and the UK), but by 2005 had grown significantly, with the Committee including sixteen additional members from Finland, Portugal, Sweden, Iceland, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Turkey, Estonia, Cyprus, Luxemburg, Romania, Croatia, Bulgaria, and Lithuania.

Table 1: Estimates of projects funded by the European Science Foundation Standing Committee for the Humanities, per category (1978-2012)

Research Networking Programmes (1978-2016)	Networks (1985-2006)	Exploratory Workshops (1978-2013)	EUROCORES (2001-2015)	High-Level Research Conferences (2005-2012)	Forward Looks (2001-2008)
in preparation (1978-1988)	6 (1985-1990)	7 (1983-1987)	9 (2001-2015)	25 (2005-2012)	24 (2001-2008)
4 (1988-1992)	11 (1991-1996)	unclear (1987-1998)			
2 (1991-1992)	17 (1997-2006)	14 (1998-2000)			
21 (1993-2016)		58 (2001-2005)			
		75 (2009-2013)			
TOT 27	**TOT 34**	**TOT 154****	**TOT 9**	**TOT 25**	**TOT 24**
P.P. €175 000*	€100 000	€15 000		€ 25 000	€ 150 000
TOT €4 725 000	€ 3 400 000	€2 310 000		€625 000	€3 600 000

Sources: European Science Foundation Standing Committee for the Humanities, HUM Report 2009-2013, ESF-Online Archives, http://archives.esf.org/home.html, accessed 13/04/2022. Fonds European Science Foundation (ESF), boxes 353 and 328, *Historical Archives of the European Union,* Florence.
* Prices between 1979-1999 in ECU (European Currency Unit)
** Estimation based on SCH minutes of meetings.

[3] This topic could potentially be explored for further research, yet, again, the archives of national funding agencies may be key to fully trace how applications do or do not end up on the SCH's agenda, since these agencies acted as "gatekeepers", too.

During the 34 years this committee was in existence (1978-2012), it ended up funding approximately 273 research projects and distributing around 14,5-16 million EUR (see table 1). It is difficult to precisely calculate how many projects were funded since the source material is only publicly available until 2005 and overviews of smaller projects are at times incomplete, and in any case scattered. The estimated budget also leaves aside the est. 30-45 million EUR the SCH coordinated between 2003 and 2015 for the European Commission in the EU’s *Sixth Framework Programme for Research*.

The “smaller” projects funded by the SCH were mostly “exploratory workshops” aiming at “identifying emerging fields requiring action at a European level”. Source-wise, these projects are more elusive within the ESF archives, because it is often unclear whether they took place once or twice. A handful of these exploratory workshops, however, resulted in a more fully fledged “programme” funded by the SCH. These programmes, known at first as “additional activities”, then as “à la carte programmes”, and eventually from 1990 as “scientific programmes” or “research networking programmes”, were the SCH’s more costly activities, with budgets between 150 and 200k EUR. Together with the funding of large research networks (100 000 EUR on average), this is what the SCH considered to be its core business and where it had its greatest impact (ESF-Archives, “Completed ESF Research Networking Programmes in Humanities”; table 1). In total, the SCH funded 27 programmes between 1978-2015 and 34 networks between 1985 - 2006.

Committee members

Over this period, 156 individual “representatives” – scholars representing their national research agencies – joined the committee. Since CV’s were sent out to all representatives up to ca. 1990, the archives reveal much about the profile of the representatives who entered before that date: it is safe to say these were scholars with a great prestige. This is visible, firstly, because the SCH’s representatives held a significant amount of “scientific capital” in terms of publications, awards, and prizes (ESF-1781 to ESF-1784, “Memberships”; Bourdieu 1986). Moreover, almost all committee members were full professors, and all were, of course, specialized in humanities fields (ranging from history to linguistics, and philosophy to archaeology).

Second, most committee members had close ties to the national research agencies or academies that were member organizations of the ESF before they were chosen as representatives of these organizations. In this sense, they combined their “scientific capital” with “worldly” or “academic capital” in the form of (senior) science management experience (Bourdieu 1988). Thirdly, of all 61 representatives who entered the committee before 1990, at least 39 (63.93%) also held what has been called “cosmopolitan” or “international capital”: “experiences abroad, international networks, language skills and transnational degrees” (Bühlmann et al. 2013; Benz et al. 2021). From this group, 17 (27.87%) representatives had previously engaged in explicit international academic endeavors, such as international societies and associations (table 2).

Fourth, and finally, these representatives’ collective seniority was exceptional. Those members entering before 1990 had, on average, 22.5 years of experience after finishing their doctoral degree. Though academic careers differed tremendously across European countries (Ates and Brechelmacher 2013), in terms of where panel members were in the stage of their career, they seemed to have almost all been tenured professors in a “mid-” or “later stage” of their academic career (with a few exceptions of extra-academic careers such as museum directors or heads of specific research centers) (Bazelay 2003). Moreover, most were men: before 1990, only seven women (compared with 54 men) served on the committee.

Table 2: Biodata of panelists entering the European Science Foundation’s Standing Committee for the Humanities before 1990*

	Panelists entering before 1990	Panelists entering 1990-2005**
Panelists with international experience	22	?
Panelists participating in European-level scientific endeavors	17	?
Panelist gender*	m: 54	m: 68
	f: 7	f: 26
Seniority (in years between obtaining PhD-entering committee)	22,5	?
Min-Max seniority (in years between obtaining PhD-entering committee)	4-46	?
Absolute number of panelists identified	61	94
(CV matched)	(56)	(6)

Sources: Fonds European Science Foundation (ESF), boxes 1781-1784, *Historical Archives of the European Union,* Florence.

* Totals may not add up because of lacking information.
** Biodata at time of entering not included in Historical Archives of the European Union in Florence.

The profile of one Greek female representative illustrates well the extraordinary reputation held by many of the panelists. The French-Greek Byzantinologist Hélène Ahrweiler served as representative of the National Hellenic Research Foundation between 1977 and 1987. During that time, she was the first ever female President of the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, as well as Rector of the Academy of Paris and Chancellor of the Universities of Paris. Among her colleagues on the committee were Maurice Godelier, a world-renowned French anthropologist who at the time was also Scientific Director of the département des Sciences de l’homme et de la société at the French CNRS, and Olivier Reverdin, a Swiss classic philologist and politician who between 1964 and 1973 had held a seat at the Assembly of the Council of Europe, both as representative and as president. Other representatives had ties to UNESCO, domestic Ministries of Culture or Research, as well as international associations or private foundations such as the Hardt and Volkswagen Foundation (ESF-1781 to ESF-1784).

In short, the committee was made up of people with significant academic, and at times also political, influence, at both the national and international levels. Sociologically, these people qualify as an “academic elite”: “a group with disproportionate control over or access to a resource” (Khan 2012: 361).

No rigid criteria

The resource this group controlled was, of course, funding for collaborative research projects. When it came to selecting projects, the members of the SCH preferred to work with a degree of freedom and flexibility. In a joint meeting with the Standing Committee for Social Sciences in 1981, chairman John Goormaghtigh (of said committee) emphasized that “while standing committees needed to be very rigorous in their selection of programmes for Additional Activities […] rigid criteria should not be established" (ESF-318, "Meeting 25-26/02/1981"). Neither did the SCH use formal application questionnaires. In a similar vein, there were no strict eligibility requirements.

At the same time, the ESF did, of course, have specific goals: to foster intra-European collaboration in basic research, promote mobility and the free flow of information and ideas, and harmonize basic research activities. With these goals came three sets of assumptions: (1) ideas about exactly when and where intervention at the European level was needed, (2) assumptions about what exactly constituted 'collaboration', and (3) assumptions about the 'European nature' of a project. So, although the SCH did not have any written-down criteria, committee members certainly shared what one could call "working assumptions" – semi-institutionalized ideas about what constituted a fundable project.

First, regarding the need for intervention, panel members mainly focused on the issues of difficulty and timing. In an early meeting of 1981, they agreed that the "à la carte programmes" were intended to "initiate comparative research which would otherwise be difficult to organize" (ESF-318, "Meeting 25-26/02/1981"), most notably in fields where "the time was ripe" for a European "concentration of effort" (ESF-311, "Report 1-2/11/1977"). This concern with timeliness also translated into paying specific attention to the "urgency" of interventions. During meetings, members often emphasized that journals or fields were on the brink of "disappearing" and that European-level intervention was therefore crucial (ESF-316, "Meeting 26-27/06/1979"; ESF-318, "Meeting 9-10/10/1980"). Urgency was also connected to fields in which "duplication" was looming, meaning that there was a concern that scholars would be doing the same work at two or more places, unbeknownst to each other (ESF-319, "Meeting 17-18/01/1983").

Second, panelists also had some specific ideas on what counted as collaboration. While there were no formal criteria about the size or intensity of collaboration, it seems as if the adagio "the more the merrier" reigned freely. Flagship projects such as the "Origins of the Modern State, 1250-1750" (1986-1992) or the "Transformation of the Roman World" (1993-1998) could bring together between 100-150 researchers and result in a series of up to seven edited volumes published by the ESF. This, however, did not mean that *everyone* could collaborate in the same capacity: if an ESF Member Organization contributed to the costs for an "à la carte" progamme, said organization would be able to demand that a corresponding percentage of researchers from "their" pool participate – a practical rule known as the "principe de juste retour" (ESF-719, "Letters"). Researchers from countries not contributing to the costs could still be invited and take part in a project, though the case studies would usually be geographically located in in the countries of the financially-contributing organizations.

Third, representatives were keen to look out for projects that had a thematic "European flavour", and with this also came assumptions of what constituted "Europe" and "Europeanness". Though the SCH did fund large projects on China and Iran at the very beginning of its mandate, 12 out of 27 of the subsequent "additional activities" explicitly mentioned "Europe" in the title. Many others, with titles such as "The Transformation of the Roman World" or "From Natural Philosophy to Science", also specifically placed themselves within the history of Europe. In 1987, after a long discussion about the European nature of the projects, one panelist said that "non-European cases clearly needed to be excluded (...) Russia/The Soviet Union could not be [included]" (ESF-327, "Meeting 8-9/05/1987"). Not unlike the European Commission's or Council of Europe's conceptualization of European history at that time (Calligaro 2017; Shore 2000), the SCH members thus often reproduced teleological ideals of Europe as a civilized whole, with roots in the classic period and an illustrious history of cultural and scientific revolutions. When the committee discussed what they meant with the idea of a "European flavour" in history, eurocentrism reigned freely:

> Europe stepped out of the spiritual and spatial confines of the Middle Ages – while at the same time reconsidering and recapturing its classical foundations – and set the sails for all modern time developments which were to become prevalent at world level (ESF-327, "Meeting 8-9/05/1987").

In 1990 this topic was again discussed, and the committee decided that projects could qualify as having a "strong European flavour" when they dealt with "a commonly recognized European theme of focal importance" or started "from a European point of view" (ESF-331, "Meeting 10-11/12/1990").

These three sets of implicit criteria could be freely applied thanks to a submission and selection procedure that was anything but "rigid". Proposals could "be submitted at any level of preparation", though those that were "in an advanced state" were unofficially granted priority (ESF-325, "Proposals received from Committee members"; ESF-327, "Report 8-9/05/1987"; ESF-325, "Meeting 2-3/06/1986"). Committee members also often reached out to other representatives on an informal basis prior to a meeting to check whether there was interest among research councils and academies to work, and – more importantly – to make funds available together. Big research agencies such as the French CNRS or Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft were often contacted first, which meant that these countries had far more influence during the decision-making process (Verbergt 2021; see also ESF-358, "Letter from M. Posner 04/10/1988"). The proposals themselves usually took the form of a short paper on a research topic or area. Members commented upon these papers during meetings, and then proposals were re-drafted and refined for the next meeting. This flexible process continued until proposals were either approved or rejected altogether. Because members typically only agreed to fund an additional activity after several rounds of back-and-forth on the proposal – which in some instances grew into a hefty document of 25 to 30 pages – the input they gave on a project clearly shows how involved committee members were, and what they considered "fundable".

The Ethnic Groups project

The flexibility of the SCH in procedures and criteria can be illustrated by focusing on an additional activity titled "Ethnic Minorities" that was funded in 1984. A proposal had been in preparation by historians belonging to the SCH since 1982, and a one-pager was, in principle, approved by the SCH and ESF's Executive Council in 1983 (ESF-707, "Ethnic Groups programme"). The project was reintroduced to all committee members at the first SCH meeting of 1983. There, two papers were prepared for the discussion – one by Gerald Stourzh, representative of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and one by John Herstad, President of the Nordic Co-operation Committee for Humanities Research and representative of the Norwegian Research Council for General Sciences. The latter also presented six publications to the committee as background information, of which one was written by another committee member.

The discussion of the SCH ranged from the actual name of the activity, to the timescale of the study, the choice of specific themes, and the structure of the programme. Though some members proposed to change the adjective "ethnic" to "national", the committee decided to keep the former. The second part of the working title "Ethnic Minorities" was, however, replaced: following a suggestion from Hugh Seton-Watson, the title was changed to "Ethnic Groups" because "in certain cases the ethnic communities to be included were (non)-dominant majorities” (ESF-319, “Meeting 21-22/02/1983”). Regarding the periodization, one representative remarked that the proposed period of 1848-1939/40 “had no particular significance for Spain” and others preferred the date to be moved back to 1815. Ultimately, the members decided that, since “it was not the intention to write narrative histories of each ethnic group [...] the timescale adopted should allow a certain flexibility and be suited to the area/group in question” (ESF-319, “Meeting 21-22/02/1983”).

All these remarks reveal just how much members were at liberty to intervene in, and collaborate on, a proposal. For all additional activities, there was always one representative closely involved in the project to keep an eye on its progress, attend preparatory meetings, and report back to the SCH. Since those duties were matched to representatives’ personal expertise, and because SCH members would often lead (a part of) the project, the panelists frequently had direct personal stakes in a project’s sponsorship once they started writing preparatory papers. Historian Gerald Stourzh, who had been arranging the Ethnic Groups project since 1982, published a volume with the Austrian Academy of Sciences on equal opportunities for national groups in Austria after the project was finished. In Norway, John Herstad was involved in a large project on Kven and Sami history and language, which was included in the programme (Mykland 2009; Landsem 2017). Another similar example is that of medievalist Jean-Philippe Genet, who became involved in the project on the origins of the modern state, as well as some workshops on the use of computers for historical research – two topics he was working on at that time.

Participatory grantmaking?

This method of selecting and funding stands in stark contrast to evaluation practices and ideas on “good governance” as we now know them: at work here was a funding body with no fixed criteria, no transparent communication on its procedures, and no bottom-up calls for projects. Members were highly ranked professors who were selected by member institutions, and who were free to evaluate and reformulate ideas and projects in which they personally had high stakes. This was humanities’ politics at a very high level – albeit with limited budgets that constantly needed to be (re)negotiated – infused with a Europhile agenda and preconceived ideas about the glory of European civilization.

That, of course, is a perspective retrospectively formed. Yet the archives reveal that this was also a committee in which members earnestly believed in the procedures they used and their resulting outcomes. The feedback they provided on proposals was undoubtedly for the purpose of improvement and enrichment. Scientific quality and independence were concerns; yet so was the “need” for intervention and a belief in the strength of collaboration and feedback. A less negative interpretation of this collaborative process might be that it was highly “participatory grantmaking” (Gibson 2017). This practice, which is often discussed in the context of philanthropy, aims to connect grant-makers more closely with the communities they serve. The goal is to match expectations and keep a conversation going after funds have been awarded (Gibson and Bokoff 2018). As the name reveals, participation is key, and participating, the SCH members certainly did. The back-and-forth discussions and the building of tight relationships between the SCH representatives and the participants in SCH projects were in this sense very much like the “two-way communication” and network-building promoted in contemporary participatory grantmaking. This flexible involvement and selection process, however, changed radically over the course of the 1990s.

THE NEW ERA: ACCOUNTABILITY, EFFICIENCY, CONSULTANCY

Up to 1986, the SCH had no formal procedures or guidelines for its own members. While this started shifting in the late 1980s, when new representatives entered the committee and an internal leaflet on the SCH's mission was produced (ESF-326, "Leaflet"), the SCH only launched open calls for workshops and publicly communicated on its procedures in 1997. At that same time, the committee introduced external peer review, which became which later became increasingly central to its procedures and institutional identity. To understand how and why these changes came about for the specific case of the ESF/SCH, it is important to first consider the evolution of the European funding landscape over the course of the 1990s.

European research policy in the 1990s

The early 1990s were a time when meta-reflection about research assessment was prominent in the European milieux: sociologists and policymakers claimed that the scientific system and its "ethos" were undergoing significant changes (Hackett 1990; Elzinga 1997), and in general the discourse on "scientific accountability" became increasingly dominant. "Science", so it was argued, needed to connect more to "society", and in the political aftermath of 1980s austerity regimes and a deficit in government spending, scholars were expected to explain how they spent taxpayers' money and what they offered societies in return. Inside governments and among academics, this led to a growing concern with accountability, efficiency, and transparency in research funding. Ideas about "good governance" taken from the New Public Management movement thus entered universities, funding agencies, and journal boards across Europe. Though most of the governance devices developed during this period – blind and external review practices, for example, but also bibliometric impact measurement systems – were developed for the natural and life sciences, these research assessment tools and discourses also, albeit somewhat slower, reached the humanities (Ochsner et al. 2016).

Over the course of the 1990s and early 2000s, this discourse on "good governance" in science spread across Europe – not in the least because the European Commission also scaled up its Framework Programmes for Research in the context of the Maastricht Treaty and produced more reports on research policy (Guzzetti 1995). The fact that the EU became increasingly active in the field of research policy was somewhat problematic for the ESF, since this organization had since 1974 seen itself as Europe's most prominent platform for research scoping, planning, and networking on a European scale. To preserve its relevance, the ESF Executive Council therefore reformulated the ESF's mission in 1993 through a "strategic reappraisal".

In the 1993 reappraisal, the ESF stated that it would continue to be an organization at the forefront of European fundamental research but also actively begin to bring together and share science management and research ethics expertise across Europe – including Eastern Europe (ESF-307, "Documents"). Note, here, that "science management" was a term deemed applicable to all sciences, including the social sciences and humanities. The ESF thereby saw itself as one of the prime promoters and developers of universally useful "good governance" practices across Europe. Entirely in line with this view, the ESF in 1993 highlighted a future in consultancy services, especially services to the European Commission, since this would allow the organization to grow and become less dependent on the financial contributions of member organizations. Though this strategic reappraisal was only fully realized in 2015, when the ESF became a new organization called Science Connect, this strategy did work to a certain extent. In 1985, there were 17 full-time equivalent (FTE) staff members working for the ESF; by mid-1993, there were 28 (ESF-337, “ESF: The Next Decade”). This number almost doubled again by 2000 with 51 FTE working for the ESF, and, eventually, in 2004 there were 104 FTE managing 52 million EUR amongst which was, indeed, funding from the EU (ESF-Online Archives, “EUROCORES Scheme”).

New evaluation procedures

For the Standing Committee for the Humanities, this reappraisal, together with the EU’s growing emphasis on European research, had very specific effects. Though a “Targeted Humanistic Research Programme” on “European Cultural Research” was cut in 1994 by the European Commission, the emergence of the Targeted Research Programme in the Social Sciences (TSER) in the same year forced the Standing Committee for the Humanities to expressly distinguish itself from EU-funded programmes. For the first time, the SCH began to communicate openly to its audience with a promo-campaign to the academic community (ESF- 361, “Reflections”). The SCH presented itself as a bridge between the “top-down” European Commission and the European humanities community, and immediately prepared a first open call for projects for the “Exploratory Workshops” (ESF-343, “Meeting 7/03/1997”). In reaction to the ESF Reappraisal, the SCH also sketched “a strategy for Humanities research in Europe in the 21st Century” in 1995 (ESF-360, “Agenda 29/03/1995”), and lobbying activities for the humanities were undertaken shortly after (ESF-360, “Notes 12/09/1995”; see also Rees 1997).

In general, however, the introduction of good governance and accountability measures in the SCH took some time. Ideas about “science” in connection to “society” for example, did not charm all panelists within the SCH – a finding that was confirmed in two interviews with former panelists. Minutes of a meeting from 1987 reveal that some panelists were afraid “to overestimate the potential of the humanities [for future problem-solving] and to raise or nourish expectations which could only be disappointed”, whereas others (from Nordic countries) were keener to connect humanities research to current affairs and society (ESF-327, “Meeting 8-9/05/1987”). A few years later, however, the general tone changed: in 1994 it was stated that “some connection with key problems of the present world has to be made explicit (…) this does not imply any servitude to the priorities of the rapidly changing political agenda; it simply means that we may become more aware of the value of our results for our own world (ESF-359, “Preparatory agenda 9/06/1994”).

This slow process is also visible in the critical attitude of the ESF Secretariat towards the SCH itself. In a review of the SCH ordered by the ESF Secretariat in 1993, it was noted that the SCH had at times been “too involved” in the “Ethnic Groups” project, and the document also noted that it would have been better to leave the scholars “entirely free to control the directive [sic] and methodology of their work” (ESF-337, “Review”). In 1998, the ESF secretariat told the SCH outright that their evaluations should be based on external peer review, and that there was a “general problem with the evaluation procedure” (ESF-344, “Meeting 28/03/1998”). Among SCH committee members, however, there was a strong conviction that they did *review* the projects they funded, just not externally and perhaps in a less formal fashion than the Secretariat might wish for.

Within this slow transition, the publication of the first call for workshops in 1998 proved to be a true turning point for the SCH’s internal evaluation procedures. Wim Blockmans, chairman of the committee, pleaded for a “bottom-up” approach and emphasized that transparency on procedures and selection criteria was now vital (ESF-343, “Meeting 4/10/1997”). His approach to the issue seems to have been driven by a legitimate conviction about the necessity of good governance procedures: he was wary of biases and concerned with fair evaluation practices. Blockmans himself was a medievalist from the University of Leiden in The Netherlands, a context in which managerial forms of research assessment were already very present in the 1980s. Upon his suggestion, it was agreed that two external evaluators would be asked to review each application for funding. These peers could not be from the same country as the applicants, and the maximum time for their response would be four weeks (ESF-343, “Meeting 4/10/1997”, “Meeting 14/06/1997”). Though there seems to have been no fixed application form – given that the very “genre” of “grant writing” was still under development in national as well as international contexts (Serrano Velarde 2018) – candidates were asked to provide specific information on their project, including the CV of the coordinator, an overview of other potential funding sources, and a summary of the project and its participants. Gone was the proposal form flexibility of the 1980s, and in came clear requirements.

This introduction of a new spirit of science management in the SCH was probably aided by the fact that, on a logistical level, efficiency was not just desirable but became increasingly necessary. After the SCH started investing in “making itself better known to the scientific community” (ESF-360; ESF-361) by publishing the call for workshops, many more applications were sent in 1998 and 1999. This led to two decisions aimed at lessening the panelists’ workload: (1) a Core Group of representatives would make a pre-selection and (2) the SCH would ask input from external referees. Since its set-up, the committee had been working with semi-external experts who were added to the committee for specific topics (such as computer research, linguistics, and modern history) – one of these experts even served on the committee for twelve consecutive years. In addition, there had been informal consultations with external experts on the initiative panelists (ESF-707, “Note SCH Secretariat”; ESF-720, “Review reports”). From 1999/2000 on, however, individual external referees were matched to each workshop proposal.

That concerns about efficiency were central in the introduction of external peer review in the SCH is particularly visible in the outline of the “research assessment forms”, that appear in the archives after 1997. In those forms, evaluators are asked to score projects from 1-5 and to base their judgment on the most important – and deliberately left vague – criterion of “scientific excellence” (ESF-342, “Network proposal”). The brevity of these forms shows how they were designed for the quick processing of a large and rapidly increasing number of applications; most completed forms in the archives only have a few sentences of feedback attached to them, and during meetings only the highest rated applications would be discussed (ESF-345, “Assessment forms”). Where in the 1980s and early 1990s all representatives would be able to comment on a proposal (and often did so elaborately), from 1997 onwards proposals were allocated to two representatives who briefly reported on them to other representatives.

The coalescence of considerations of efficiency and accountability in the installment of a peer review system shows that these new procedures were probably both interventions at the level of ideas about management as well as management solutions. In Melissa Baldwin’s words, the turn to peer review was as much a “logistical” one as it was “epistemological” (Baldwin 2019). The fact that external peer review was never formally implemented for the SCH’s “à la carte programmes”, but only for its workshops, and later, networks, highlights this point: “fairness” and “transparency” could only go so far. Even after chair Wim Blockmans mentioned several times that the SCH’s procedure “may even cause eyebrows to be raised as members of the SCH might be seen by the larger scientific community as helping themselves”, the committee never published an open call for its main funding instrument (ESF-361, “Bottom-up memo 23/11/1996”). By 2003, this situation had not changed: when the SCH was formally audited by ALLEA (All European Academies), this report identified "a lack of transparency regarding the Standing Committee procedures", as well as a "privileged position of some countries in the decision-making procedures" (ESF-355, "ALLEA Evaluation", 16). Regarding the refereeing process specifically, ALLEA stated that "the current situation concerning refereeing must be regarded as something approaching a crisis": both "referee fatigue" and the "haphazard manner in which the Secretariats currently select referees" needed to be addressed (ESF-355, "ALLEA Evaluation", 22).

A new mission for the SCH: becoming consultants

Perhaps surprisingly, this 2003 ALLEA report was very much welcomed in the committee, and the optimization of (external) review procedures to the highest possible standards was the topic of nearly every meeting thereafter. When the report for the first time raised questions about the SCH's membership, namely that the selection-process for the chair was deemed insufficiently transparent, and the gender balance in the committee was a cause for concern, the committee agreed wholeheartedly. While there were already many more women entering after 1990 – out of the 94 members entering the committee after 1990, 26 (27.66%) were female – this ratio of one to four was deemed insufficient (ESF-366, "Comments on ALLEA report").

This increased interest for procedure and membership optimization and willingness to consider external critiques shows that discourses on good governance and science management became increasingly accepted by the SCH. This, however, is only one side of the story: institutional competition seems to have been at the back of committee members' minds as well. Knowing all too well that the very existence of the European Science Foundation was being challenged by the European Commission's investment in a European Research Council (ERC), the committee was keen on managing its reputation and implementing the highest standards in research evaluation (ESF-366, "Draft minutes 18/02/2004"; König 2017). What is more, when it became clear that national governments would invest in the ERC and that budgets for ESF project funding were diminishing, the SCH increasingly invested in, and even capitalized on, its external peer review expertise.[4] In 2004, the first female Chair of the SCH, Gretty Mirdal, gave a speech to the SCH committee in which she stated that "it is difficult to go on pretending that we are a funding organization, when we have such limited funds" (ESF-356, "Meeting 22-23/10/2004"). The future of the SCH, according to Mirdal, thus lay in a specific "working group on science policy" for the humanities, and in the field of "scientific self-reflection and the organization of knowledge." The better the SCH's (knowledge about) review procedures, the brighter their future in science management, and the more chances for the SCH to survive.

Within less than a decade, the SCH thus went from a committee focused on handing out funding with full flexibility, to a peer review expertise center offering services to research agencies all over Europe. In 2003, a "Refereeing task force" was organized, which announced that the "ESF is moving through a potentially important transition phase in its institutional history" (ESF-366, "Task force"). Between 2000 and 2010, the SCH set up a large database of referees, built a rating system for humanities journals called the "European Reference Index for the Humanities" (Pontille and Torny 2010), and audited the evaluation processes of various European research agencies. Not all representatives were happy with this situation, as some expressed the concern "that Standing

[4] Funding for the network scheme ended in 2004, and no new programmes were initiated after 2010.

Committees may lose much of their actual power" and feared "that ESF is becoming a bureaucratic structure rather than focused on scientific research" (ESF-366, "Meeting 16/06/2005").

These voices, in the end, turned out to be correct. In 2012, the committee was officially revoked, and the aptly titled "Scientific Review Group for the Humanities" took its place. In 2015, the European Science Foundation itself was rebranded as "Science Connect": an organization that manages grant evaluation processes to help "research funders, programmes and universities to identify the best projects and applications" (Science Connect 2022). Science Connect does not hand out funding, but assists in reviewing.

CONCLUSION

This article has questioned why and when external peer review practices were introduced in the European Science Foundation's Standing Committee for the Humanities. Prior to the incorporation of external peer review in the SCH in 1997, committee members decided on funding applications without fixed procedures or criteria. Applications came in various forms – as papers, long and short, or orally explained ideas – and evaluation could take months, even years. No open calls were ever launched, and representatives often had personal stakes in a project's execution. Acting as experts, the representatives gave detailed intellectual feedback on proposals, changing titles, project periodization, and research questions; they also suggested people who could participate and/or lead a project. As removed as this practice may seem from current grant review procedures, it is detectible still in contemporary discussions about the importance of "participatory grantmaking". While biases or gender quota were of little concern, close cooperation between grant-givers and receivers certainly was.

One might think that, when peer review was introduced at the end of the 1990s, this was done primarily to "correct" this previous situation – springing from clear ideas about right and wrong ways to manage review processes. This is true to a certain extent: the Chair of the Committee in 1996 mentioned that "the SCH might be seen by the larger scientific community as helping themselves", which clearly was a "bad" thing. The installment of external peer review processes in the SCH in 1998 also neatly fitted into the ESF's larger science management discourse on "good governance" procedures, which adheres to the values of "fairness", "transparency" and "accountability".

Still, the committee only introduced open calls and transparency about its procedures for a limited set of funding channels, and not for its large-scale programmes. A critical history of the introduction of external peer review in the SCH shows that external review practices were only reserved for funding schemes where it was also *logistically* interesting to involve external reviewers. As more applications came in, the committee itself could not process them all, and so, for the SCH in specific, ideas about good governance in research assessment were selectively introduced only where they were desirable as well as necessary.

In addition to the fact that the introduction of external peer review was considered the "right" and "efficient" thing to do (categories that were, obviously, connected to one another), the history of the SCH also reveals a third motivation behind this development. The timing of the SCH's introduction of peer review procedures at the end of the 1990s, as well as its focus on gaining expertise and building review infrastructure after 2003, turned out to be crucial to the ESF's *institutional and economic survival*. Because the European Research Council took over the role of funding fundamental research on a European level in 2007, the ESF lost its relevance as a funder of research.

By exporting its expertise on external peer review to other research agencies, and by assisting the EU in “science management”, the SCH secured much-needed capital.

This last finding at once shows the value and the limitations of studying the history of peer review via in-depth historical case studies such as this one. The ESF, indeed, was a rather unique player in the international research funding landscape, and the history of peer review it reveals is a unique one, too. To understand at a more theoretical level why and how review practices change, more comparative work that considers the differences between the humanities and other fields, as well as between various geographical and institutional contexts, would be necessary (Gläser and Velarde 2018). What this study does confirm, however, is that international agencies can function as important hubs for knowledge exchange and provide the locus from which specific evaluation practices are often imported (back) to national levels (a point also made in Nedeva et al. 2012). More concretely: the SCH has, since the turn of the twenty-first century, acted as a consultant for many national research agencies, and in the form of Science Connect it continues to do so today. This history of the ESF thus reveals that review practices change not only under the influence of new ideas (here especially ideas about accountability and fairness), or common-sensical practical considerations – a story found in the “happiness narrative” of the academic elite where managerial changes are generally interpreted as morally driven (Ylijoki 2019). In a changing and complex research landscape, international agencies have also consciously planned to capitalize on the export of specific evaluation practices.

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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

French economists and the symbolic power of (post-)national scopes of capital: Taking sides in discourses of crises, 2008–2021

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Abstract

The paper argues that economists' position-taking in discourses of crises should be understood in the light of economists' positions in the academic field of economics. This hypothesis is investigated by performing a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) on a prosopographical data set of 144 French economists who positioned themselves between 2008 and 2021 in controversies over the euro crisis, the French political economic model, and French economics. In these disciplinary controversies, different forms of (post-)national academic capital are used by economists to either initiate change or defend the status quo. These strategies are then interpreted as part of more general power struggles over the basic national or post-national constitution and legitimate governance of economy and society.

Keywords

Transnationalization, economic thought, economic crisis, field theory, history of the social sciences

INTRODUCTION

In France, as in most other European countries, researchers in economics regularly engage in public debates over the current state of the economy, politics, science, and society at large. Following the 2008 world economic crisis, this type of public academic engagement led to a surge of signed editorials, open letters, side-taking for presidential candidates, and even new groups and associations of economists. In the face of these controversies, the prevailing French model of social order and the European monetary, banking, and financial union have been challenged from the left as well as the right, advocating ideas ranging from further European integration to re-nationalisation. Not only does this hold true for political economic viewpoints and their related (de)regulative ideas but also for economics as a science and academic discipline. Many French economists engage in controversies over theoretical paradigms that are being taught, over the significance of mathematics and modelling, or over the desired degree of internationalization. This makes their position-taking political in more ways than one: public interventions are aimed at influencing everyday politics as well as the future of economics as a discipline.

The present paper forwards the hypothesis that economists' discursive position-taking should be understood in the light of economists' engagement in academic practices and, consequently, their position in the field of economists. This hypothesis is investigated by performing a multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) on a prosopographical data set of 144 French economists who positioned themselves in these struggles between 2008 and 2021. The analysis shows that current controversies are fuelled by four very different camps struggling over the state of France's political economy as well as the future of the discipline of economics. First, economists associated with different French heterodox schools of economics often argue for an end to austerity politics from a politically leftist perspective and criticise French economics for a perceived hegemony of neoclassical theory, high degree of mathematization, and lack of practical relevance, calling for more multi-paradigmatic diversity. Second, an orthodox fraction of French economists closely interwoven with the most central and prestigious French academic institutions defends the prevailing disciplinary order against such heterodox challenges. Third, proponents of more internationalized currents join the orthodox fraction, driven by worries that a French special way might marginalize French economics, lead to internal fission as well as disconnect French economists from the global scientific community. Fourth, economists closely associated with French political and corporate institutions and, hence, from a more heteronomous background opt for 'practical' crisis solutions following neoliberal scripts to foster the strength of the French economy. The diverse position takings in political economic and disciplinary controversies are then interpreted as part of more general power struggles over the basic national or post-national constitution and legitimate governance of economy and society.

FRENCH ECONOMICS AND ITS MORE RECENT CONTROVERSIES

French economics as a discipline has evolved in close connection with French political and economic institutions and is relatively state centred, when compared to, for instance, US, UK, or German economics (Fourcade 2009; Maesse 2018). Most of today's key institutions were created after World War II in state-led efforts to reconstruct and modernize the French economy and are aimed at establishing a specially trained elite of public managers and technicians. As Fourcade (2009: 11) points out, this constituted a juxtaposition of, on the one hand, experts in the tradition of state engineers with wide access to data resources and an aptitude for formalization and, on the other hand, a "more literary and juridical style of university-based economic practitioners". This comes as no surprise, since the French academic field and the educational background of French academics are largely shaped by the distinction between general universities and centralized public elite institutions such as the various grandes écoles and their corps, as well as specialized state research institutes (Bourdieu 1988). The latter have profited most from the expansion of economics in recent decades. They have become institutional anchor points for major developments in French economics, such as the "disequilibrium" school closely connected to the Centre pour la recherche économique et ses applications (CEPREMAP) and the École polytechnique or the "regulation school" linked more to the French statistical institute (INSEE) and, subsequently, the École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) (Fourcade 2009: 203–12).

More recently, the established differentiation of French economics has come under pressure by calls for internationalization. This development is evident in at least three instances. First, an increasing number of French institutions have adopted the standard graduate curriculum taught at North American universities which is now common world-wide, leading to internal differentiation of departments along the lines of mic-mac-metrics plus applied economics (Maeße 2015). Second, gaining a US PhD has become a viable option, initially in order to pursue an academic career at a university, and subsequently at a grande école or research institute. Third, large research-strong institutions such as the Paris School of Economics (PSE), the Toulouse School of Economics (TSE), or Université Paris Sud (since 2020 Paris-Saclay) have been created, all aiming to compete internationally, for example in world-wide university or department rankings (Hamann and Schmidt-Wellenburg 2020).

These changes have triggered considerable opposition, particularly against increasing mathematization, a perceived hegemony of neoclassical theory, and the lack of practical relevance of teaching. As early as 2000, a public debate was prominently sparked by an open letter that criticized economics teaching, published by students who were mostly enrolled at the École normale supérieure (ENS) and Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (Autisme-Économie 2000a, 2000b). It immediately led to a counterstatement by established academics calling to defend economics and its status as a mathematized hard science (Boissieu et al. 2000). This dynamic of heterodox calling into question the status quo of French economics and the orthodox rebuffing has since been reactivated on numerous occasions, most notably in 2012 when the Association française d'économie politique (AFEP, founded in 2009) published an open call for a new section "Économie et Société" (AFEP 2012, cf. 2015) for economists at the Conseil national des universités (CNU), one of the most central reproductive institutions of French academia.

Taking a position in these epistemological debates is at the same time connected to positionings in more political disputes over how to react to economic crises. In the case of the euro crisis, heterodox interventions were made by Les Économistes Atterrés (LEA 2010, 2016) and the Collectif de plus de 120 économistes (Collectif 120 2012), while more mainstream positions were initiated by Thomas Piketty calling for "la démocratisation de l'Europe" (Bozio et al. 2014; Bouju et al. 2018). A more (neo)liberal stance calling for a two-speed Europe was taken by the Groupe Eiffel (2014). More recently, the dynamic was reactivated by an open letter asking to "[a]nnuler les dettes publiques détenues par la BCE" (Toussaint et al. 2021), which was immediately rebuffed as not going far enough from a more heterodox angle (Delatte et al. 2021).

This range of positions can also be found in interventions concerning the French economy. Before and during the global economic crisis, the tone was set by the Attali Commission's neoliberal script to refurbish the French social model: "Pour la libération de la croissance française" (2008, 2010). Just as ambitious, albeit leftist and heterodox, was the "Appel des économistes pour une VIe République" (Adam et al. 2013). In 2016, controversies were sparked again by the neoliberal refurbishing of the French labour market, dismissed from a centrist-left position in an open letter initiated by Thomas Piketty (Piketty et al. 2016) and defended in an intervention instigated by Jean Tirole (Tirole et al. 2016). This pattern is again observable in open-eds published in support of French presidential election candidates in 2012 and 2017.[1]

The observed interrelations of various positionings in presidential elections, in controversies over political-economic governance, and in debates about the future of the profession seem to have an elective affinity to the academic positions and standings of economists that can be examined further using a field theoretical framework of analysis.

[1] Here, open-eds published in favour of the following presidential candidates are used: Jean-Luc Mélenchon 2012, 2017, François Hollande 2012, Benoît Hamon 2017, Emmanuel Macron 2017, Nicolas Sarkozy 2012, François Fillon 2017.

ACADEMIC ECONOMISTS AND POST-NATIONAL SCOPES OF CAPITAL

Being an academic economist means acquiring and practising a specific profession that is aimed not only at analysing but also at exercising influence and thus helping to constitute the economy (Schmidt-Wellenburg and Lebaron 2018). Economics is as much scientific as it is deeply political and moral, aimed at interventions that are believed to further the common good (Lebaron 2016; Fourcade 2018). The relational similarity of these discursive interventions on different issues is rooted in the relative stability of economists' disciplinary habitus, which are distinct from other disciplines and also differ within the discipline of economics itself (Lenger 2018; Maesse 2021). Depending on the institutions where individuals are trained, they convert to a specific style of thought (Fleck 2004). By acquiring a disciplinary habitus, people invest in certain abilities and institutions, and they are invested through their interests, creating their own position in the overall field of economists (Bourdieu 1998a).

Their habitus allows economists to engage in producing knowledge and, at the same time, positions them vis-à-vis other approaches to economics. This results in constant struggles over the legitimate way of doing economics as well as over peer attention and resources. Since the aim of securing resources in these struggles cannot be voiced in a discursive practice of scientific truth games, where an interest in disinterestedness prevails (Bourdieu 2004: 53), these struggles become organized as symbolic competitions valuing former or potential future scientific findings. In these symbolic struggles, the legitimate order and worth of different scientific practices is overtly contested, since they are presented as epistemological and pure scientific controversies. Those who advocate a more orthodox reading of economics become positioned against those who favour change in academic practices and who engage in different heterodox currents of thought.

Economists' practices are not isolated from the rest of society. Access to the research object has to be negotiated, data, first-hand experience, and intimate insights all become vital research resources, and the ability of research findings to have an effect on the objects studied is seen as a reality check: a considerable number of theoretical approaches and political economic schools have been consecrated by their close ties to states and corporations (Dezalay and Garth 2011; Jatteau 2018; Fourcade-Gourinchas and Babb 2002; Schmidt-Wellenburg 2013). Hence, the stakes for changing the economy and how it is regulated are, at the same time, the stakes for influencing academic hierarchies and their symbolic weights, and economists with more heteronomous relations become opposed to more autonomous economists engaging in "purer" scientific competitions.

These inter- and intra-field relations shape homologous positions and thus create elective affinities between certain positions in both scientific and political economic controversies. But how can these homologies best be traced? Three types of capital employed in economists' practices are used to reconstruct the field's structure (Bourdieu 1988, 1998b: 32, 2004: 55–62). First, academic capital is understood as organisational and administrative resources such as holding a position and having funding that allows enduring engagement in teaching economics and producing research. Its symbolic surplus increases with the prestige of the institution and the opportunities to train new generations of economists, for instance by working at the ENS or the École Polytechnique or by sitting on PhD committees. Second, scientific capital as the ability to make a distinctive contribution in a specific field of research that is attributed to scientists by their peers. It shows in engaging on the forefront of theoretical and methodological discussions, in practising the art of writing A-journal-style articles, in being a journal editor, all of which influence the chance of oneself or others being published and cited. More symbolic forms are, for example, citation indices, that objectify reputation consecrated by peer review, or prestigious scientific awards based on decisions by committees. Third, political and corporate capital also play a decisive role, such as working for consultancies or providing consultancy services, or supervising government and non-government organisations and corporations. These worldlier forms of capital gain significance in the field of economists either as experiences that may become objects of research or as contexts for the application of economic governance knowledge, both of which are used to produce scientific positionings. Symbolic forms include memberships and medals, for instance of the Légion d'honneur and other honourable social circles, commemorating moral merits.

The legitimacy of the three forms of capital are only partially based on recognition awarded by communities of peers. Titles and positions are legitimated by referencing political and economic institutions guaranteed by the state, whereas the effectivity of economic policies is proven by the market. For quite some time now, all three reference points of consecration have been nationally anchored: in language and culture, in military and judicial power, and in the reach and impact of production, exchange, and consumption. But this has changed – or is opening up again; properties not linked to the French nation state have started to become important assets in French academic and, in particular, economists' struggles (Fourcade 2006; Lebaron 2013): foreign degrees and research institutes, international journals and publishers, transnational political organisations, and global corporations are all increasingly valued as contexts of academic education and research, making them legitimate stepping stones in some – albeit not all – French economists' careers.

This development has led to a discussion of various new forms of capital, labelled, for instance, as transnational, international, global, or cosmopolitan. Affiliated mostly with the experience of living, working, or studying in another nation state, they are seen as either complementing other capitals, tacitly conceived as national, or viewed as stakes in an international field akin to other social fields (for an overview see Bühlmann 2020). Both usages squander analytical potential due to their engrained methodological nationalism. This can be overcome if we draw on Bourdieu's concept of the field of power and understand the construction of national fields, capitals, and habitus as merely one of several analytical options, aiming at a truly "post-national" field analysis that breaks with the sole dominance of the nation state model and methodological nationalism (Krause 2020: 101).

The concept of the field of power is located on a different analytical level to social fields and is used in three distinct ways that complement each other (Bourdieu 2014: 311). First, it allows us to picture meaning and power relations between fields, capturing the state of societal differentiation. Second, it is the realm of struggles between the elites of various social fields over the value and societal-wide legitimation of different capitals, creating a social hierarchy of fields and associated elites, thus structuring social space. Third, consequently, it is a struggle over the make-up and range of a meta-field power in which projects of creating a symbolic monopoly and establishing a specific perception of the world compete over establishing the main principles of societal vision and division as well as a focal point of societal integration. In line with these three notions, Bourdieu argues that "the state" is an effect of the state of the field of power and its struggles, implying that different and historically contingent forms of stateness are possible, for instance, the dynastic state, the absolutist state, or the nation state.

Further generalizing Bourdieu's concept of the field of power, as Schmitz and Witte (2020) argue with reference to their concept of a global field of power; allows us to detect potentially competing forms of stateness varying in form and reach, among them nation stateness. To differentiate between these, I will use the term "scope" (Schmidt-Wellenburg and Bernhard 2020: 11), because it captures the main stake in the field of power: establishing a central perspective that unites all other perspectives, a social focus point of struggles as well as discussions about social differentiation and integration, and nourishing its symbolic power by engraining it in the basic dispositions to and perceptions of the world, thus producing a certain form of stateness as a viable illusion (Bourdieu 1994a).

Drawing on recent research, six historically salient scopes can be distinguished. Most certainly, there is a *national scope* that has been the dominant monopolistic project in the field of power since the mid-twentieth century, as Steinmetz (2016) argues. It pushed aside more *local scopes* based on sub-national regional projects of monopolization, as described in great detail by Bourdieu (2014) for the French case and by Elias (1982) more generally. Besides local and national scopes, colonial (Go 2008) and other *imperial scopes* of stateness (Steinmetz 2014) have dominated the field of power, establishing diverse forms of social fields which are located either in the colony or the metropole, or spanning both. As Julian Go (2020) argues, formal imperialism sharply declined in the second half of the twentieth century but the same does not apply to informal imperialism: networks of power that encompass nominally independent nation states. The latter lies at the heart of an *international scope* understood as referencing another nation state as a source of legitimation. Such flows create an international hierarchy of national scopes (Heilbron 2014) that may enforce the hegemony of more referenced nation states. As can be derived from this example, different scopes are not necessarily antagonistic (Kauppi 2018). They may lend themselves to forging alliances not only in a specific social field but also with regard to struggles over the value of different scopes in the generalized field of power (Wagner and Réau 2015: 40 f.). Outcomes of such alliances might be *transnational (regional) scopes* referencing regional power monopolies beyond the nation state, such as the EU, NATO, or Mercosur, by drawing on different nation-state scopes for initial legitimation (Schmidt-Wellenburg 2017, 2021). Finally, we see a *global scope* that references power monopolies that span the world and can most readily be found in context of global markets and political economic institutions that guarantee worldwide legitimacy of practices (Bigo 2011). At the same time, processes, practices, and actors with a global scope should not be perceived as necessarily located on a level above or opposed to those with a national scope: on the contrary, they might be nested in national or subnational spaces or contexts (Sassen 2010), again emphasizing the advantage of using the concept of scope as opposed to level or scale.

Viewed from this analytical perspective, the academic ‘internationalization’ of French economics through, for example, publishing in AAA journals in English, restructuring departments according to US American models, and hiring US PhDs not only undermines the traditional order of the French field of economists but also challenges the dominant national scope and actors aligned to it by imposing new and differing sources of symbolic power. The same applies if work experience in global corporations and banks or globally operating international organisations becomes acknowledged as a stepping stone for economists’ careers: this may well change existing power relations in the underlying field of power. In this development three of the afore mentioned post-national scopes – transnational, international and global – are most prominent alongside a French-national scope. The subsequent empirical analysis aims at uncovering the scope of practices, resources, and properties used by economists and to understand the strategic implications according to economists’ positions in the field.

DATA AND METHODS

Using 21 open letters, open-eds, and commissions on the EU crisis, the French political economic model, French presidencies, or the future of French economics just over 600 economists were initially identified. From these 144 were selected in a process of theoretical sampling. Following a Grounded Theory framework (Corbin and Strauss 2008) aimed at reconstructing the basic social dimensions and logics that underly such an engagement in political economic position taking, the sampling prioritized initiators and first signees and took care to balance individuals according to the different interventions, with some of the positionings drawing more support than others. In addition, the sampling was balanced for political economic currents, taking the full spectrum from left to right into account, for disciplinary currents, ranging from French heterodox to more mainstream and orthodox economics, and for well-known proponents of the profession. The task was accomplished by drawing on preliminary knowledge (in particular Fourcade 2009; Lebaron 2000, 2001, 2018) and 20 in-depth narrative interviews (all interviewees included in the dataset) conducted to collect narrations on the unfolding of current political economic controversies, to trace career trajectories, and to explicitly identify important friends and foes as well as other decisive agents.

In a first step, the academic careers of those selected were reconstructed using publicly accessible curriculum vitae and additional CV information, thereby using a practice common to the field – writing a CV to objectify one's position – to identify valuable and sought-after properties. In a second step, categorical variables were created in an inductive process (Corbin and Strauss 2008; Blasius 1987; Schmidt-Wellenburg 2019) covering the aforementioned three types of capital in their respective scopes (see Appendix Table 1 for more details on categories, capitals, and scopes). In addition, sex, age, and position-taking in the public debates were also coded.

In a third step, MCA was performed on the data set to investigate the correspondence between public interventions and certain positions in the field (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010). A multidimensional space is constructed that depicts the structure in the data as geometric distances using 86 variables (189 categories) describing career properties of individuals.[2] In addition, 26 variables (64 categories) are used passively to further describe the space of positions.[3] The first three axes of the space are interpreted here and account for over two thirds (68.1%, see Table 1) of the variance in the data when using Benzécri's correction (1973). They represent the main principles of division of the space and are used to describe the field's hierarchies, the diversity of its academic practices, and its links to other fields. In a final step, the discursive position-takings are than passively projected into the space, allowing us to interpret them in the light of the structure of the reconstructed space.

[2] Since the reconstruction is based on CVs of French academic economists, modalities with a French-national as opposed to an international, transnational or global scope dominate. Like-wise, the number of modalities interpreted as academic capital exceeds those interpreted as scientific as well as political and corporate capital. Hence, interpretations of contributions of scopes and capital forms to axes have to be assessed in relation to the contributions made to other axes (see Appendix Table 2 and 3). For the shape of the cloud of individuals see Appendix Figures 1 and 2.

[3] These modalities are not used active, because they are either below 5% (7), could not be comprehensively collected for all individuals, would double information already included in other variables, or describe diverse symbolic forms of capital only accessible to very few individuals, all of which would skew the reconstruction, with especially the latter overemphasizing the higher echelons of the discipline in the representation (see Appendix Table 1).

Table 1: Variances of the first ten axes

Axis	*Variance of the axis (eigenvalue)*	*Percentage of explained variance*	*Benzécri's modified rates (%)*
1	0.087	7.3	36.5
2	0.073	6.1	24.3
3	0.045	3.8	7.2
4	0.044	3.6	6.5
5	0.035	2.9	3.4
6	0.033	2.7	2.8
7	0.032	2.6	2.5
8	0.031	2.6	2.4
9	0.029	2.5	2.0
10	0.028	2.4	1.8

CURRENT STRUGGLES IN THE FRENCH FIELD OF ECONOMISTS

The first dimension accounts for 36.5% of the variance in the data and on the left shows characteristics associated with a low overall volume of capital and positions seen as holding little symbolic capital in contrast to properties on the right that indicate a high volume of overall capital and a high level of symbolic capital.[4]

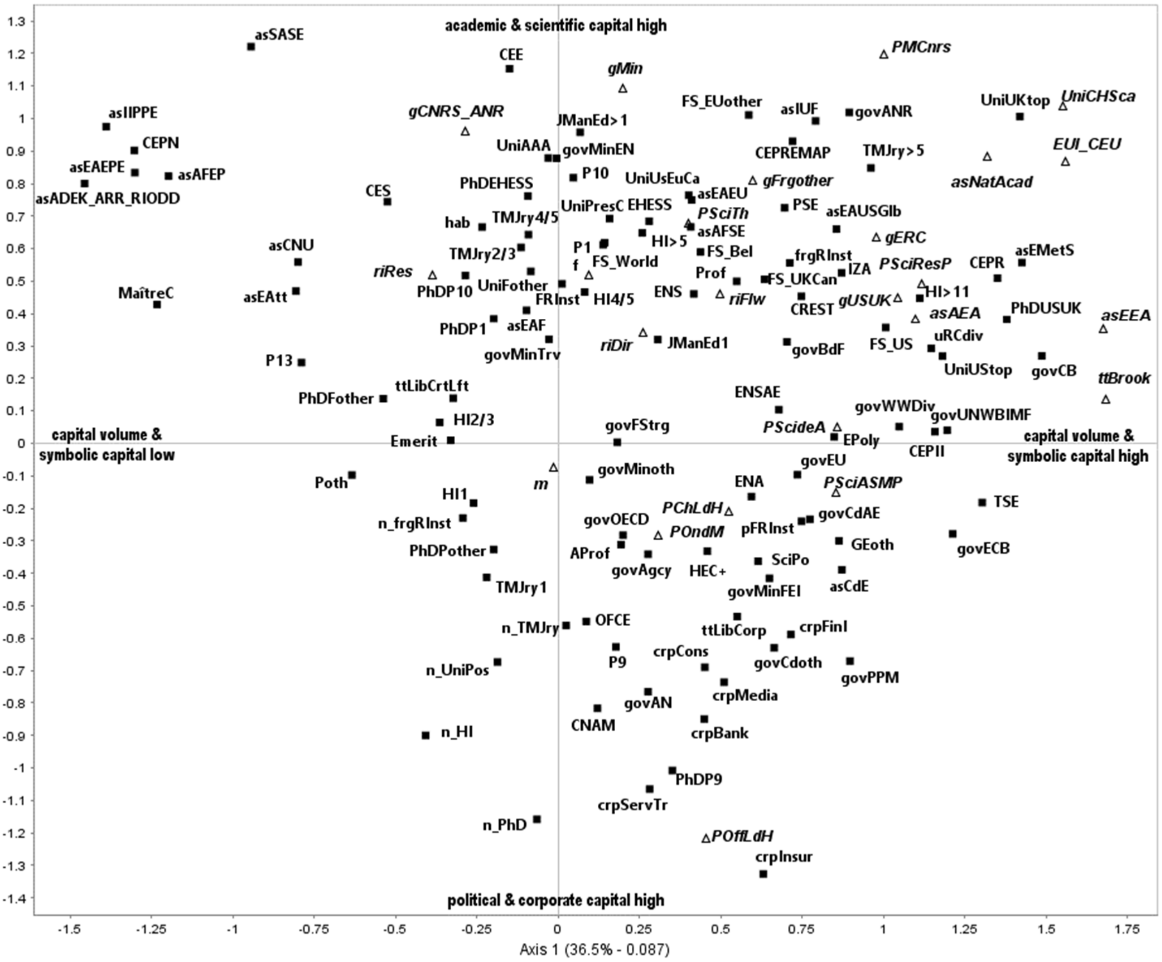
On the left (Figure 1), we find being a *maître de conferences* (MaîtreC), equivalent to a lecturer, and affiliations with institutions known for heterodox economics: French heterodox economic associations (asADEK_ARR_RIODD, asAFEP) supporting paradigms such as the French "regulation school", political economy, or Keynesianism, working at the Centre de recherche en économie de l'université Paris-Nord (CEPN) known for its affiliation with the Èconomie des conventions, and being a member of Les Économistes Atterrés (asEAtt), and international heterodox economic associations (asIIPPE, asSASE, asEAEPE). On the right, the map shows having received a PhD from a UK or US university (PhDUSUK), holding a position at one of the top US universities (UniUStop) such as Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, or University of California, or a top British university (UniUKtop) such as the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), Cambridge, or Oxford. Other employment modalities mentioned less frequently having an international scope, such as Swiss and Scandinavian universities (*UniCHScan*), or universities with a European scope, such as the European University Institute in Florence and the Collège d'Europe in Bruges (*EUI_CEU*), are plotted nearby (all passive). In addition, the academic position of professor (Prof) and being located at one of the top French academic economics institutions, such as PSE or TSE, the École Polytechnique (EPoly), the École nationale de la statistique et de l'administration économique (ENSAE) and other grandes écoles (GEoth) as well as major research centres such as CEPREMAP, Centre de recherche en économie et statistique (CREST, the research institute of INSEE), Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales (CEPII) are also all to be found to the right.

The increasing degree and importance of the international scope to the right is documented by countries in which foreign research stays of at least six months were spent, such as the UK and Canada (FS_UKCan) or the US (FS_US), as well as by affiliation with foreign research institutes (frgRInst) such as the Institute of Labor Economics (IZA) in Germany. Also plotted on the right are

[4] In the following, I will be selectively reporting only properties contributing more than the average of 0.53% to the location of any of the three axes (for further details, see Appendix Table 1).

memberships of international US (asEMetS, *asAEA*, latter passive), European (*asEEA*, passive), or global (asEUAUSGlb) economic associations. In addition to purely academic positions, we also see affiliations with think tanks: with a national scope the Cercle des économistes (asCdE) and the Conseil d'analyse économique (govCdAE), with a European scope the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) and with a US or international scope the Brookings Institute (*ttBrook*, passive). Political institutions can also be found to the far right, albeit mostly those with large economics research units (Mudge and Vauchez 2018), for instance, with an international scope various central banks (govCB), with a transnational regional scope the European Central Bank (govECB), and with a global scope the UN, the World Bank, and/or the International Monetary Fund (govUNWBIMF). National political institutions, such as the French president's or prime minister's office (govPPM), are located closer to the centroid.

Figure 1: dimension 1/2, active (solid squares, bold) and passive (transparent triangles, italics) variables



Not only does the volume of capital increase along the first axis towards the right but so does its recognition as a symbolic form of capital. Symbolic forms of capital are those that stem from recognition of an agent's position or performance as legitimate due to his or her abilities being perceived as original or genial (and not as a field effect). In science, citations are the main mechanism creating symbolic capital and citation indexes such as the h-index by Web of Science are used in the field to objectify symbolic differences. The trajectory of the h-index increases along the first axis from left to right (HI) (see Figure 2) and mirrors the post-national hierarchy built into the field, since it acknowledges in particular texts published in English and in international journals. It is paralleled by the number of scientific awards (*PSciNG*, passive), mostly with a national scope.[5]

Overall, four major properties of the first axis can be noted. First, academic capital contributes most to the first axis when compared to political and corporate capital as well as scientific capital (Appendix Table 2). This is not surprising, since properties associated with academic capital dominate the careers of economists who engage in political economic controversies. Second, when comparing the contribution of the three forms of capital with their average contribution it becomes obvious that scientific capital is overrepresented on this axis and political and corporate capital contributes only slightly below average, pointing to the special contribution of scientific capital to the overall capital volume. Third, the symbolic quality of properties also increases along the first axis, locating the most acclaimed and prestigious properties to the right, many of which are associated with scientific capital. Fourth, the first axis also shows the post-nationalisation of French economics, with nationally affiliated properties located to the left and in the centre, properties affiliated with an international scope referencing European nation-states beyond France and a transnational scope linked to EU contexts further right and properties associated with internationalized US-American and global institutions to the far right, a hierarchy well documented for various scientific fields (Heilbron 2014). The importance of post-national scopes is confirmed when comparing the contribution of different scopes to the first axis (Appendix Table 3): properties with a French-national scope contribute below, whereas properties with a global, inter-, and transnational scope contribute above average to the first axis.

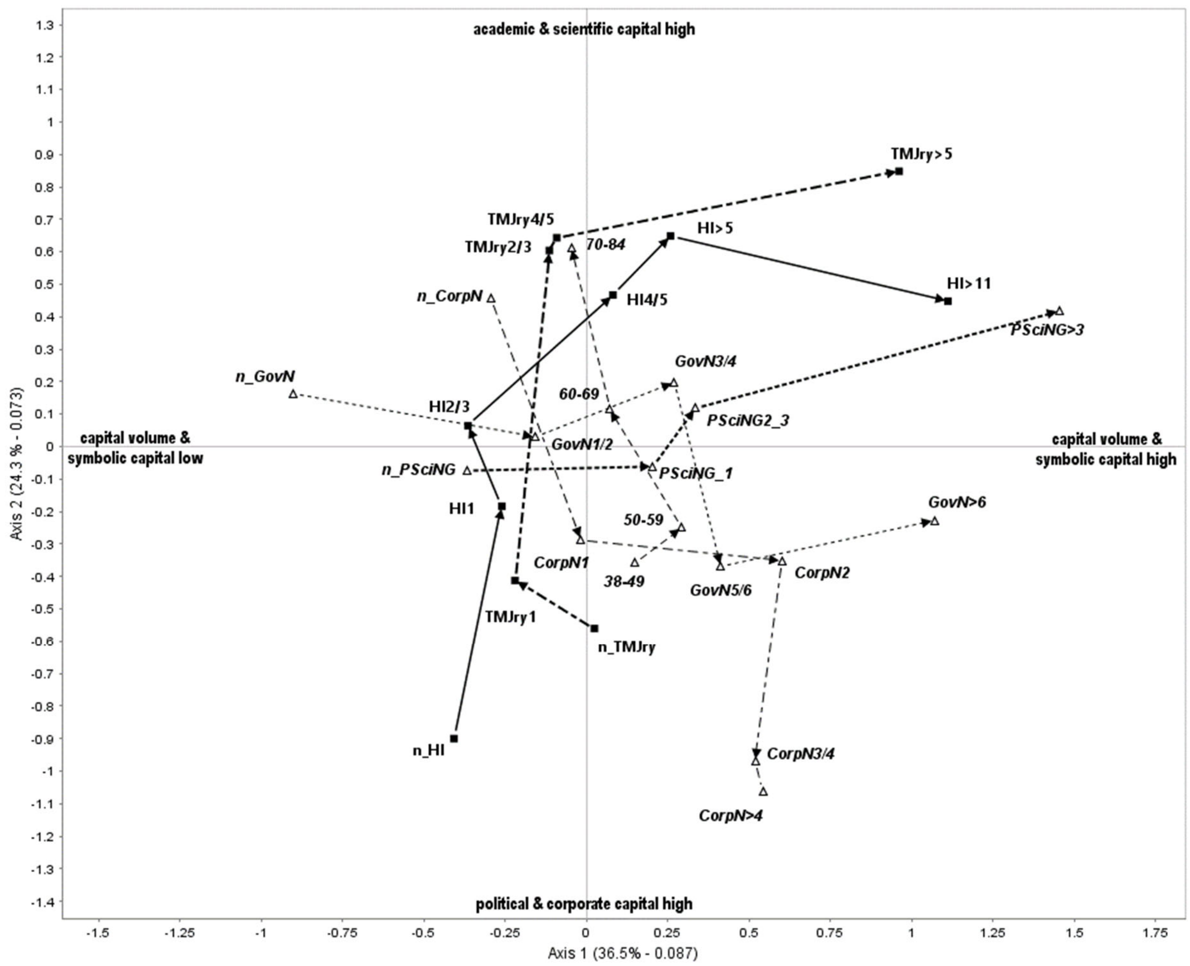
The second dimension accounts for 24.3 % of the variance in the data and opposes an autonomous academic pole at the top linked to academic and scientific capital from heteronomous regions at the bottom linked to political and corporate capital.

At the top (see Figure 1), we find academic positions such as holding a professorship (Prof) and a leading position (UniPresC) at a French research institute (FRInst); employment at Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne (P1), Paris-Nanterre (P10), EHESS, PSE, a French university located outside of Paris (UniFother), or national academies (*asNatAcad*, passive). This is complemented by important career steps towards these academic positions, such as holding a PhD from EHESS (PhDEHESS) and having succeeded in obtaining a habilitation (hab) or post-doctoral degree. More heterodox contexts of scientific exchange and training are also located here, such as the Association française d'économie politique (asAFEP), Les Économistes Atterrés (asEAtt) and the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (asSASE). Other modalities close by are linked to research practices and scientific production, such as receiving research grants (all passive, *gCNRS_ANR*, *gMin*, *gFrgother*, *gUKUS*, *gERC*), shaping scientific output as managing editor of journals (JManEd>1), engaging in the governance of the Agence nationale de la recherche (govANR), cooperating with the Ministry of National Education (govMinEN), and being a member of the Association française de science

[5] For the various awards, see Figure 1 and Appendix Table 1.

économique (asAFSE). The interpretation of this as an autonomous pole of the field producing scientific research output and shaping economists is further reinforced by the number of PhD jury memberships (TMJry) increasing and birthyear decreasing (*38-49* to *70-84*, passive) towards the top (see Figure 2). Economists located here are younger and more likely to be women (*f*), with the deviation to being a male economist (*m*), located below along the axis (Figure 1), being notable at a scaled distance of 0.6 (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010: 59).

Figure 2: dim 1/2, passive variables with active variables h-Index (HI) and PhD committee memberships (TMJry)



At the lower end of the second dimension (see Figure 1), most references to academic resources are linked to their absence: not holding a PhD (n_PhD); having no university position (n_UniPos); not being a member of a foreign research institute (n_frgRInst); not having a Web of Science Hirsch index (n_HI); and never having been a member of a PhD jury (n_TMJry). Here, political affiliations are important, for example, in the form of relationships to liberal and cooperative think tanks (ttLibCorp), such as Institut Montaigne, Institut de recherches économiques et fiscales, the Institute for Human Studies, or the Mont Pèlerin Society; working for or consulting the Ministry of Finance, Economics and Industry (govMinFEI) and various government agencies (govAgcy), such as INSEE, Cours des comptes, Autorité des marchés financiers; being a member of other government councils (govCdoth); and consulting the prime minister and/or the president (govPPM) or the Assemblée

Nationale (govAN). In addition, connection to the corporate world, be it insurance companies (crpInsur); service and trade (crpSerTr); media (crpMedia); consulting and accounting (crpCons); or the financial industry (crpFinI) and banking (crpBank) are also located here. This interpretation is supported by the passively projected number (see Figure 2) of consulting engagements and/or of jobs with companies (*CorpN*) and with political institutions (*GovN*) increasing along the second axis towards the bottom. As mentioned above, economists at the heteronomous pole are older and more likely male, who have made their career and built strong engagements with the political and, in particular, the corporate world. The close relations to 'society' that prevail here then become symbolically consecrated by appointments as chevalier (*PChLdH*) or officier (*POffLdH*) of the Légion d'honneur or being co-opted as a member of the Ordre national du mérite (*POndM*) (see Figure 1, all passive).

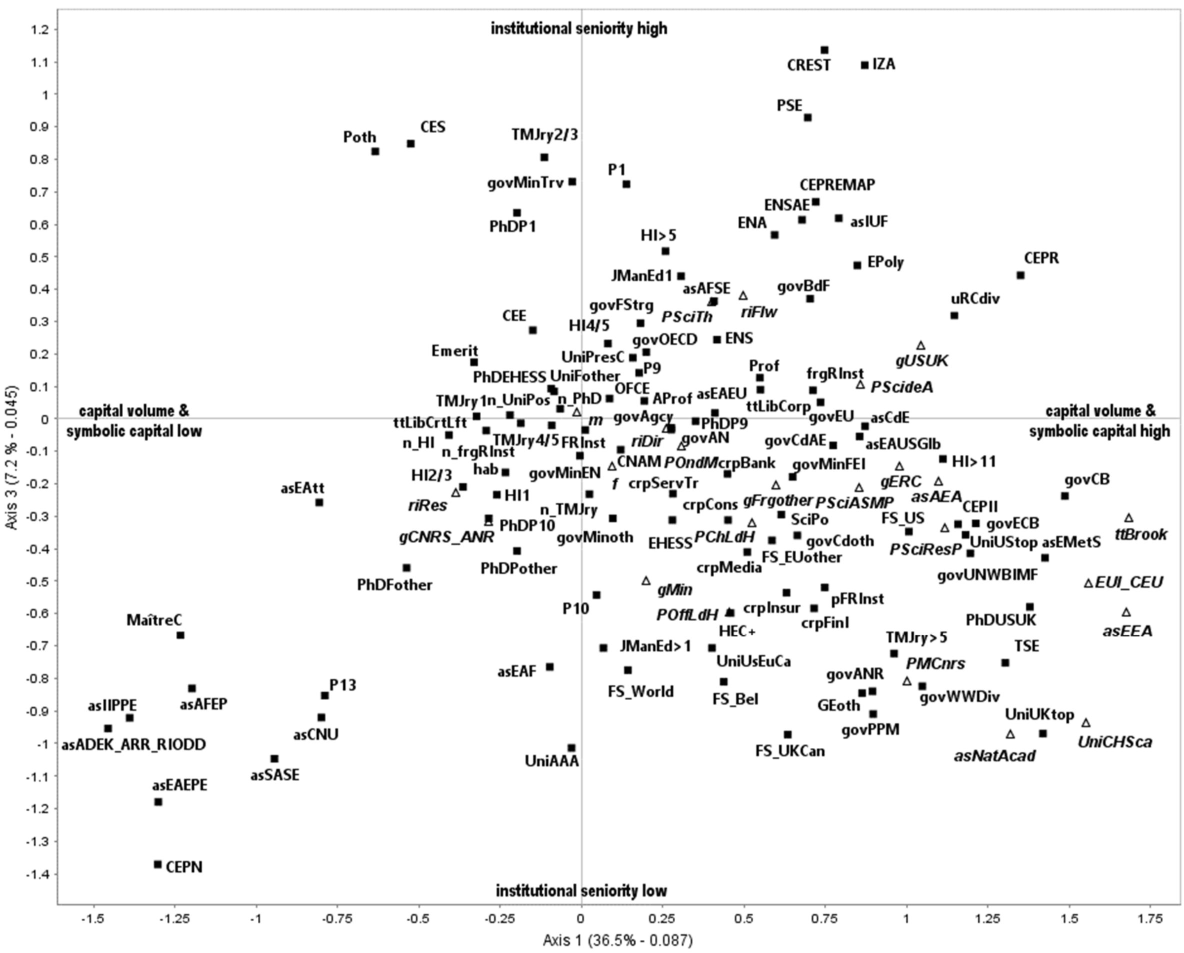
When focusing on the scope of modalities that mainly contribute to the variance of the second axis, we see that relationships to French nation-state institutions contribute above average and more than they contribute to the first and third axes (Appendix Table 3). At the heteronomous pole next to French media companies, banks, or corporate finance, various political and administrative institutions can be found, providing funding and opportunities to put one's knowledge into action as well as access to unique empirical insights and potential careers beyond academia. Only at the autonomous pole do post-nationally scoped properties play a certain role in building scientific careers, indicating the possibility of relative autonomy from French state institutions in this region of the space, a hint to be further explored when looking at the third axis.

The third dimension accounts for 7.2 % of the overall variance and opposes a dominating academic orthodox pole of reproduction associated with high institutional seniority to two types of institutional challengers: on the one side dominated French heterodox economists and, on the other side, internationally acclaimed economists aiming at a new orthodoxy.

At the top of the third axis (see Figure 3), we again encounter reproductive organisational forms of academic capital, such as holding a PhD from Panthéon-Sorbonne (PhDP1), having a position at Paris 1 (P1), École nationale de la statistique et de l'administration économique (ENSEA), École nationale d'administration (ENA), École Polytechnique (EPoly), or PSE. These are complemented by positions as director (*riDir*, passive) and/or fellow (*riFlw*, passive) of a major research institute such as the Centre d'économie de la Sorbonne (CES), CREST, CEPREMAP, and IZA, or university research centres (uRCdiv) and membership of the Institut universitaire de France (asIUF). The national institutional centrality of this area is confirmed by the fact that the AFSE is located right in its midst. All of the institutions named are well established in French economics, emanate an aura of public dignification, have for a long time been key gatekeepers for traditional academic careers of French economists and constitute the orthodox pole of reproduction of this space. This becomes even more apparent when we look at the other side of the third dimension.

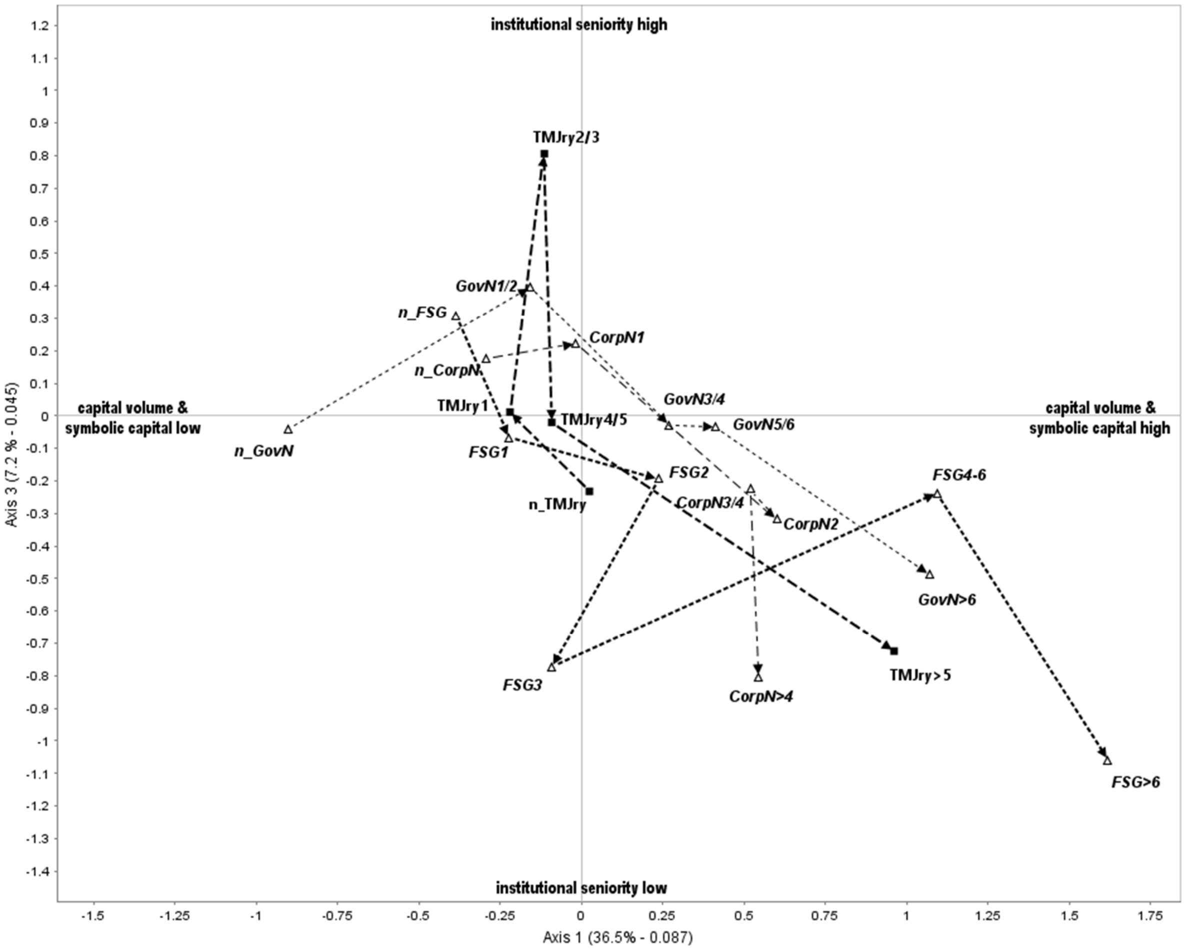
At the bottom left are economics associations (asADEK_ARR_RIODD, asAFEP) and institutions (P13, CEPN) linked to heterodox economics with a French national scope or with a post-national scope (asEAEPE, asSASE, asIIPPE), all of which are relatively young when compared to institutions located at the top. The less powerful and less prestigious positions of maître de conférences (MaîtreC) and researcher (*riRes*, passive) are all located close by together with not being a member of PhD juries (n_TMJry) and having no (n_HI) or a low h-index (HI1). Taken together, heterodox economists seem to have little influence on the reproduction of the discipline, albeit engaging in the Conseil national des universités (asCNU).

Figure 3: Dim 1/3, active (solid squares, bold) and passive (transparent triangles, italics) variables



Also low on the third axis, but to the right, more prestigious properties with post-national scopes can be found: being employed at a European, lower-ranking US, or Canadian (UniUsEuCa), top British (UKtop), Swiss, or Scandinavian (*UniCHScan*, passive) university, foreign research stays in the US and Canada (FS_UKCan), Belgium (FS_Bel), or in other countries worldwide (FS_World), and holding a PhD from the US or UK (PhDUSUK). In addition, membership of the American Economic Association (*asAEA*), the European Economic Association (*asEEA*), and various non-French national academies (*asNatAcad*) can also be found here (all passive). All of these properties challenge the reproductive orthodoxy of French academic careers and are linked to post-national sources of legitimation beyond the French nation state. Even the French academic institutions located close by are known for their worldly aura or perceived as internationally acclaimed: other grandes écoles (GEoth), EHESS, Sciences Po (SciPo), HEC Paris, and other high-ranking business schools (Hec+), and the TSE.

Figure 4: dim 1/3, passive variables



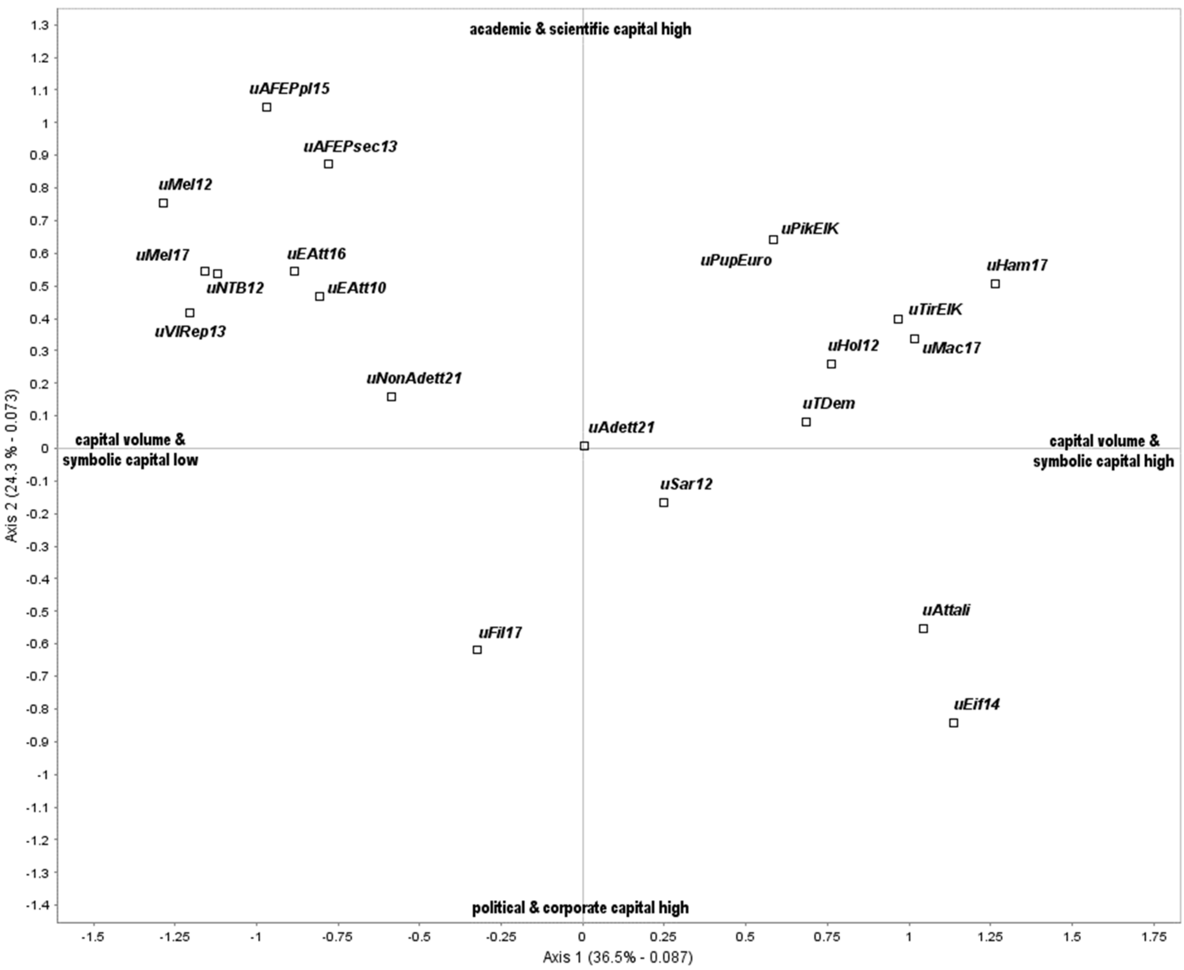
Hence, the differentiation of the autonomous pole revealed by the third axis as one of high as opposed to low institutional seniority, is linked to the degree of post-nationalization: Some of those challenging the principle of seniority hold considerable amounts of post-nationally scoped forms of capital, such as working for or consulting non-French governments (govWWdDiv) and global political economic institutions (govUNWBIMF) and having high numbers of research stays abroad (see Figure 4, FSG4-6 and FSG>6). Here, to the lower right, ties to highly valued national and post-national academic as well as political institutions also guarantee a considerable amount of influence on the reproduction of the field, as shown by the location of being a member of more than five PhD juries (TMJyr>5), having a high Hirsch index (HI>11), being managing editor of more than one journal (JManEd>1), and engaging in the government of the Agence nationale de la recherche (govANR). Those economists located here can be termed a scientifically highly successful avant-garde, contesting more traditional careers and institutions in the context of French economics.

Controversies in and over space

Discursive position-taking in debates on the future of French economics, the EU crisis, the crisis of the French economy, and the presidential elections of 2012 and 2017 can now be viewed in light of this space of French economists. For this purpose, having signed an open letter or petition is passively projected into the space.

As expected, the calls published by AFEP "Pour une nouvelle section d'économie « Économie et Société » au CNU" (*uAFEPsec13*) and "Pétition pour le pluralisme, maintenant !" (*uAFEPpl15*) are deeply rooted in the camp of French heterodox economics (see Figures 5 and 6). Creating a new section at the CNU and thus securing institutional mechanisms for consecrating the reproduction of one's own schools of thought was a viable option for heteronomous economists: it would have secured and potentially strengthened their position, a position constituted by scarce and seemingly diminishing access to traditional French positions of power and post-nationally acclaimed forms of symbolic capital. At the same time, this would have been a fissure of the field of French economics, a development not only loathed by the French academic institutional orthodoxy but also by the post-nationally acclaimed mainstream, as it would have significantly curtailed their influence. The two camps opposing a new section at the CNU might only partially share epistemological positions but they seem to be united with regard to a potential loss of access to reproductive power within the field. Hence, it does not really come as a surprise that the effort to establish a new section was halted due to an intervention by Jean Tirole, with Tomas Piketty not becoming involved himself, although he was most probably not antipathetic to many of the heterodox revolutionaries' scientific points of view (Nathan 2015). In the aftermath, the heterodox side was even accused of negating, albeit not the holocaust, but reality and scientific logic as presented by proponents of the orthodox pole (Cahuc and Zylberberg 2016).

Figure 5: dim 1/2, signatures on open letters (passive)



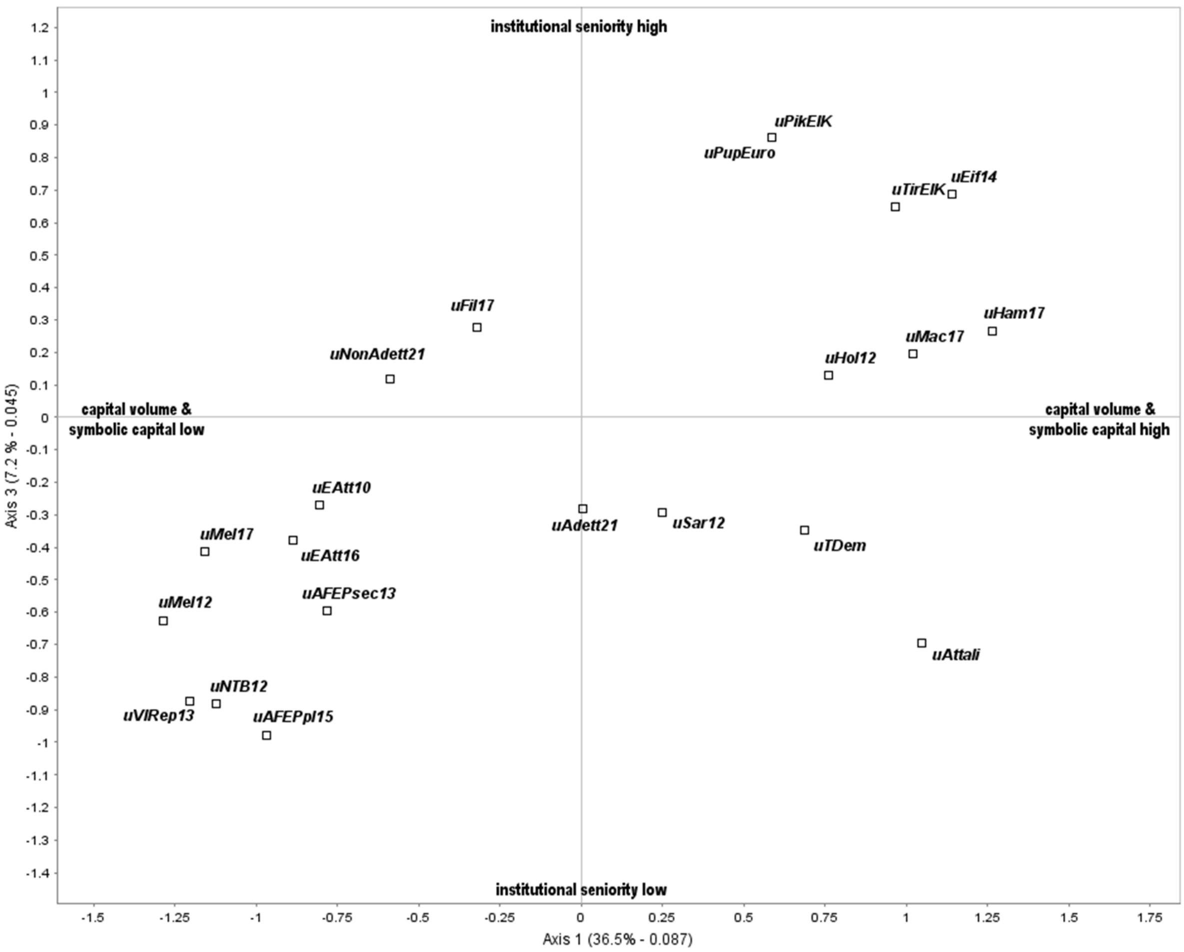
These seemingly purely epistemological and academic controversies were taken to a more political arena by Les Économistes Atterés, also deeply rooted in heterodox economics. In their analysis of the 2008 crisis “Crise et dettes en Europe” (uEAtt10) and “Pour sortir de l’impasse économique” (*uEAtt16*) they strongly criticize European institutions’ policies backed by the French government. In addition to politicians, they blame mainstream economics for facilitating, if not participating in, the developments building up to the crisis, for being incapable of handling the crisis itself, and for instrumentally shifting the costs to bear on those already most deprived. In 2012, the Collectif de plus de 120 économistes published “Non au traité budgétaire européen” (*uNTB12*) targeting the European Fiscal Compact much along the same lines, while being less critical of mainstream economics. In all three instances, the issue of abandoning the economics mainstream is taken to the political realm, highlighting the consequences of political decisions taken on the basis of economic expertise and understanding economics as a moral (as opposed to a purely technical) science. In these heterodox positionings, a certain national sentiment can be felt that resonates with their desire to refurbish French economics and is strategically in line with their nationally scoped field positions regarding all three axes.

In contrast, the letter “Pour une union politique de l’euro” (*uPupEuro*) initiated by Thomas Piketty in 2014 strikes a different note: It advocates for complementing the fiscal and economic integration of the EU with a new form of legislative institution that is democratically legitimized by the European people. The signatories of the letter constitute a broader coalition and are located closer to the orthodox academic institutional pole high on axis three and more connected to institutions with a transnational European scope. The same applies to those who signed “Manifeste pour la démocratisation de l’Europe” (*uTDem*) in 2018. The difference evident between heterodox, often perceived as leftist, economists and more moderate left positions held by economists located at the heart of orthodox academic institutions, is again reactivated in 2021: the call “Annuler les dettes publiques détenues par la BCE pour reprendre en main notre destin” (*uAdette21*) initiated by, among others, Thomas Piketty, Laurence Scialom, Jézabel Couppey-Soubeyran, and Gaël Giraud leads to a direct reaction from a more leftist and heterodox position by, among others, Éric Monnet and Bruno Tinel: “Vouloir effacer la dette que nous possédons déjà est un leurre” (*uNonAdette21*).

Far afield from this controversy we find the call for a “political community of the euro” (*uEif14*) published by members of the Groupe Eiffel in 2014. In the French discursive context, it is perceived as a (neo)liberal intervention to strengthen European freedoms, increase fiscal and economic policy control on a European level more generally and create a two-speed Europe. Its location low on the second axis and to the right but high on the third axis indicates that its signatories are deeply involved with the French corporate world and political institutions as well as with the core of those orthodox academic institutions that produce classic French state economists and hold considerable power in engineering the French-cum-European political economy.

The underlying logic holds true when switching to discussions revolving around the French welfare state and capitalism. In 2008, the “Commission pour la libération de la croissance française” (*uAttali*) headed by Jacques Attali proposed unchaining French economic growth by deregulating (labour) markets and professions, increasing competition by activating employees, lowering social welfare expenses, and reducing the obligations of employers, public debt, and red tape – the usual neoliberal solutions advocated the world over at the time. Members of both Attali commissions can be found close to the Groupe Eiffel on the first plane due to their involvement with the corporate and political world. A stark contrast to the Attali commissions is the “Appel des économistes pour une VIe République” (*uIVRep13*) published in 2013 and initiated by, among others, Philippe Batifoulier, Dany Lang, and Robert Salais. Diagnosing a failure of mainstream French political institutions due to their submission to finance capitalism, the signatories call for a new and more democratic republic, an end to austerity politics and a counter-hegemonic project to neoliberalism. As can be seen from this interlinking of neoliberalism critique on a political and scientific level, the signatories are primarily located in the area of heterodox French economics.

Figure 6: dim 1/3, signatures on open letters (passive)



A more middle-of-the-road intervention can be seen in the open letter “La ‘loi travail’ ne réduira pas le chômage” (*uPikElK*) speaking out against the reorganization of the French labour market. The letter was initiated by Thomas Piketty and signed by those who had also signed his intervention for a political union of the euro two years previously. The signatories argue that the desired positive effects are not covered by economic research: reducing barriers to lay off employees and curtailing the power of unions to negotiate collective agreements to make hiring and firing more attractive do not necessarily lead to a reduction in unemployment nor to an improvement in living conditions. Instead, they propagate a complete abolishment of the “Contract à durée déterminée” and a broader political approach to unemployment.

Immediately, a second letter (*UTirElK*) was initiated by Jean Tirole in favour of the new law, arguing that a reduction in the high level of permanency of “Contrat à durée indéterminée” will free up the labour market and help the most deprived, in particular, to get a foot in the door. Not only does the letter argue that more flexibility, fewer opportunities to litigate, and more individual vocational training will lead to lower unemployment but also that recent Spanish reforms prove the effectiveness of similar measures.

Signatories of both letters are located in the top right of both planes (Figures 5 and 6) close to the orthodox reproductive pole of French economics. In their relation to each other, the overall structure of the space is reproduced on a smaller scale: those in favour of the new labour law (also known Loi El Khomri) are located more to the right on the first axis and lower on the second and third axes, indicating relations to the corporate and political realm as well as more internationalized careers. Those against hold less overall power and are more deeply ingrained in distinctly French elite academic institutions.

The pattern that emerges is illustrated by the controversies over political economic policies pursued that we see when we look at the open-eds published in support of different candidates for the 2012 and the 2017 presidencies (all passive figure 5 and 6).[6] Support for the far-left candidate Jean-Luc Mélenchon (*uMel12, uMel17*) is located in the midst of the heterodox French economists. Support for the socialist candidates François Hollande in 2012 (*uHol12*) and Benoît Hamon (*uHam17*) in 2017 is located in the first quadrant on both planes but close to the first axis, with Emmanuel Macron in 2017 (*uMac17*) couched in between. All three of these centrist open-eds are signed by generally powerful economists from the autonomous pole as well as the heteronomous pole (high and low on axis 2) and from the academic orthodox institutions as well as the internationalized mainstream (high and low on axis 3). In contrast, support for the conservative candidates Nicolas Sarkozy in 2012 (*uSac12*) and the strictly conservative candidate François Fillon (*uFil17*) in 2017 holds considerably less influence in this space of academic economists, is more engaged than all other support in the corporate and political world, and has only weak relations to the French academic institutional orthodoxy as well as to internationalized mainstream economics.

DISCIPLINARY AND POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES IN LIGHT OF POST-NATIONAL DYNAMICS

As the above analysis has shown, there is a diversity of post-national scopes of capital and associated economists' careers. Particularly in the upper echelons of the reconstructed space, we encounter links to international universities, scientific associations, and academies, often located in the US, as well as to more political institutions such as US think tanks and the Federal Reserve. We also see relations to political institutions with a global scope here, such as the IMF, the UN, and the World Bank, and to institutions with a transnational European scope, such as the ECB. This region is the one most closely aligned to international mainstream economic thought, and one more likely to advocate (neo)liberal economic policies.

Yet powerful positions do not rest solely on ennobling their French careers with post-national scopes of capital. A more nationally anchored dominant fraction closely linked to the traditional French reproductive institutions of the field, such as ENA, ENSAE, and the École Polytechnique, is positioned vis-à-vis the 'newer' and globally asserted fraction. This bifurcation in the realm of dominant French economists can be described as one between scientific capital, which is more easily

[6] Open-eds in support of Marine Le Pen were not published in the 2012 and 2017 elections (see also Lebaron 2016).

vamped with post-national scopes, and academic capital, which has a closer affiliation to nation-state institutions. Both dominant fractions do, however, ally against heterodox currents in French economics and their endeavour to pluralize the discipline, often in an ex-negativo way: epistemological and political differences become marginalized in an effort to keep contenders at bay. This may well strengthen the power invested in the central elite institutions of the French economic field and lead to only a marginal 'internationalizing' of French economics.

As far as the heterodox fraction of French economics is concerned, a similar ex-negativo effect may occur: less likely to build up the capital endowments through their careers that can be expanded or ennobled post-nationally, neither in a transnational European context nor in an international US context, they almost inevitably become the defenders of a specifically French branch of economics. The same seems to apply to policy ideas with regard to France or the European context which, inspired by heterodox thought, are politically left and have a distinct national focus.

This stands in contrast to the two dominant fractions' policy positionings. The more nationally anchored have close relations to political institutions of national scope, such as France Stratégie, the Conseil d'analyse économique, and various ministries, as well as to political institutions of a transnational European scope, such as the European Commission and the European Parliament. Here, politically rather centrist and statist, at most slightly left leaning positions are advocated, that are aligned with more (neo)liberal policy positionings in the project of putting European economics and its transnational governance on the global map. Those who are more internationalized differ considerably by emphasizing more deregulatory, market-enhancing, and activating aspects of policies, particularly with regard to the French political economy.

Finally, and opposed to the three fractions outlined above, we encounter economists who have close links to the political and corporate realm primarily with a national scope. This heteronomous area of the field is conservative in all three regards: epistemologically, institutionally, and politically. It supports economic policies by centre-right candidates focused on the French political economy, does not question the prevailing economic mainstream's teaching and beliefs in the traditional institutions of French economics, albeit not being actively engaged. Following Sapiro (2018: 170), this constitutes a "conservative nationalism" as opposed to a "left-wing nationalism" that is more inherent to heterodox economists' positions.

It can be concluded that not only does the engagement of economists in the French political debates on the French and European economy show a close resemblance to their engagement in the debates on the current state and future of French economics but also that their links to national, transnational, international, or global institutions and hence national or various post-national scopes and sources of legitimation, affects their position-taking and their strategic interventions for change – or not – in the political economy as well as in the field of economists. But it has to be kept in mind, that the empirical analysis presented here is limited in its scope, since it focusses on those economists that have engaged in political economic issues and controversies discussed in a French context. All the same, those engaging in these controversies hold credible and important positions in the overall field, making it a highly interesting task to interpret the findings in the light of strategic dynamics in an overall French field of economists.

Generally, introducing post-national forms of capital to struggles in nationally anchored academic fields can potentially work for dominant incumbents already successful in the field, as well as for dominated challengers who seek to topple the hierarchy of the field and establish their own trait as a contribution to the autonomy of the field (Boncourt 2016: 386). But, as we have seen, opportunities to access post-national scopes of capital are not distributed evenly throughout the field. Heterodox currents in particular have a hard time forging transnational relationships when they are not part of an internationally active paradigm, have a relatively low degree of mathematization, and do not value formal modelling highly.

In contrast, dominant fractions linked to mainstream economics may more easily use national prestige to also gain post-national recognition, which can then be reimported into national controversies to secure and bolster their positions. In the case of the French field of economists, this has led to a coalition of dominant fractions holding nationally as well as post-nationally scoped capital. This coalition has succeeded in fending off attempts to dismantle the core reproductive national institutions of the field, thus stabilizing its own dominance and indirectly increasing the value of post-national scopes (Wagner and Réau 2015: 45). Examples of this are the founding of the PSE, the TSE, and the Université Paris-Sud, initially to (re)gain influence in global scientific contexts, while at the same time functioning as a viable strategy of the ruling factions to maintain their supremacy in the national realm (Dezalay 2004: 11).

To date, these developments have by no means broken the dominance of national scopes in the French field of economists, albeit leading to a rise of the importance of post-national scopes regarding economists' careers as well as regarding policy positionings. This also has consequences for the field of power, since academic elite institutions not only forge the careers of academic economists but also those of a professional elite more generally (Bourdieu 1994b), thus influencing the general perception of the economy and of its relation to politics and society at large. Hence, discursive position-takings articulated in the academic context also become stakes in the wider field of power and its struggles over the legitimate forms of domination and their reach.

The subtle relations and struggles that constitute the field of power have not been researched in depth here. Thus, we can only very cautiously assess the impact that changes in the French field of economists have on the French field of power. Since 2008, and when compared to developments in the last decade of the twentieth century, fractions of economists pushing for post-nationalisation do seem to have consolidated their position and economists' fractions with a national scope appear to be in a slow decline. At the same time, recent developments such as the climate and energy crisis as well as the war in Ukraine may well have lasting effects on the position-taking and consequently the positions of economists in the field of power. In a more political context, the 2022 French presidential and parliamentary elections have already shown that nationally scoped coalitions are possible, especially beyond academic fields, that might well influence the state of the (French) field of power and lead to a surge in renationalization. Further research across different fractions of the field of power and into different national settings is urgently needed to assess these current developments.

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Appendix

Table 1: Contributions of active categories to axes 1–3 and passive categories

		variables	scope[7]	category	N	Contribution in percent[8] axis 1	axis 2	axis 3
active categories	academic capital	PhD	F	n_PhD	26	0.0	**3.8**	0.0
				PhDEHESS	14	0.0	**0.9**	0.0
				PhDFother	19	0.5	0.0	**0.7**
				PhDP1	38	0.1	**0.6**	**2.7**
				PhDP10	13	0.1	0.4	0.2
				PhDP9	8	0.1	**0.9**	0.0
				PhDPother	9	0.0	0.1	0.3
			IN	PhDUSUK	17	**3.0**	0.3	1.0
		Habilitation	F	hab	28	0.1	**1.4**	0.1
				n_hab	116	0.0	0.3	0.0
		University position	F	AProf	12	0.0	0.1	0.0
				Emerit	17	0.2	0.0	0.1
				MaîtreC	15	**2.1**	0.3	**1.2**
				n_UniPos	45	**2.3**	0.0	0.1
				Prof	55	**1.5**	**1.5**	0.2
		Leading position at university	F	n_UniPresC	111	0.0	0.5	0.1
				UniPresC	33	0.1	**1.7**	0.2
		Position at one of the 20 highest ranked US universities according to Times Higher Education	IN	n_UniUStop	116	**0.9**	0.1	0.2
				UniUStop	28	**3.6**	0.2	**0.6**
		Position at a US university not ranked in the top 20, a European, or Canadian university	IN	n_UniUsEuCa	120	0.1	0.3	0.4
				UniUsEuCa	24	0.4	**1.5**	**2.1**
		Position at one of the 15 highest ranked British universities according to Times Higher Education	IN	n_UniUKtop	134	0.1	0.1	0.1
				UniUKtop	10	**1.9**	**1.1**	**1.7**
		Position at an Asian, African, or South- or Central-American university	IN	n_UniAAA	127	0.0	0.2	0.4
				UniAAA	17	0.0	**1.4**	**3.1**
		Position at a French university outside Paris region	F	n_UniFother	83	0.0	**1.4**	0.1
				UniFother	61	0.0	**1.9**	0.1
		Position at Paris 1	F	n_P1	112	0.0	0.4	**0.9**
				P1	32	0.1	**1.3**	**3.0**
		Position at Paris 2, 7, 8, or 12	F	n_Poth	136	0.0	0.0	0.1
				Poth	8	0.3	0.0	**1.0**
		Position at Paris 9	F	n_P9	125	0.0	0.1	0.0
				P9	19	0.1	**0.8**	0.1
		Position at Paris 10	F	n_P10	131	0.0	0.1	0.1
				P10	13	0.0	**1.0**	**0.7**
		Position at Paris 13	F	n_P13	132	0.1	0.0	0.1
				P13	12	**0.7**	0.1	**1.6**
		Position at École polytechnique	F	n_EPoly	125	0.2	0.0	0.1
				EPoly	19	**1.3**	0.0	**0.8**
			F	n_ENSAE	19	0.1	0.0	0.2

[7] Properties here can be distinguished as having a French-national (F), international (IN), EU-transnational (TN) or global (G) scope, with properties not specifically scoped assumed as French. Non-French scopes are hence slightly underrepresented in case of properties where a construction of categories according to scope would have led to Non-French categories with very low numbers. Intentionally left blank in cases where scope does not apply.

[8] Contributions of categories exceeding the average contribution of 0.53% are printed in bold.

		Position at École nationale de la statistique et de l'administration économique		ENSAE	125	**0.8**	0.0	**1.3**
		Position at Institut d'études politiques de Paris (Science Po)	F	n_SciPo	118	0.2	0.1	0.1
				SciPo	26	**0.9**	0.4	0.4
		Position at École des hautes études en sciences sociales	F	n_EHESS	127	0.0	0.1	0.0
				EHESS	17	0.1	**0.9**	0.3
		Position at École normale supérieure	F	n_ENS	123	0.1	0.1	0.0
				ENS	21	0.3	0.5	0.2
		Position at Paris School of Economics	F	n_PSE	121	0.2	0.3	**0.7**
				PSE	23	**1.0**	**1.3**	**3.5**
		Position at Toulouse School of Economics	F	n_TSE	135	0.1	0.0	0.1
				TSE	9	**1.4**	0.0	**0.9**
		Position at École des hautes études commerciales and other top business schools	F	n_HEC+	129	0.0	0.0	0.1
				HEC+	15	0.3	0.2	**1.0**
		Position at Conservatoire national des arts et métiers	F	n_CNAM	137	0.0	0.0	0.0
				CNAM	7	0.0	0.5	0.0
		Position at École nationale d'administration	F	n_ENA	134	0.0	0.0	0.0
				ENA	10	0.3	0.0	**0.6**
		Position at other grande école	F	n_GEoth	131	0.1	0.0	0.2
				GEoth	13	**0.9**	0.1	**1.7**
		Centre for Economic Policy Research	TN	n_CEPR	123	**0.6**	0.1	0.1
				CEPR	21	**3.5**	**0.6**	**0.7**
		German Institute of Labour Economics	IN	n_IZA	131	0.1	0.0	0.3
				IZA	13	**0.9**	0.4	**2.8**
		Centre d'économie de l'université Paris-Nord	F	n_CEPN	137	0.1	0.0	0.1
				CEPN	7	**1.1**	**0.6**	**2.3**
		Centre d'économie de la Sorbonne	F	n_CES	134	0.0	0.0	0.1
				CES	10	0.3	**0.6**	**1.3**
		Centre des Etudes de l'Emploi	F	n_CEE	137	0.0	0.1	0.0
				CEE	7	0.0	**1.0**	0.1
		Centre de recherche en économie et statistique, research centre of INSEE	F	n_CREST	130	0.1	0.0	0.3
				CREST	14	**0.7**	0.3	**3.2**
		Centre pour la recherche économique et ses applications	F	n_CEPREMAP	130	**0.7**	**1.3**	**1.1**
				CEPREMAP	14	0.1	0.1	0.1
		Observatoire français des conjonctures économiques	F	n_OFCE	135	0.0	0.0	0.0
				OFCE	9	0.0	0.3	0.0
		Centre d'études prospectives et d'informations internationales	F	n_CEPII	132	0.1	0.0	0.0
				CEPII	12	**1.5**	0.0	0.2
		Foreign Research Institute	IN	n_frgRInst	102	**0.8**	**0.6**	0.0
				frgRInst	42	**2.0**	**1.4**	0.1
		French research institute	F	n_FRInst	72	0.0	**1.9**	0.0
				FRInst	72	0.0	**1.9**	0.0
		Foreign stay of more than six months in the US	IN	n_FS_US	109	**1.1**	0.2	0.2
				FS_US	35	**3.3**	0.5	**0.8**
		Foreign stay of more than six months in the UK or Canada	IN	n_FS_UKCan	125	**0.1**	0.1	0.5
				FS_UKCan	19	**0.7**	0.5	**3.2**
		Foreign stay of more than six months in other EU states	IN	n_FS_EUother	128	0.1	0.2	0.1
				FS_EUother	16	0.5	**1.8**	0.4
		Foreign stay of more than six months in Belgium	IN	n_FS_Bel	128	0.0	0.0	0.1
				FS_Bel	16	0.2	0.4	**1.2**
		Foreign stay of more than six months, rest of world	IN	n_FS_World	18	0.0	0.1	0.3
				FS_World	126	0.0	**0.8**	**1.9**
		Member of a PhD jury	F	n_TMJry	40	0,0	**1,4**	0,4
				TMJry1	44	0,2	**0,8**	0,0
				TMJry2/3	24	0,0	**1,0**	**2,8**
				TMJry4/5	22	0,0	**1,0**	0,0
				TMJry>5	14	**1,2**	**1,1**	**1,3**
	scienti fic	Hirsch index by World of Science, quintiles and no HI	G	n_HI	32	0,5	**2,9**	0,0
				HI1	25	0,2	0,1	0,2
				HI2/3	27	0,3	0,0	0,2
				HI4/5	18	0,0	0,4	0,2

			F	HI>5	22	0,1	**1,0**	**1,1**
				HI>11	20	**2,3**	0,4	0,1
		Managing editor of journal	F	JManEd>1	22	0.0	**2.2**	**2.0**
				JManEd1	30	0.3	0.3	**1.0**
				n_JManEd	92	0.1	**1.1**	0.0
		Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics	G	n_asSASE	133	0.1	0.1	0.2
				asSASE	11	**0.9**	**1.8**	**2.2**
		Association recherche et régulation, Réseau international de recherche sur les organisations et le développement durable, Association pour le développement des études Keynésiennes	F	n_asADEK_ARR_RIODD	133	0.2	0.1	0.1
				asADEK_ARR_RIODD	11	**2.2**	**0.8**	**1.8**
		International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy	G	n_asIIPPE	135	0.1	0.1	0.1
				asIIPPE	9	**1.6**	**0.9**	**1.4**
		Various university research centres	F	n_uRCdiv	137	0.0	0.0	0.0
				uRCdiv	7	**0.9**	0.1	0.1
		Various US, UK, and Canadian economic associations	IN	n_asEAUSGlb	131	0.1	0.1	0.0
				asEAUSGlb	13	**0.9**	**0.6**	0.0
		Various French economic associations	F	n_asEAF	128	0.0	0.0	0.2
				asEAF	16	0.0	0.3	**1.7**
		Various European economic associations	TN	n_asEAEU	128	0.0	0.1	0.0
				asEAEU	16	0.2	**1.0**	0.0
		European Association for Evolutionary Economy	TN	n_asEAEPE	136	0.1	0.0	0.1
				asEAEPE	8	**1.3**	**0.6**	**2.0**
		Association française de science économique	F	n_asAFSE	114	0.1	0.4	0.2
				asAFSE	30	0.5	**1.5**	**0.7**
		Institut universitaire de France	F	n_asIUF	129	0.1	0.2	0.1
				asIUF	15	**0.9**	**1.6**	**1.0**
		Cercle des économistes	F	n_asCdE	123	0.3	0.1	0.0
				asCdE	23	**1.6**	0.4	0.0
		Association francaise d'économie politique	F	n_asAFEP	124	0.4	0.2	0.4
				asAFEP	20	**2.7**	**1.5**	**2.5**
		Les Économists Atterrés	F	n_asEAtt	95	1.5	**0.6**	0.3
				asEAtt	49	**3.0**	**1.2**	**0.6**
		Conseil national des universités section sciences économiques	F	n_asCNU	133	0.1	0.0	0.1
				asCNU	11	**0.7**	0.4	**1.7**
		Econometric Society	IN	n_asEMetS	129	0.3	0.1	0.1
				asEMetS	15	**2.8**	0.5	0.5
	political and corporate capital	Private French research institute	F	n_pFRInst	125	0.1	0.0	0.1
				pFRInst	19	**1.0**	0.1	**0.9**
		Liberal-critical and left think tank	F	n_ttLibCrtLft	128	0.0	0.0	0.0
				ttLibCrtLft	16	0.2	0.0	0.0
		Liberal and corporative think tanks	F	n_ttLibCorp	115	0.2	0.2	0.0
				ttLibCorp	29	**0.8**	**0.9**	0.0
		European Commission and other EU institutions	TN	n_govEU	119	0.3	0.0	0.0
				govEU	25	**1.3**	0.0	0.0
		European Central Bank	TN	n_govECB	134	0.1	0.0	0.0
				govECB	10	**1.4**	0.1	0.2
		Agence nationale de la recherche	F	n_govANR	131	0.1	0.1	0.2
				govANR	13	**1.0**	**1.5**	**1.6**
		Ministère de l'économie, des finances et de l'industrie, Treasury	F	n_govMinFEI	38	0.5	0.3	0.1
				govMinFEI	106	**1.5**	**0.7**	0.2
		Ministère du Travail	F	n_govMinTrv	135	0.0	0.0	0.1
				govMinTrv	9	0.0	0.1	**0.9**
		Ministère de l'éducation nationale, Haut conseil de l'évaluation de la recherche et de l'enseignement supérieur	F	n_govMinEN	130	0.0	0.1	0.0
				govMinEN	14	0.0	**1.2**	0.0
		Other ministries	F	n_govMinoth	118	0.0	0.0	0.1
				govMinoth	26	0.0	0.0	0.4
		Conseil d'analyse économiques	F	n_govCdAE	93	**1.6**	0.2	0.0
				govCdAE	51	**2.8**	0.3	0.1
			F	n_govCdoth	113	0.3	0.4	0.2

		Other councils to French government		govCdoth	31	**1.3**	**1.4**	**0.7**
		France Stratégie	F	n_govFStrg	124	0.0	0.0	0.1
				govFStrg	20	0.1	0.0	0.3
		French president and prime minister's office	F	n_govPPM	128	0.1	0.1	0.3
				govPPM	16	**1.2**	**0.8**	**2.4**
		Banque de France	F	n_govBdF	125	0.1	0.0	0.1
				govBdF	19	**0.9**	0.2	0.5
		Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, Autorité des marchés financiers, other French agencies	F	n_govAgcy	111	0.1	0.1	0.0
				govAgcy	33	0.2	0.4	0.0
		Assemblée nationale, sénat	F	n_govAN	135	0.0	0.0	0.0
				govAN	9	0.1	**0.6**	0.0
		Central banks	IN	n_govCB	133	0.2	0.0	0.0
				govCB	11	**2.3**	0.1	0.1
		Various governments worldwide	IN	n_govWWDiv	134	0.1	0.0	0.1
				govWWDiv	10	**1.0**	0.0	**1.2**
		Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	G	n_govOECD	132	0.0	0.0	0.0
				govOECD	12	0.0	0.1	0.1
		United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund	G	n_govUNWBIMF	121	**0.6**	0.0	0.1
				govUNWBIMF	23	**3.0**	0.0	**0.7**
		Media corporations	F	n_crpMedia	111	0.2	**0.6**	0.3
				crpMedia	33	**0.8**	**2.0**	**1.0**
		Banks	F	n_crpBank	123	0.1	0.3	0.0
				crpBank	21	0.4	**1.7**	0.1
		Financial industry and funds	F	n_crpFinI	128	0.1	0.1	0.1
				crpFinI	16	**0.8**	**0.6**	**1.0**
		Service and trade corporations	F	n_crpServTr	125	0.0	0.4	0.0
				crpServTr	19	0.1	**2.4**	0.2
		Insurance companies	F	n_crpInsur	128	0.1	0.4	0.1
				crpInsur	16	**0.6**	**3.1**	**0.8**
		Management consulting and law firms	F	n_crpCons	126	0.0	0.1	0.0
				crpCons	18	0.3	**0.9**	0.3
passive categories	***socio-statistics***	Sex		f	18	–	–	–
				m	126	–	–	–
		Age groups (year of birth)		n_birth	20,	–	–	–
				38-49	37	–	–	–
				50-59	29	–	–	–
				60-69	28	–	–	–
				70-84	30	–	–	–
	academic capital	European University Institute, Collège d'Europe	TN	EUI_CEU	6	–	–	–
		Position at a Swiss or Scandinavian university	IN	UniCHSca	10	–	–	–
		Research fellow at research institute/laboratory	F	riFlw	36	–	–	–
		Researcher at research institute/laboratory	F	riRes	21	–	–	–
		Leading position at research institute/laboratory	F	riDir	47	–	–	–
		Grants CNRS, ANR	F	gCNRS__ANR	17	–	–	–
		Grants from ministries	F	gMin	17	–	–	–
		Grants from US and UK institutions	IN	gUSUK	14	–	–	–
		Grants from European Research Council	TN	gERC	9	–	–	–
		Grants from other French institutions	F	gFrother	14	–	–	–
		Number of foreign stays longer than six months	IN	n_FSG	81	–	–	–
				FSG1	13	–	–	–
				FSG2	23	–	–	–
				FSG3	6	–	–	–
				FSG4-6	9	–	–	–

				FSG>6	12	–	–	–
	scientific capital	Number of scientific awards	F	n_PSciNG	89	–	–	–
			F	PSciNG_1	27	–	–	–
			F	PSciNG2_3	12	–	–	–
			F	PSciNG>3	16	–	–	–
		Award for research program	F	PSciResP	23	–	–	–
		Award for PhD thesis	F	PSciTh	18	–	–	–
		Award for young economist, economist or econ. book of the year	F	PscideA	29	–	–	–
		Médaille de bronze, d'argent, d'or CNRS	F	PMCnrs	7	–	–	–
		Lauréat Académie des sciences morales et politiques	F	PSciASMP	9	–	–	–
		Non-French national academies	IN	asNatAcad	8	–	–	–
		European Economic Association	TN	asEEA	8	–	–	–
		American Economic Association	TN	asAEA	7	–	–	–
	political and corporate capital	Think tank Brookings Institute	IN	ttBrook	10	–	–	–
		Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur	F	PChLdH	24	–	–	–
		Officier de la Légion d'honneur	F	POffLdH	9	–	–	–
		Ordre national du mérite	F	POndM	19	–	–	–
		Number of consulting or employment government institutions		n_GovN	38	–	–	–
				GovN>6	22	–	–	–
				GovN1/2	35	–	–	–
				GovN3/4	28	–	–	–
				GovN5/6	21	–	–	–
		Number of consulting or employment corporations		CorpN>4	11	–	–	–
				CorpN1	15	–	–	–
				CorpN2	17	–	–	–
				CorpN3/4	17	–	–	–
				n_CorpN	84	–	–	–
	positionings on political economic issues	AFEP "Pour une nouvelle section d'économie «Économie et Société» au CNU" 2013		uAFEPsec13	7	–	–	–
		AFEP "Pétition pour le pluralisme, maintenant!" 2015		uAFEPpl15	10	–	–	–
		Les Économistes Atterés "Pourquoi nous sommes des économistes atterrés" 2010		uEAtt10	37	–	–	–
		Les Économistes Attères "Pour sortir de l'impasse économique" 2016		uEAtt16	36	–	–	–
		Collectif de plus de 120 économistes "Non au traité budgétaire européen" 2012		uNTB12	17	–	–	–
		"Appel des économistes pour une VIe République" 2013		uVIRep13	8	–	–	–
		Rapport de la Commission pour la libération de la croissance française 2008 and 2010		uAttali	5	–	–	–
		"Manifeste pour une union politique de l'euro" 2014		uPupEuro	9	–	–	–
		Groupe Eiffel "Pour une communauté politique de l'euro" 2014		uEif14	2	–	–	–
		"Le projet de loi El Khomri représente une avancée pour les plus fragiles" 2016		uTirEIK	21	–	–	–
		"La 'loi travail' ne réduira pas le chômage" 2016		uPikEik	9	–	–	–
		"Manifeste pour la democratisation de l'Europe" 2018		uTDem	10	–	–	–
		"Annuler les dettes publiques détenues par la BCE pour reprendre en main notre destin" 2021		uNonAdett21	21	–	–	–
		"Vouloir effacer la dette que nous possédons déjà est un leurre" 2021		uAdett21	15	–	–	–

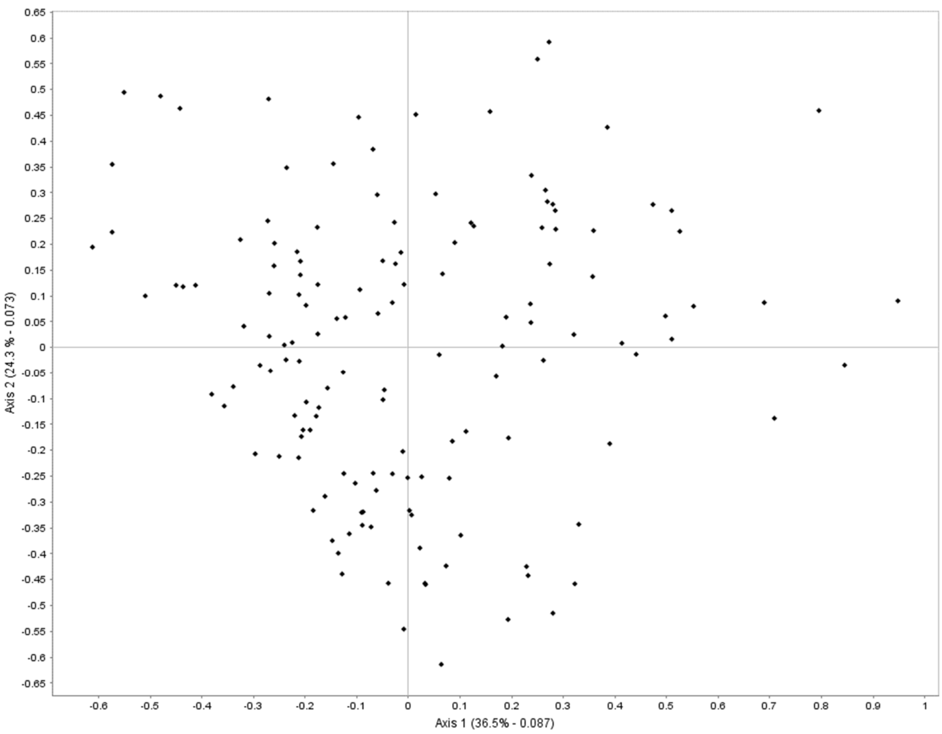
Table 2: Contributions of active categories to axes 1–3 grouped according to type of capital

	contribution in percent			
	average	***axis 1***	***axis 2***	***axis 3***
academic capital	50.8	44.8	53.4	61.4
scientific capital	20.6	27.2	23.9	22.8
political and corporate capital	28.6	28.0	22.8	15.8

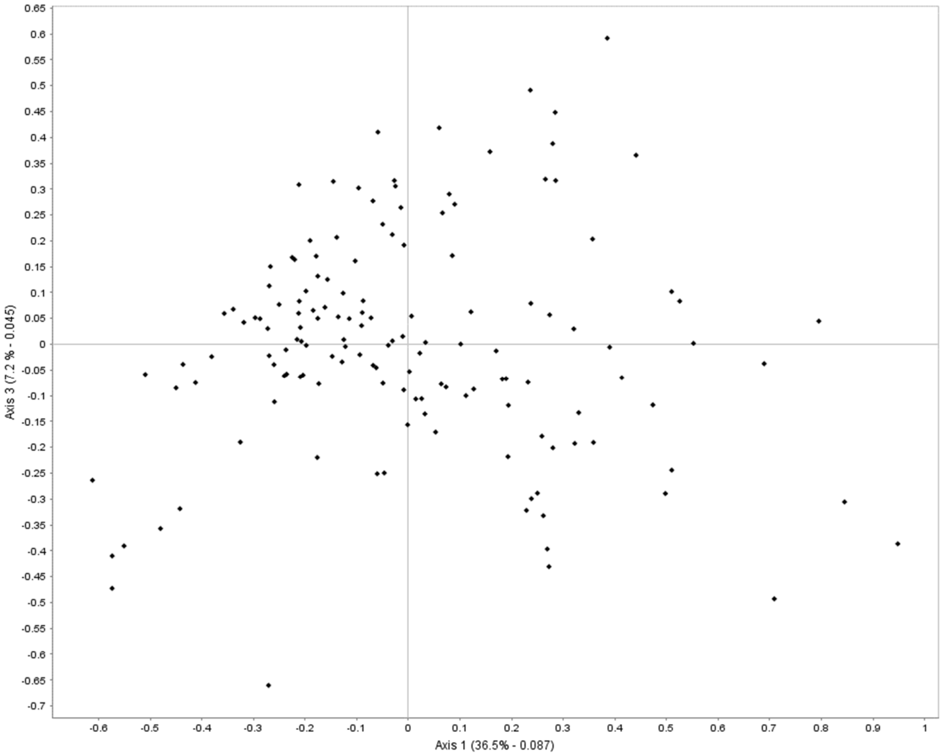
Table 3: Contributions of active categories to axes 1–3 grouped according to type of scope

	contribution in percent			
	average	***axis 1***	***axis 2***	***axis 3***
French-national scope	70.9	54.1	74.7	64.7
international scope	16.4	27.3	14.7	25.6
transnational scope	5.3	8.7	2.6	3.2
global scope	7.4	9.8	7.9	6.5

Graph 1: dim 1/2, cloud of individuals



Graph 2: dim 1/3, cloud of individuals



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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

ARTICLE

Peripheral internationalization at a crossroads: traveling, publishing, and careers

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Abstract

The present article examines internationalization in a peripheral academic context by looking at graduate Sociology professors in Brazil. We focus foremost on research stays abroad and foreign publications, using mostly descriptive statistics. We aim to understand the elements that structure the choice of destination, how they express center-periphery dynamics, and their relation to a research grant called Bolsa Produtividade. Engaging in the debate with the literature on centers and peripheries, especially with the understanding that these are relational and condition each other, we observe the various dimensions and how internationalization strategies are presented. We distinguish between more or less prestigious graduate programs while comparing how they overlap with Brazilian regional inequalities. This sheds light on the pitfalls of the rising pressure to internationalize, and how it takes shape in the recent context.

Keywords

Internationalization; Brazil; center-periphery dynamics; sociology; dependency.

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The expansion and intensification of mobility systems as an effect of globalization have contributed towards the increase of flows, travels, and circulation of people, symbolic and material goods, information, and technologies, among others. In the science and education fields, these mobilities were driven by the creation of an international market of work and professional training for researchers, professors, graduates, and Ph.D. students (Healey 2008; Martins 2015), a process that has also influenced the commodification of knowledge and education (Altbach 2002).

Although academic life is often seen as an intrinsically internationalized environment, this process results from a myriad of social, political, and economic factors and disputes (Bourdieu 2002). These circulations are mostly dependent upon symbolic and material elements that structure the global geopolitics of knowledge. By this, we mean the concrete processes that, globally, structure knowledge production. One presupposition concerning this debate is that, to understand scientific dynamics, it is necessary to consider its global connectedness and exchanges, both of which have been established over recent centuries but are constantly being reconfigured.

These processes have to be accounted for, especially considering Brazil's peripheral position regarding sociological production. Moreover, the meanings attributed to internationalization and its role in academic careers vary according to the country's internal and external conditions. For instance, different from other countries, data show that Brazilian researchers does not suffer significantly from brain drain: it is more accurate to speak in terms of circulation (Lombas 2017), which means that the majority of those who go abroad to study or do research do return and pursue an academic career in Brazil. Our paper proposes to understand how academic travel structures scientific careers among Sociology graduate programs in Brazil, looking at a number of mobility indicators. These indicators take into consideration the efforts toward Brazilian scientific internationalization, as shall be discussed in more detail below. The main goal of this article is to examine if and how the careers of Sociology professors in Brazil rely (or not) on traveling abroad. We also tentatively address internationalization patterns, including comments on whether other forms of internationalization have been sustained besides traveling abroad.

Therefore, we focus on how travel reflects career success in terms of publication, recognition, and resources. The main criterion adopted to analyze this relation among researchers was whether they were awarded a *Bolsa Produtividade* — a distinguished grant offered by a Brazilian federal agency to prominent researchers. It is important to highlight that this specific resource not only configures a financial gain but also represents an accumulation of symbolic capital that translates into status among peers. Many authors have extensively discussed the pitfalls of North-South cooperation (Gaillard 1994) and knowledge production (Connell 2012). For our analysis, we combine concepts and perspectives to investigate how center-periphery dynamics structure forms of academic exchange. Returning to the understanding of countries from the "center" being considered the most usual destinations for doctoral and postdoctoral stays abroad, we rely on the analytical model proposed by Wiebke Keim (2010). Keim investigates this differentiation through three dimensions, each associated with two characteristics that mark the separation between center and periphery, as follows:

(i) infrastructure and internal organization (developed/underdeveloped);

(ii) conditions of existence and reproduction (autonomous/dependent);

(iii) international position and recognition (centrality/marginality).

These dimensions ensue a relational understanding of center-periphery dynamics since they allow a country or institution to be better seen as autonomous or, at times, dependent, central, or marginal. Such an approach is verifiable in the Brazilian case since its institutions rank as central in the Latin American context, while their overall self-understanding, as shall be elaborated below, is more marginal (and dependent). Following the same reasoning, we reject the idea that the international can be either passively or ontologically defined. As such, a negotiation process is fundamental when it comes to establishing which "type" or "array" of strategies are recognized as legitimate forms of internationalization. Concerning the overall pattern, Raewyn Connell, Fran Collyer, João Maia, and Robert Morell stress:

> Negotiation also occurs concerning the circulation of knowledge, which has become an acute issue for researchers. The institutional pressure to publish in elite Northern journals is enormous. However, some of our respondents' publication strategies try to combine publication in such journals with publication in local journals that have no prestige but do have an informed local readership. So it is not an either/or dilemma (Connell *et al.* 2017: 31).

As we will argue later on, this is a relevant trait for Sociology in Brazil. Although there is intense pressure to internationalize, it is not seen as an alternative to engaging in local or national debates. In fact, both actions are necessary when it comes to gaining prestige since there is relative autonomy in terms of the research agenda. At the same time, as outlined by Fabrício Neves, this (relative) autonomy is marked by subordination when it comes to the way Brazilian researchers understand their own work. Neves argues this could be understood as a form of *managing irrelevance*, as detailed below:

> In other contexts of scientific practice, 'contextualization' means 'peripheralization' […] it refers to attributing a negative value to what one does and how it is done, leading to expectations that are not recognizable, not publishable, of restricted circulation, frequently limited to its own context […] In these practice contexts, irrelevance is managed when combining contextual expectations of insignificance and generalizing them. I shall synthesize these practices as a 'regime of managing irrelevance,' thus reinforcing local expectations through interaction in the same local practice space or intersecting in global practice spaces, such as international congresses (Neves 2020: 7).

This is what we see as a crossroads for internationalization when it comes to Sociology in Brazil. Historically, there have been several authors and approaches from Brazil that gained foreign recognition, e.g., dependence theory. However, these are frequently seen as studies concerning a specific region or country, without achieving the level of generalization that characterizes central or canonical works (even contemporary classics, such as Bourdieu).

To some extent, by fulfilling this peripheral position in relation to most of the Global North (Connell 2012), Brazilian sociologists also structure the forms of internationalization. As we shall see in more detail when discussing our data, Neves mentions that in the Brazilian context, international circulation is foremost identified with the US and Europe, recognized as "centers of relevant scientific production" (Neves 2020: 12). Therefore, even for those who study Brazil or Latin America, the trend is to focus their research stays on these regions.

> Asymmetry concerning researchers' mobility leads to the ideas of 'methodological update,' 'theoretical update,' and 'modernization,' very common in the vocabulary of programs for international scientific mobility offered by countries supposedly peripheral in science (Neves 2020: 12).

Thus, understanding the strategies of internationalization has to take into account the specific field we are discussing, as well as overarching pressures related to the evaluation of graduate programs in Brazil. As such, center and periphery have to be taken as the "idea of a relational periphery, articulated in terms of lack, understood as a reference to institutional, financial, technical, cultural and also cognitive problems" (Ferreira 2019: 83). In other words, the explanation for the Brazilian peripheral position is a perceived lack of adequate conditions to produce relevant, recognized science. However, we may ask: what underlies internationalization? After all, research stays in foreign countries can be seen as a path to internationalize scientists, but they do not necessarily translate to a wider circulation of knowledge. The interpretation outlined by Leandro Rodriguez Medina refines this understanding:

> STS literature has long ago shown that internationalization is not related only to the circulation of some hypotheses or ideas as a neutral, geographical phenomenon with no epistemic implications. On the contrary, moving knowledge requires a set of material and social practices

> that have to be internalized by scientists throughout their formative years: they must learn how to be first-rate international scientists (Medina 2018: 216).

Hence, in the periphery, the presupposition of cooperating with foreign countries is perceived in a specific manner. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider that different forms of mobility present distinct advantages and limits. To do so, our article is divided into three main sections, followed by final remarks. The next section presents a contextualization of the Brazilian case, along with a short discussion of the concept of internationalization itself, in order to understand this debate more rigorously and situating our findings. After that, we present our empirical corpus and the methodology, looking at the data from professors in Brazilian graduate programs in Sociology to assess if this stance is valid. Furthermore, we indicate how this internationalization is conditioned in terms of travel destinations. Finally, we outline how these travels and publications in foreign journals present themselves in this context, specifically related to the *Bolsa produtividade* grant.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE BRAZILIAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM AND INTERNATIONALIZATION

To better understand the data and the analysis below, we outline a panorama of the higher education and graduate programs in Brazil, focusing on the case of Sociology - since certain traits distinguish its career patterns from anthropology and political science[1] (Lima 2019: 8–29). As an undergraduate course in Brazil, Sociology has accompanied the constitution and expansion of the academic system as a whole, going through a new wave of expansion and deep changes in the last quarter of the century (Lima 2019: 8–29).

Our proposed outlook sheds light on the established understanding that regional differences are the most important ones in Brazil. The country is divided into five regions — the South and Southeast present the best infrastructural conditions, along with more funding, while the Northeast, Center-West, and especially the North encompass younger institutions. Most states in the North still have no graduate programs in Sociology. The regional disparities have different origins, one of them being the distribution of the population across the country, but their main aspect relies on the industrialization process throughout the 20th century, and its contemporary ripple effects.

Maps 1 and 2 show the division of Brazil into states and regions, with the corresponding labels, as well as the distribution of federal universities across the country, allowing for a better understanding of the territorial concentration.

Brazil has 51 graduate programs in Sociology/Social Sciences that are distributed among the five regions: Southeast (23); Northeast (13); South (9); Central-West (5); and North (1). The Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (Capes) is a funding agency, which is in charge of evaluating Sociology programs. During the last 25 years, programs were ranked from 1 to 7, with seven being the highest score. For a program to be accredited, it has to obtain at least a grade of 3, and programs that achieve 6 or 7 are considered excellent. The evaluation occurs every four years and is conducted by a pool of professors from different universities. Besides certifying the quality of the graduate courses, another goal of the evaluation is to identify the

1 In terms of graduate programs, the social sciences in Brazil are split among Anthropology, Political Science, and Sociology, as well as some programs in Social Sciences. However, for matters of evaluation, the federal agency Capes considers the last of these as part of Sociology, and therefore they are also part of our empirical corpus.

asymmetries between regions and knowledge fields to guide strategic actions for creating and expanding graduate programs throughout the country.

Among the graduate programs in Sociology, nine are considered excellent, with four obtaining the highest grade (7) UFRJ (Rio de Janeiro); IESP/UERJ (Rio de Janeiro); UFRGS (Porto Alegre) and UnB (Brasília) and five in the second rank (6) USP (São Paulo); Unicamp (Campinas); UFMG (Belo Horizonte); PUC-RS (Porto Alegre) and UFSCar (São Carlos). Among these, only one is located outside the Southeast and South regions. Thus, although accounting for 64% of all programs, 88% of those considered excellent are located in these two regions, showing a discrepancy between the overall distribution of programs, and the location of those that are better evaluated, which hence, receive more grants and financing. Another 15 programs obtained grade 5, with the following distribution: Northeast (5), North (1), Southeast (5), and South (4). It is to be noted that the programs do not show significant differences when it comes to student enrollment.

Figure 1: Brazilian States and Regions

Source: Prepared by the authors using the website <https://www.mapchart.net/brazil.html>.

The deep inequalities among Brazilian regions and the respective institutions are certainly relevant but present different roots. The center-periphery dynamic is constituted in terms of the concentration of resources and the qualifications of researchers, leading us to expect similar patterns on the way different forms and levels of internationalization are distributed, which partly derives from a heterogeneous dissemination of the Brazilian population versus its territory, with the Northern region the extreme case, since it encompasses roughly 45% of the country's territory and only 8.7% of its population. In comparison, the Southeast region has 11% of the territory and 42.5% of its population.

Figure 2: Distribution of Federal and State Universities in Brazil, Source: Dados georreferenciados dos campi das universidades federais como instrumento de gestão da informação pelo Forcampi. Available at: https://litoral.ufpr.br/observatoriolitoral/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2019/09/DADOS-GEORREFERENCIADOS-DOS-CAMPI-DAS-UNIVERSIDADES-FEDERAIS-COMO-INSTRUMENTO-DE-GESTÃO-DA-INFORMAÇÃO-PELO-FORCAMPI.pdf

The other relevant federal funding agency for our analysis is the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), the main contributor in terms of individual and group research grants. The aforementioned *Bolsa Produtividade* is conferred by this agency to researchers that fulfill an array of distinguishing criteria. Specific aspects are considered for each area, another reason to focus on Sociology instead of Social Sciences since there is no homology between how

Anthropology and Sociology distribute these grants. Although Anthropology mentions aspects of internalization, its outlook is more national-oriented. For its turn, Political Science evaluates the projects alongside International Relations, and these areas specify the necessity of citations among the main indexes, such as Google Scholar, Scopus, Web of Science etc. In Sociology, the main entry criterion is to be part of a graduate program, since only those who have supervised master theses or doctoral dissertations are eligible as grantees, although further criteria, such as showing one's participation in foreign congresses, must also be fulfilled. And the expectations in terms of internationalization rise along with the levels, advancing towards exchange and cooperation with foreign institutions. This competitive grant is distributed based on reviews among peers, and after obtaining it the researchers receive a monthly payment. On the entry level (2) it lasts 36 months, and on the higher level (1), 48 months, subject to renewal. The entry level is unitary and transits upwards — one can proceed into levels 1D, 1C, and 1B, up to the highest: 1A. Every applicant has to start on the entry level (2) and, if selected, can only advance to the next one after the period of the ongoing grant finishes. Thus, if a professor has chosen not to apply for this grant throughout her/his career, deciding to do so as a senior scholar will necessarily force this person to start at the lowest level, even if the submitted application is excellent, and then (slowly) move onwards, since the next level can only be applied for after three years.

Although gender and racial/ethnic aspects certainly structure inequalities in the academic context in Brazil, it is not elaborated in our analysis. In the case of gender, the first comparisons did not indicate a significant discrepancy; when it came to race, neither we nor the programs have the necessary data. We recognize the necessity and importance of advancing a specific study on this, but it will be more feasible after organizing the first level of analysis, as is the goal of this article. The way internationalization structures Brazil's sociological debate has changed in recent years. At the end of the 20th century, there was an increase in investigations aimed at mapping, evaluating, and measuring the forms and strategies of internationalization, as well as the challenges, barriers, and problems that exist within this process (Maia & Medeiros, 2020).

Celi Scalon and Richard Miskolci (2018) observe that, throughout the last century, graduate programs have become an important structure of the Brazilian higher education and research landscape. If up to the 1970s, a significant number of Brazilian professors obtained their Ph.D. abroad because of the lack of possibilities in Brazil, the creation of a so-called national graduate system contributed towards inverting these dynamics. It thus led to a new form of internationalization at the start of the 21st century — where publishing one's work in international journals or foreign publishing houses became a more vital trait.

> In the 21st century, therefore, the number and quality of graduate programs in Sociology have increased, our formative connection with the old centers of sociological production has changed, and there has also been an expansion of postdoctoral and senior internships abroad, which has contributed to updating our staff and their insertion in international research networks (Scalon & Miskolci 2018: 124).

This implies a reorientation of initiatives that internationalize research or the researchers themselves, since Brazilian Sociology has already presented an internationalization of its production for quite some time (Ruvituso 2022). The main novelty consists in more recurrent incentives and pressures to establish international cooperation and networks, and to publish in foreign journals. Hence, regarding Brazil, we observe a structural change that so far has been looked at only in a preliminary form. For instance, attracting foreign professors and researchers has been seen as a central aspect of internationalization. However, we disagree that this is an interesting alternative for Brazil in the short term. Allowing for more significant participation of the English language — in lectures or texts — would put in jeopardy the democratization of higher education that took place in the last two decades, since most undergraduate students, and several graduate students, do not speak English. Other initiatives such as language learning programs and workshops that teach how to write and publish scientific articles in foreign journals should be prioritized, considering the present state of affairs concerning this matter.

To situate our analysis, it is necessary to briefly outline the definitions of internationalization since there is no consensus in the literature. To name only a few: spending time abroad while obtaining a degree; being a visiting researcher or professor; publishing in foreign journals; publishing in another language, especially English (where it is not one's native language); establishing international collaborations for research projects or academic student exchange (undergraduate and graduate); and so forth. Knight (2004: 213) draws attention to “the way in which definitions can shape policy, and also how practice can influence definitions and policy.” In this sense, it is important to understand the rationale underlying the definition of internationalization.

While some internationalization strategies are simpler to implement, others demand greater political and economic articulation. It is possible to assess, even if preliminarily, that certain actions can generate a greater dialogue than others, contributing to the idea that there are different levels (or categories) of internationalization, which will be discussed further along this article with the empirical data.

As pointed out in recent literature (Maia & Medeiros 2020), internationalization has become an important trait for evaluating graduate programs and competing for research grants in Brazil, meaning that now there is an institutional incentive — or rather pressure — towards internationalizing, changing the place of this practice and discussion. Francisco Marques (2022) stresses that, although there are critiques to this emphasis, it effectively conditions academic careers in Brazil.

Consequently, the internationalization of Brazilian Sociology has occupied a central space in the goals of the graduate programs, being directly demanded by the federal agencies responsible for evaluating the courses. Therefore, the international circulation in Sociology is an institutionalized process happening mainly in federal and state universities that, through higher education policies, finds ways to develop globally. This happens since almost all graduate programs — in our case study, just over 86% — are in public universities. Therefore, not only does the funding for research, through grants and fellowships, come from public (federal and state) funds, but the institutions themselves are also largely public ones. It is important to stress that this is also valid for other areas: the main point is that academic research is done chiefly in public higher education institutions, and the internationalized research even more, since the percentage of public graduate programs rises when we look at the ones with a better evaluation — in Sociology they make up almost 89%.

This last point is especially important since Brazil has seen relevant changes regarding the forms of internationalizing in its social sciences (Madeira & Marenco 2016). Due to the lack of graduate doctoral programs in Brazil in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, a considerable percentage of professors and researchers did their Ph.D. abroad. This trend was reversed from the 1990s onwards, having as its more immediate replacement shorter doctoral fellowships (e.g., for fieldwork), as well as postdoctoral and other short research stays at foreign institutions.

Broadly speaking, there are currently four areas in which internationalization is expected to take place (Brasil 2021a): (a) research: mainly around forms of international cooperation such as projects with international teams or financing; (b) intellectual production: published by professors or students, revealing concrete results of international cooperation; (c) academic mobility: research stays of professors and students, inbound or outbound; (d) institutional performance: admission of international students, courses taught in foreign languages, and international visibility of the graduate program.

Our effort in this article moves towards understanding how professors of graduate programs in Sociology in Brazil are operationalizing the myriad of internationalization strategies and *loci*, and, to some extent, how achieving a certain level of internationalization is a requisite for advancing one's career. The following section extends the specifics of our methodological choices and research design.

EMPIRICAL CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY: ANALYZING THE DYNAMICS OF RESEARCH STAYS ABROAD

João Maia and Jimmy Medeiros (2020) carried out an investigation similar to ours but examining a broader set of disciplines and using different data. They studied all graduate programs in Social Sciences, encompassing Anthropology, Political Science, and Sociology, and chose a representative survey to obtain information concerning different forms and strategies of internationalization. In contrast, our contribution takes up a more specific field — Sociology graduate programs — while looking at all professors associated with a graduate program without relying on a sample. Furthermore, while they looked at internationalization in a broader sense, we also aim to investigate if there are differences concerning the forms of collaboration or the destinations of international mobility, between institutions located in the Global South or the North.

For our database, we decided to take a censual approach, looking at the curricula of all professors who work in graduate programs in Sociology in Brazil[2]. Choosing graduate programs relates to the fact that Capes has established internationalization as a relevant aspect of its evaluation criteria. At the same time, a hierarchy is consolidated between the different programs, given that since the 2010-2012 Capes evaluation (Brasil 2013, 2017), a Master's or Doctoral course without a deeper international integration would not achieve a higher grade.

Fortunately, the maintenance and updating of websites has become a part of the process for evaluating graduate programs, allowing us to have a (long) list of professors and researchers throughout the country, raising the reliability of our data. In addition, focusing on professors of graduate programs allows us to use a consistent and reliable source for our database — the Lattes platform <http://lattes.cnpq.br>. Professors and researchers who work in a graduate program or who wish to apply for public funds are obliged not only to fill out the curriculum as specified on this platform, therefore presenting a unified model of grouping academic information, but are also asked to continually update it with their publications, and any periods as visiting professor or researcher in Brazil or abroad, among other accomplishments. Hence our database comprises 937 professors,

2 This does not mean social scientists cannot work academically in other contexts. There are a number of state-financed think-tanks, such as INEP and IPEA, that also employ sociologists and other professionals from a diverse academic array. However, these are small in number compared with the universities and are not spread throughout the country, as is the case with higher education, thus allowing us to gain a concrete perspective on the inequalities from this viewpoint.

distributed accordingly through the five regions: 36 in the North, 225 in the Northeast, 85 in the Central-West, 428 in the Southeast, and, finally, 163 in the South.

In methodological terms, we articulate statistical descriptive data with a qualitative analysis to focus on qualitative criteria, competitive scholarships, relevance (or not) of certain international experience/cooperation towards obtaining a *Bolsa Produtividade* and the destination countries. We collected information about the professors' publication records, international experiences, and in which step of their career these took place. Regarding the timeframe, it is essential to point out that our analytical focus on the forms and possible outcomes of internationalization depend on the dynamics of recent decades. However, since we look at all professors currently linked to a graduate program, the data concerning travel, education, and publications take into account professors who obtained their Ph.D. since the 1970s.

In the next section, we present a general overview and then go into more detail about the cross variables. What has stood out so far is the clear predominance of certain forms of internationalization among the more prestigious institutions. It is possible to ask whether the prestige of these institutions enabled professors to obtain better funding, or if the fact that they were able to attract professors with broader experiences (regarding traveling or publishing) contributed towards raising institutional prestige.

When analyzing the data regarding the role and forms of internationalization, in recent years, throughout graduate programs in Sociology, we found no significant differences across the regions concerning the percentage of professors who obtained their Ph.D. abroad, remaining between 12% and 14%, which contradicts our initial hypothesis. As expected, the historical relevance of the Southeast in preparing for an academic career is still very palpable: besides the Southeast itself, where 84% of the graduate professors did their doctoral studies, the percentage of professors from other regions who have obtained their Ph.Ds. in the Southeast varies between 42% and 47%. Nevertheless, because of the general inequality in distribution, overall, 62% of all professors obtained their Ph.D. in the Brazilian Southeast.

This enables us to establish a relational notion of centers and peripheries, as put forward by Ferreira (2019) when analyzing the field of human genetics studies: "Centers and peripheries are, here, taken not as cartographic, but rather as relational notions, allowing to approach the existence of peripheries localized in the centers, as well as centers constituted in the periphery" (Ferreira 2019: 89). This is important for understanding why, although programs such as those at the UFBA[3] and the UFPA are not among the best-ranked in Brazil, they represent a — relationally structured — central position in their regions, attracting several intellectuals and researchers from smaller, more peripheral institutions in other states.

Concerning qualitative aspects of taking a doctoral degree abroad, there is a clear-cut trend towards the Global North, distributed among a number of countries, as Table 1 shows. A significant part of these travels focuses on three countries: the US, France, and the UK. The most interesting aspect here is how the linguistic barrier is not that important since, in this regard, it would be easier to choose Portugal and Spain. One could trace this back to two factors: on the one side, the relevance of a classic canon and the roots of how Sociology developed in Brazil, at first markedly influenced by

3 UFBA (Federal University of Bahia) and UFPA (Federal University of Pará) both have graduate programs in Social Sciences, composed of Sociology and Anthropology, that present regional importance. UFPA nowadays is the only graduate program in Sociology in the Northern region, while UFBA is the third most relevant graduate program in the Northeast.

the French and the German perspectives, and more recently, by the US authors. Conversely, the prestige gained by higher education institutions in these countries throughout time is also relevant[4].

Table 1: Countries of Ph.D.s done fully abroad

Region of the graduate program	Country of the Ph.D.						
	USA	France	UK	Germany	Latin Am.	Others	Total of Ph.Ds.
Central-West	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	-	2 (20%)	10 (100%)
North	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	-	-	5 (100%)
Northeast	7 (22%)	7 (22%)	7 (22%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	6 (19%)	32 (100%)
South	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	-	7 (35%)	20 (100%)
Southeast	20 (36%)	16 (29%)	8 (14.5%)	2 (4%)	1 (2%)	9 (14.5%)	56 (100%)
Total	**34 (27.7%)**	**31 (25.2%)**	**19 (15.4%)**	**12 (9.8%)**	**3 (2.4%)**	**24 (19.5%)**	**123 (100%)**

Note: each Ph.D. done fully abroad corresponds to a single professor, which results in a total of 13.1% (123/937) of the professors having done their Ph.D. entirely abroad.

Table 2 shows part-time doctoral stays abroad, known in Brazil as “sandwich” mobility, since the student starts the Ph.D. at their Brazilian home institution, then goes abroad, returning to complete the Ph.D. in Brazil. Here we can see a significant difference regarding the destinations, with France being the leading country of choice by a large margin, followed by the US, and with a lesser participation of the UK.

In comparison to the data concerning those who took their whole Ph.D. abroad, it is interesting to see how the main destinations remain the same — France, UK, and the US — but part-time stays lean significantly to France. As discussed, we understand that this reflects many aspects concerning center-periphery relations, as it relies on a certain tradition and reference that France maintains as the birthplace of Sociology while also expressing ties in terms of cooperation with Brazil in the long term, as exemplified by the Capes-Cofecub mobility agreement. These ties also present themselves, for instance, through Brazilians who work as professors in France, or even more deeply institutionalized academic aspects, as is the case of the journal *Brésil(s)*. Meanwhile, the broader diffusion of the English language makes it relatively easier to write a dissertation in English compared to French. As such, when considering doing the whole Ph.D. abroad, the US and the UK are more frequent destinations, whereas, along with the abovementioned reasons, France is a more popular destination for part-time stays.

[4] It is important to highlight that hierarchies among universities may also influence one’s career. This means that attending top-tier institutions rather than less prestigious ones – even if they are located in a central country – might result in different gains. The same occurs when publishing in more or less renown journals. Still, considering the data we produced and worked with, it was not possible to evaluate or measure these impacts. This way, we are not able to assess if this axiom can be sustained for careers in Brazil, and further research ought to be considered.

Table 2: Countries of part-time stays

Region of the graduate program	Country of the part-time stay						
	USA	France	UK	Germany	Latin Am.	Others	Total of part-stays
Central-West	7 (33.2%)	6 (28.6%)	-	1 (4.8%)	1 (4.8%)	6 (28.6%)	21 (100%)
North	-	1 (33.3%)	-	1 (33.3%)	-	1 (33.3%)	3 (100%)
Northeast	5 (12.8%)	18 (46.1%)	1 (2.6%)	3 (7.7%)	3 (7.7%)	9 (23.1%)	39 (100%)
South	7 (17%)	21 (50%)	3 (7%)	2.5 (6%)	1.5 (4%)	7 (16%)	42 (100%)
Southeast	20 (23%)	32 (37%)	15 (17%)	4 (5%)	1 (1%)	15 (17%)	87 (100%)
Total	**39 (20.3%)**	**78 (40.6%)**	**19 (9.9%)**	**11.5 (6%)**	**6.5 (3.4%)**	**38 (19.8%)**	**192 (100%)**

Note: each part-time stay corresponds to a single professor, which results in a total of 20,5% (192/937) of the professors having done part of their Ph.D. abroad. Also note that in the South, half a stay has been attributed since one professor divided the time abroad between Germany and Mexico.

Leandro Rodriguez-Medina and Hebe Vessuri (2021) looked into the role exerted by personal bonds in Latin America towards internationalization. For Brazil, this can be seen as especially relevant since a significant number of openings for fellowships to spend research time abroad are public and depend upon individualized applications. As such, knowing someone abroad, or having a local advisor who does so, makes a difference. Looking deeper into the data of professors who spent time abroad during their Ph.D., it becomes clear that there is a mutual attraction between this kind of travel and successful careers, at least in terms of prestige. The success of careers is partially implied, since being part of a graduate program already means a distinction in comparison to peers. And being awarded the *Bolsa Produtividade* further characterizes such a distinction. The data do not allow us to establish if these researchers chose prestigious graduate programs or if having this kind of internationalization raises their chances of being hired, or if it contributes to increasing the program's grade. Below we concisely detail our findings on the implications of obtaining the Ph.D. abroad and undertaking part-time stays.

The interconnection between professors who took their whole Ph.D. abroad and more prestigious — that is, better ranked — graduate programs is evident. To make this more understandable: in the South, there are nine programs, and only one (with the highest grade at the Capes evaluation) concentrates 50% of these professors; in the Southeast, there are 23, and six of these present 60% of the professors who obtained their Ph.D. abroad; in the Northeast, among 13 programs, two are responsible for just under 50% of this type of internationalization, and among the Central-West's five programs, one — another highest-graded — concentrates 60% of these Ph.Ds.

Conversely, besides the Northern region, part-time stays across Brazil are clearly less concentrated among the professors of central graduate programs. It is not possible to speak of a significant diversification, but in the Southeast, eight programs were counted to arrive at 50%; in the Northeast, with three programs, we had just 25% of the total stays abroad; in the South, we raised the number of programs from one to two and obtained 43%, while the same highest-graded program in the Central-West now accounted for only 43% (versus 60%) of the stays abroad.

All three dimensions presented by Keim (2010) contribute to explaining why France, the US, and the UK appear as the three main destinations during the educational trajectory since they present possibilities to access literature and sometimes even offer a better working environment. Focusing on central institutions in part relies on their international recognition and prestige: the rising role of academic rankings led to a number of fellowships in Brazil encouraging researchers apply to a high-ranked universities.

Table 3 presents the total postdoctoral stays abroad and their destinations. It is important to stress two aspects. First, since one professor can have multiple travels of this kind throughout their career, the total amount is significantly higher than Ph.Ds. or part-time (sandwich) doctoral stays. Second, in Brazil, the concept of postdoctoral still encompasses any research stay after obtaining the doctoral degree. Therefore, unlike the US or Europe, it is not restricted to the first three, four, or six years after completing a Ph.D.

Table 3: Countries of foreign post-doctorates

Region of the graduate program	Country of the post-doctorate						
	USA	France	UK	Germany	Latin Am.	Others	Total of post-doctor-ates
Central-West	13 (27.7%)	9 (19.1%)	3 (6.4%)	3 (6.4%)	5 (10.6%)	14 (29.8%)	47 (100%)
North	-	5 (33%)	-	3 (20%)	-	7 (47%)	15 (100%)
Northeast	23 (16.8%)	35 (25.5%)	18 (13.1%)	4 (3.0%)	9 (6.6%)	48 (35%)	137 (100%)
South	13 (14%)	23 (25%)	7 (7.5%)	11 (12%)	8 (8.5%)	31 (33%)	93 (100%)
Southeast	85 (29.5%)	81 (28%)	40 (14%)	10 (3.5%)	5 (2%)	67 (23%)	288 (100%)
Total	**134 (23%)**	**153 (26.5%)**	**68 (12%)**	**31 (5.0%)**	**27 (4.5%)**	**167 (29%)**	**580 (100%)**

Note: the same professor may have done more than one post-doctorate. The total number of professors with at least one post-doctorate is 407, which corresponds to 43% (407/937) of the total of professors of our databank.

In contrast, the distribution of postdoctoral stays presents rather significant changes and expresses the imbalance of research funds in Brazil. If overall, the US, France, and the UK remain the most frequent destinations, each region of the country presents certain differences concerning the destinations. For instance, in the Southeast, Spain (9.5%) and Portugal (5.5%) appear more frequently compared to the doctoral stage, surpassing Germany and Latin America, while the South and North bring Germany to the forefront. On table 4, it is possible to observe (a) overall types of experiences abroad and, (b) the most frequent destinations. As expected, more than half of all international stays were conducted in France (29.3%) and the US (23.1%), followed by the UK (11.8%), Germany (6.1%) and the Latin American countries (4.1%).

Table 4: Experiences abroad (Full Ph.D + part-time stays + post-doctorates)

Region of the graduate program	Country of the experience abroad						
	USA	France	UK	Germany	Latin Am.	Others	Total of experiences abroad
Central-West	24 (30,8%)	17 (21,8%)	4 (5,1%)	5 (6,4%)	6 (7,7%)	22 (28,2%)	78 (100%)
North	1 (4,4%)	7 (30,4%)	1 (4,4%)	6 (26,1%)	-	8 (34,7%)	23 (100%)
Northeast	35 (16,8%)	60 (28,9%)	26 (12,5%)	10 (4,8%)	14 (6,7%)	63 (30,3%)	208 (100%)
South	22 (14,2%)	49 (31,6%)	12 (7,8%)	17,5 (11,3%)	9,5 (6,1%)	45 (29%)	155 (100%)
Southeast	125 (29%)	129 (30%)	63 (14,6%)	16 (3,7%)	7 (1,6%)	91 (21,1%)	431 (100%)
Total	**207 (23,1%)**	**262 (29,3%)**	**106 (11,8%)**	**54,5 (6,1%)**	**36,5 (4,1%)**	**229 (25,6%)**	**895 (100%)**

Note: the total (895) represents the number of experiences abroad considering Ph.Ds. done fully abroad, part-time stays and post-doctorates. The number of professors who have at least one experience abroad (disregarding the level) is 580.

Finally, as previously stressed, staying abroad is not the sole form of internationalization. On the contrary, publishing and circulating internationally have become some of the more standard strategies. Notwithstanding, this process takes a particular form for researchers located in peripheral countries. The world's division of Sociology is indeed constituted within the hierarchies and dynamics of the global geopolitics of knowledge (Burawoy 2010). In the next section, we expand on this debate, presenting and analyzing our data on publications as an internationalization trend and its possible impact in one's career success.

INTERNATIONALIZATION, PUBLISHING, AND CAREERS: FOCUSING ON THE BOLSA PRODUTIVIDADE GRANT

When taking into account internationalization criteria and looking at the publication patterns of the professors in graduate programs in Sociology in Brazil, there is an evident trend toward the heightening of publications. This is a reflection of the increasing pressure of federal evaluation agencies to achieve this goal. This should, however, be looked at somewhat critically. On the one hand, several relevant national journals still represent the most important forms of circulating knowledge, therefore showing an effort to guarantee the connection to local discussions. On the other hand, the pressure for internationalization appeared in our research data through relatively frequent publications in predatory journals[5], something that can be found more commonly in less prestigious graduate programs. Our data confirm that publishing abroad has become a fundamental aspect of the career since the great majority of professors have at least one publication in a foreign country

[5] Predatory journals are those that do not adhere to peer review and evaluation criteria and tend to request payment for publishing. They also frequently publish across an extensive rather than specific field or discipline, and many tout for business by sending e-mails to potential authors declaring an interest in their work.

(whether in a journal, a book, or a book chapter[6]), as can be seen in Table 5. This means that publishing abroad has become one of the most common forms of internationalization in Brazil for professors of Sociology[7], as nearly 81% of the total of our database have at least one foreign publication, while 61.9% have had an international stay at a higher education institute or research center.

Table 5: International publications and experiences

Regions	Professors with foreign publications	Professors with experience abroad	Total of professors
Central-West	58 (68.2%)	54 (63.5%)	85 (100%)
North	25 (69.4%)	17 (47.2%)	36 (100%)
Northeast	165 (73.3%)	133 (59.1%)	225 (100%)
South	139 (85.3%)	101 (62%)	163 (100%)
Southeast	372 (86.9%)	275 (64.2%)	428 (100%)
Total	**759 (81%)**	**580 (61,9%)**	**937 (100%)**

Note: all the percentages are in relation to the total number of professors.

We understand that this finding is a consequence of the material and social aspects of academic life in a peripheral country. First, publishing can be far more economical than traveling in terms of money and time. Secondly, publishing does not depend on established networks and contacts to the same extent as arranging a stay abroad, for the latter requires an invitation, an institutional link, funds, among other requirements. Moreover, traveling abroad evokes a greater language barrier than does publishing in foreign journals, considering the possibility of hiring a translator[8]. Participating in a mobility program, on the other hand, demands a deeper knowledge of a second language and, in many cases, even an international proficiency certification.

Other findings from our study show that the correlation between having an international mobility experience and publishing abroad, as pointed out by Maia and Medeiros (2020), might be better expressed in terms of the number of publications and relevance of the journal and not only of publishing itself. As Table 6 shows, while 78.2% of the professors with experience abroad have published more than three pieces internationally, only 39.2% of those who have never stayed abroad have done the same. Hence it appears that more consistent internationalization depends highly on ties that rely upon a more profound foreign experience.

6 We limit the publications to journals and books because these are peer-reviewed and are more prestigious than publishing on Annals of academic events or magazines, for instance.

7 Another point we will not be able to expand on in this article is how there seems to be a trend of publishing in other languages—especially in English—in Brazilian journals. On the one hand, this reflects a strategy of predatory paid journals designed to appear international so as to receive more contributions. On the other hand, relevant local journals have been publishing texts in both English and Portuguese, and researchers have been looking at this dynamic as an opportunity to integrate the international community and circulate knowledge in further latitudes while staying connected to Brazilian readers.

8 Nonetheless, it is relevant to note that "Even if we consider that a large part of social scientists publish articles translated to English by third parties, the opportunities for publication still demand conversation and network formation in the English language" (Maia & Medeiros 2020: 493).

Table 6: Number of international publications

Number of international publications	Professors with experience abroad	Professors without experience abroad
None	49 (8.4%)	130 (36.4%)
One or two	78 (13.4%)	87 (24.4%)
Three or more	453 (78.2%)	140 (39.2%)
Total	**580 (100%)**	**357 (100%)**

When applying a Spearman's rank correlation test[9], this association becomes even more explicit. Even though the correlation between having an experience abroad and having a foreign publication is positive, it is presented to be moderate (0.348). In its turn, the correlation between periods abroad and the number of foreign publications is relatively stronger (0.438) which means there is a trend toward publishing more in foreign journals among those with more experiences abroad.

On another note, it is vital to highlight the regional differences since the rate of professors with international publications varies greatly, as shown above in Table 5. Approximately 68% and 70% of the professors have published internationally in the Central-West and the North, respectively. In the Northeast, the rate is 73%, and in the South and the Southeast, it is up to 85% and 87%, respectively, thus showing the predominance of the South-Southeast axis. However, observing the number of professors with experience abroad, we can infer that the proportions are not necessarily sustained: the North and Northeast hold the lower numbers (47% and 59%), while the other three regions all float between 62% and 64%.

Accordingly, the multiple ways internationalization presents inside the country sheds light on the different ways universities respond to its demands while confronting specific barriers in practice. At the same time, since being evaluated and ruled by federal regulations, professors' careers are subjected to criteria that do not always take this into consideration. Thus, our data reveal the necessity of deepening investigations concerning the intertwining of the types of publication, especially concerning journals, and the distribution of grants along with the evaluation of the programs. If we were able to tentatively show the overlapping of publication in foreign journals and forms of academic recognition, there are more levels to this analysis, once again taking into account regional disparities. Being divided into five strata, as mentioned above, the *Bolsa Produtividade* grant also appears as a relevant indicator of academic stratification. As Table 7 shows, the distribution of the overall figure of grants is not overly concentrated compared to the distribution of programs around the country, which changes as we move into the top tiers of the grant[10]. The table highlights the three highest levels of the grant, and this selection answers to the criteria established by the discipline of Sociology. Its call for grants states that a researcher with this profile should:

9 This test was taken through with the Google Colab platform < https://colab.research.google.com/>.

10 Although our data do not allow us to sustain this hypothesis, it seems that achieving these levels without a more consolidated internationalization is virtually impossible. Almost all grantees combine multiple research stays abroad with a wide array of foreign publications, and those in the top level 1A published in prestigious journals. Considering that established and senior professors occupy these top tiers, we can take into account the idea of a generational change since the professors with a less consolidated internationalization last obtained their Ph.D in 1995. In contrast, seven professors with a Ph.D from the 2000s have already reached this grant level.

> Have maintained regular and productive exchange with the international academic community, shown through the publication in journals and books of relevant foreign editorial houses in the discipline, the organization or participation in academic congresses, the coordination of agreements concerning the preparation of human resources and the exchange of researchers as well as lecturing at foreign institutions, among others (Brasil 2021b).

Table 7: Distribution of the *Bolsa Produtividade*

Regions	Professors who obtained a Bolsa Produtividade	1C	1B	1A
Central-West	22 (8.5%)	-	2 (6%)	1 (6.25%)
North	6 (2.3%)	-	-	-
Northeast	49 (19.1%)	2 (12%)	4 (12%)	1 (6.25%)
South	47 (18.3%)	3 (18%)	5 (15%)	1 (6.25%)
Southeast	133 (51.8%)	12 (70%)	22 (67%)	13 (81.25%)
Total	**257 (100%)**	**17 (100%)**	**33 (100%)**	**16 (100%)**

If overall, the Southeast has just over half the grants, among the 17 professors in the 1C tier, 70% work in this region, and there is not a single grantee in the Central-West, with 18% in the South and 12% in the Northeast. The distribution is similar for the 33 professors holding the 1B level, with 67% of the grants in the Southeast, 15% in the South, 12% in the Northeast, and 6% in the Central-West. Finally, in the highest tier (1A), totaling 16 professors, the concentration rises further, with the Southeast holding 81.25% of the grants, while the South, Northeast, and Central-West having 6.25% each. There is not a grantee in the North in neither of these cases.

To illustrate this further, we mention that a sole graduate program in the Southeast, evaluated as 6 by Capes and thus roughly ranked among the top 10% of Brazil, has five researchers with a 1A CNPq grant. Adding up the North, Northeast, Central-West, and South regions, comprising 29 programs, we arrive at three researchers with this type of grant, showing a deep divide. It is relevant to stress the *Bolsa Produtividade* implies individual academic prestige, on the one hand, and is considered when evaluating graduate programs, on the other. Moreover, it offers financial resources that foster research, and since the grant can be used with a high degree of flexibility, for different purposes, it covers costs like Article Processing Charges (i.e., APCs) and the translation of articles, reinforcing the possibilities for internationalization.

Hence, assessing the distribution of this grant, the evaluation of graduate programs, and more detailed elements concerning the traits of publication, should be a lasting endeavor when we consider this first glance offered by our study. After all, the advancement of publication as a centerpiece of internationalization will certainly affect how this effort is structured. Our understanding is that, possibly, the criteria for selecting grantees may also be affected in the long term, depending on the pattern of these publication records. Moreover, we identified a correlation between the number of stays abroad and publications, and illustrated through our data the deep disparities and concentration when it comes to the highest tier of the *Bolsa Produtividade* in terms of regions across Brazil. When also considering the relevance of internationalization to achieve such levels of recognition, it is possible to present concrete aspects concerning the forms of academic inequality. We expect such diagnosis to contribute towards conceiving forms of mitigating these imbalances. This goes hand in hand with the dynamics mentioned above of *dependency* and *lack* and allows us to perceive how the alignment of these asymmetries reinforces the existing inequalities when it comes to knowledge production. In a nutshell, those with better material conditions concentrate the scarce resources even more since when applying for grants and funding, they usually fulfill or surpass the requirements compared to their peers from other regions and less prestigious graduate programs.

FINAL REMARKS

The peripheral condition has been under scrutiny throughout our reflection in this article. Taking up the factor of internationalization, we cannot separate it from the idea of a peripheral science. We pointed out that what produces a peripheral condition for certain scientific investigations and results is linked to the possibility of its circulation and reception (Neves 2014). Therefore, the mobility of researchers is not enough to prevent such a structural condition. In fact, it may even be reinforced through these travels.

When Paulin Hountoundji (1996: 33–46) points out the problem of extraversion concerning what was deemed as and presented — by Europeans — as African philosophy, he is dealing with a similar issue: what exactly is the meaning of internationalizing science? Thus, our investigation shows an ambiguous pattern: the pressure of internationalization tends to reproduce the established dynamics, which bears a twofold expression since the aforementioned structural aspects condition different forms of traveling. On the one side, a pressure to look for prestigious and well-ranked institutions, which are generally located in the Global North, and on the other side, an effort to compensate for the lack of resources (Keim, 2010), such as access to literature or even the equipment to analyze certain quantitative data.

Our data show an established circulation of researchers through part-time doctoral research stays abroad or at the postdoctoral level. The countries of destination express a significant concentration in the Global North, especially the US and Western and Central Europe. Therefore, we can refer to a dependent form of internationalization, with only a few instances of South-South mobility. We also identified a growing relevance of adopting publications in foreign journals as a strategy among Sociology professors in Brazil, at least in part associated with the research stays abroad, but also independently of it, which means incorporating the established division of scientific labor, as well as recognizing and reaffirming the relevance of these countries. Nevertheless, albeit internationalization through publishing is a notable nationwide trend, further research and variables crossing are needed to better understand the regional differences in this pattern and their impact.

Finally, incentives towards internationalization are a vital aspect of academic and intellectual life since circulating knowledge can contribute towards richer and more diverse perspectives, be it theoretical or in terms of the main themes. Nevertheless, we can also see that this diversity has been limited by reproducing the patterns pointed out above. Therefore, it may constitute a relevant challenge to design grants and other forms of cooperation that specifically address South-South relations.

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Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

Book review

George Steinmetz, The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought: French Sociology and the Overseas Empire (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023).

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> "This entire formation of colonial sociology has been actively repressed from historical writing on the history of sociology. *Repression* is the correct word for this. It captures the combination of individual and collective processes involved in burying memory. Colonial sociology has been subject to *amnesia*–another excellent term, when used in its psychoanalytic sense. Intellectual history is a necessary step in a process of *anamnesia*, of unearthing this object".

In this important, particularly well-documented and thorough research monograph, George Steinmetz tells the story of an intellectual historical process which has largely been repressed – in the psychoanalytical but here collective sense – during a more recent period: the close links between sociological French thought as it continued to develop in the second half of 20th century on one side, and the existence and persistence of a French colonial empire, at least until the beginning 1960s, on the other.

This "disciplinary amnesia" is at the centre of the perspective adopted by Steinmetz, who chooses to systematically investigate a very large set of authors, disciplinary and academic traditions, institutions, political and economic contexts and, of course, proposes in-depth analyses of the scientific works and various intellectual productions which were part of the intellectual horizon of the period covered by the book. Steinmetz first and foremost re-evaluates the contributions of scholars involved in development studies and deals with the paradox of the current success of history of sociology in France disentangled from its colonial past.

Largely inspired by Bourdieu, who is also an important component of his research object (especially his work in Algeria, which is at the heart of the anti-colonial turn of the 60s), Steinmetz completes or adapts this Bourdieu(si)an perspective to his more personal views and nuances, proposing a fine qualitative assessment and an original interpretation of a general process.

To sum up this "neo-Bourdieusian" approach, the author proposes to go deeper into textual and visual analysis, which is part of any field of cultural production. More specifically, Steinmetz adds six elements of rethinking/reconstruction: relations between fields and fields and contexts; spatial coordinates; theory of the subject; explicit analysis of textual and visual elements; articulation with critical realism and post-colonial epistemology; and reflexivity. Among these six elements, the newest and more original is probably the fifth, which allows a discussion with contemporary post-colonial authors, but may also be in tension with the more objectivist moments of sociological analysis (as we will see later).

The other "reconstruction" elements are either classical additions to Bourdieu's perspective or methodology (more "active" or "conscious" subjects, more explicit content or internal analysis), or elements which are regarded as insufficiently developed or adapted though already present in Bourdieu's theory (like the three others). Most of the elements of rethinking are hence in direct line with Bourdieu's own approach and can be seen as adaptations of the model to the author's object.

The author proceeds in analytical-historical sequences centred on particular, necessarily partial, points of view, on this global interdependent process. The global picture emerges from the entire reading and can be characterized by different historical and intellectual sequences: after a rebirth of the empire and a redefinition of sociology's tasks in the context of developmentalism after WW2, these economic and political uses are put into question and are radically overcome during and after the liberation war in Algeria. But they have had a profound impact on the path of French scientific dynamism in sociology, many years after the first brilliant moves towards the emergence of sociology as a discipline around Durkheim.

Part one is a presentation of this approach, which consists in writing a historical sociology of French colonial sociology in a very different, post-colonial context and constructing a research object which has partly been erased from the consciousness of most of our contemporary colleagues, not to speak of students or amateurs. It expands Bourdieu's perspective in adopting an exigent "internal" analysis based on the careful reading of French texts and sources, while keeping always in mind social and political trajectories which allow us to understand intellectual contents in contexts. This procedure clearly makes the book highly interesting in the sense that it connects aspects of history which are often analysed separately and "non-relationally", such as the geopolitics and pubic policies of the declining French empire; the dynamics of higher education and research after WW2 (notably with the CNRS, the ORSTOM and other important research institutions); hierarchies and relations between disciplines in a longer period; and individual trajectories and intellectual notable developments around 1946, 1950 and then the 1960s.

Part two is a synthesis of historical research on the state and the dynamics of the French empire, especially seen from a cultural and political point of view, with a chapter on the importance of colonial reconquest in France right after the second world war, including its symbolic and political dimensions; a second one on the growing need for sociological data and analyses in relation to a new (social) form of developmentalism in the colonies; and another chapter on the impact of this renewal on higher education and research, with new institutions and objectives. This is probably one of the parts where the book adds more to the existing general knowledge of French social sciences, since it recontextualises these by revisiting the centrality of the empire in many aspects of French society and political stakes after Word War II. This part shows how social sciences were clearly part of this centrality, for an important if not existential component of their "identities" and evolutions.

Part three is an analysis of various aspects of the intellectual context before the development of post-war colonial sociology. Steinmetz describes these aspects from a disciplinary point of view, recalling the ancient and long-lasting role of social sciences such as geography, law and economics in the emergence of a "colonial sociology" in a first chapter, then moving in a second one to closer disciplines, such as statistics, history, demography and anthropology, often seen as spontaneously more related to the colonies. The third chapter develops a more "internal" analysis of inter-war colonial sociology, paving the way for what will happen after WW2.

Part four is a more strictly Bourdieu-inspired sociological analysis of aspects of French and Belgium colonial sociology inserted within a larger analysis of the sociological field. The second chapter proposes, as a direct "clin d'oeil" to Pierre Bourdieu, the outline of a theory of the practice of colonial sociology. These two chapters propose a radically new vision of the history of French sociology centred on its colonial dimension (and "moment"). It clearly completes and in some ways nuances or rectifies certain elements of Johan Heilbron's major opus on French sociology, while advancing in the same direction of a global multidimensional reconstruction of the various facets of this field (including demography of students, biographies, and the major contributions).

Part five can be described as a series of systematic monographs on four pro-eminent figures of colonial sociology, namely Georges Balandier, Raymond Aron, Jacques Berque and Pierre Bourdieu. Each proposes a new analysis of their trajectories and oeuvres, describing both as largely connected to the larger social history of French colonial sociology.

The conclusion insists on the never-ending process of de-colonising sociology which was early seen as necessary, especially by Bourdieu, and recalls the centrality of reflexivity in the process.

This book makes a very important contribution, making it a "must-read" for the community of sociologists, in France and the now independent countries but also in the rest of the World. It delivers a nuanced and balanced assessment of the contribution of sociology of development to a general perspective, putting the emphasis on a rectification of usual ways to tell the story of sociology. For example, it clearly shows the necessity of refuting the idea of a decline of economic sociology after WW2, and after the deaths of its Durkheimian promotors, such as Halbwachs, Mauss and Simiand. Sociology has been the place of a dynamics of rich empirical and theoretical work on many various and changing colonial societies. This book is also the natural candidate to an introduction and a very advanced guide to these forgotten contributions, which need to be reassessed in consequence.

It is possible that Steinmetz's explanation of collective amnesia remains insufficient, leaving the reader a bit puzzled. The history of "tiers-mondisme" in the 1960s, its burgeoning around 1968 in the academy, and its violent rejection in the dominant ideology of France in the 1980s, are nevertheless as serious a set of hypotheses as are the "presentism" and "positivism" of the contemporary discipline. An analysis of the status of Marxism during this period, and closer investigations of avant-garde journals such as *Les Temps Modernes* (where some of the colonial sociologists published early) would have added some important elements to the comprehension of the turn during and after 1954-1962. This was also a period of a complete reset of the intellectual and political left, which has been the environment in which a new generation has been socialized.

Positivism appears in France to be much less dominant and far less arrogant and standardized than in the US, especially in the 1980s and 1990s. Its features should be nuanced, especially when it refers to an appetence for quantification and surveys, which, since the 1970s in France, is often associated with left wing or critical conceptions of sociology and demography, including within public statistics. Clearly, quantitative history and sociology in the Simiand tradition are inheritors of the Comtian positivist philosophy, and the need for quantification and statistics are also very present in Bourdieu's work, especially in contact with statisticians from the national institute of statistics (INSEE), and later with the help of Geometric Data Analysis. But this presence of a Comtian legacy, reshaped by the Durkheimians, seems largely independent from the movement towards amnesia. The conceptual apparatus and methodology developed by Bourdieu is as dynamic and processual as structural, which should also refrain from identifying quantification, statistical methodology and surveys to presentism or static structuralism.

In the same spirit, and from a more methodological and theoretical point of view, following Bourdieu's approach to historical sociology, Steinmetz could have integrated more systematically some of the methods and approaches developed by the empirical sociology of fields and social spaces, like a statistical multidimensional exploration of its biographical data, including analyses on the relationships between positions, trajectories and position-takings, and their evolutions in different contexts, which could have been crossed with his insights into network analysis.

These elements show how rich and provocative this book is for today's French (and World) sociologists. It calls for a strong reassessment of the role of colonisation in the scientific trajectory of the discipline in France, in contradiction with the consensus of historians of the discipline. – It deserves to be read, discussed and followed by new similar inquiries into the history of these important sequences of World's intellectual history, whose presence is still obvious in many of our contemporary both scientific and political debates.

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Book review

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Classical social theory, and indeed social theory more broadly, has underestimated the significance of colonialism in shaping modern societies and social theory itself. It is perhaps fair to state, as has Giddens (1981: 23-24), that both classical and more contemporary accounts hinge on "unfolding" models of social change, explaining the emergence of transformations of modernity in strictly internal terms, as an unfolding of logics or tensions inherent to these societies. Recent scholarship has shown how the classical authors were by no means oblivious to imperialism and colonialism, but their conceptual frameworks did not give it the central place it ought to have. Seidman aptly labeled this as the "colonial unconscious of classical sociology" (Seidman, 2013). In a recent contribution, Bhambra and Holmwood (2021) call for a renewing of social theory in light of how the significance of colonialism and imperialism have been repressed, not by the classics themselves, but by their successors (such as Giddens). The authors identify central fictions in classical social theory and its inheritance, one of these being the idea that sociological reasoning is not fundamentally historically formed. This is where George Steinmetz' new, meticulously researched book comes in.

Steinmetz recovers the centrality of colonialism to modern social thought, which he argues, much in the same way as Bhambra and Holwood, has been forgotten by the field. It should perhaps, in the first place, be clarified that "modern social thought" principally refers to post-war French sociology. Steinmetz develops a detailed account of how French sociology developed in close connection with the French colonial state, highlighting the profound influence of this relationship on the work of French sociologists. Moving from the encompassing analysis of all of French sociology in the middle of the 20th century, he follows through with a detailed exposition of the role of colonialism in the works of key figures Raymond Aron, Jacques Berque, Georges Balandier and Pierre Bourdieu.

Interestingly, the work of Bourdieu is both object, method and medicine here. Of course, it is a bit misleading to refer to Bourdieu as the object of the analysis, as Steinmetz' scope is obviously broader – it does deal with "modern social thought", or at least a strand of it. On another level, it isn't that misleading. The chapter delving into Bourdieu's work is the second to last chapter, and it opens by saying that, from one angle, the book can be read as a reconstruction of the conditions of possibility for the genesis of Bourdieu's approach. Steinmetz thus gives the impression that this is what the whole book is leading up to: as he writes in the beginning of that chapter, "We now have assembled the tools with which to analyze the genesis of Bourdieu's theoretical framework" (p. 315).

This reconstruction of the conditions of possibility, and the assembling of tools, is crucially achieved through an application of Bourdieu's approach of field analysis. And when Steinmetz, by way of conclusion, addresses the broader debate on decolonizing sociology, he argues that Bourdieusian reflexivity is exactly what the doctor ordered.

After meticulously tracing the historical roots of sociology's entanglement with colonialism in France, Steinmetz delineates the key characteristics of the French sociological field during this period. He observes that colonial sociologists, constituting nearly half the field's practitioners, nearly formed a distinct subfield within French sociology. Their work, Steinmetz asserts, diverged significantly—and favorably, in his view—from the prevailing trends in metropolitan France, not to mention the United States. I will elaborate on this point further in the subsequent discussion.

Steinmetz unequivocally demonstrates the profound impact of colonialism on French sociology. However, he also highlights that the four sociologists of his focus were not oblivious to colonialism, nor were they apologists or supporters of the French state's actions in Algeria. His work effectively debunks the notion that these authors require a "decolonizing purge". Raymond Aron, often seen through a negative lens by scholars influenced by Pierre Bourdieu, emerges as a figure with significant critical insights. Aron's astute observations on the humiliation, racism, and seizure of sovereignty inherent to modern colonialism anticipate contemporary debates in post- and decolonial theory.

The case of Aron is in a certain sense emblematic here. Steinmetz argues that the majority of sociologists engaged with colonialism did not unequivocally endorse its crimes or condone its oppressive nature. In fact, French sociology as a whole gradually adopted a critical stance towards colonialism, and the four sociologists on which Steinmetz focuses exemplify this tendency.

Steinmetz book adds considerable detail and depth to our understanding of the historical entwinement of modern sociology with colonialism. Not being a specialist in decolonization, post-coloniality, French sociology, or intellectual history in general, I approach this work with a keen interest in its implications for contemporary sociology and sociological practice.

On one level, Steinmetz's account offers a reassuring perspective. It demonstrates that even though prominent figures in sociology were deeply involved with, and even fundamentally shaped by, France's colonial project, they remained remarkably critical of its underpinnings and consequences. Contrary to the notion that their work was tainted by complicity, Steinmetz reveals their ability to maintain independent and critical perspectives, exhibiting a remarkable scholarly autonomy even within the constraints of a heteronomous context.

Since Bourdieu is now such a towering figure in the discipline, it is of some considerable interest to know what to make of his approach and legacy in the light of his involvement with colonialism. Doubtlessly, Steinmetz feels something like this too, as he is indeed quite committed to a “Bourdieusian” position. Steinmetz's book title refers to the colonial origins of social thought, but it would be at least as correct to say, as Meghji (2021) has, that the roots of Bourdieu’s ideas are anti-colonial. This is no less important as one strand of the now dizzying range of criticisms of Bourdieu claims that he embraced colonial myths. Steinmetz forcefully rebuts this. As is probably the case with all bodies of work of a magnitude comparable to Bourdieu’s, it is possible to find quotes or excerpts that could be made out to underwrite almost any interpretation. Consider the sprawling debates on the interpretations of Marx. Steinmetz’ uses his comprehensive overview of Bourdieu’s work, not to cherry pick in this manner, but rather unpack the general thrust of Bourdieu’s work, which he argues is fiercely opposed to colonialism.

Steinmetz suggests that the core ideas of Bourdieu’s can be gleaned in his early work on Algeria. For instance, he argues that Bourdieu’s awareness of the autonomy-heteronomy opposition, so central to the “mature” analyses of fields, arose out of his own experience with heteronomy: during his military service, he was tasked with writing reports that obfuscated the coloniality of Algeria. Beyond that, he shows, or at least suggests, that Bourdieu’s key concepts — habitus, field, capital – originated in these early works in Algeria. "Originated” is perhaps not the best term for this; when Steinmetz discusses the concept of field, he speaks of early “traces” of it during Bourdieu’s time in Algeria. When discussing cultural capital, he says Bourdieu “adumbrated” it in the way he had begun “to think of prestige and honor as resources, or forms of capital”. In this, Steinmetz implicitly challenges established accounts, which trace the concept of cultural capital to the mid-1960s, prior to which Bourdieu and Passeron spoke of “cultural inheritance” or “privilege” (Heilbron, 2021). Steinmetz does quote from one passage in The Algerians in which Bourdieu writes of a “capital of combined power and prestige”, in a comparison with capital in the more conventional sense. Be that as it may, one could be excused for getting the impression that Steinmetz is reading the history of the concepts in reverse, going from the developed concepts backwards in time to find something reminiscent of them in earlier periods.

In the conclusion, Steinmetz spells out implications for the ongoing debates on decolonizing sociology. He warns against condemning colonial-era thinkers with reference to isolated sentences and passages; against decontextualized accounts; failing to situate authors in the dynamics of their fields; and a failure to differentiate between scholarly, political and private genres of writing. I mentioned above that Steinmetz not only explains Bourdieu through a Bourdieusian analysis, but also offers up Bourdieusian reflexivity as “an essential part of any program for decolonizing sociology”. Steinmetz offers a wonderfully clear exposition of how “Bourdieusian reflexivity” differs from standpoint epistemology, with which it shares some crucial insights. Steinmetz outlines at least four epistemic breaks, crucial to this reflexivity. The first is breaking with one's spontaneous pre-notions (a la the Durkheim of Suicide). The second is a break with the empirical level of surface appearances. The third is a break with the pre-notions of the people one is studying, and the fourth concerns avoiding scholastic fallacies, in breaking with one's initial objectivizing scientific constructions.

The book concludes by emphasizing the importance of caution and epistemic vigilance for those engaged in the decolonization of sociology. However, it would have been beneficial if Steinmetz had delved deeper into the broader implications of his work for sociology as a whole. A reasonable reading, in my view, is that the specific form of modern social thought explored in this work should not be outrightly condemned or discarded. Instead, it has the potential to be further applied and expanded upon, perhaps even more extensively than it is at present.

An intriguing aspect of the book is the contrast it draws between colonial sociology and the prevailing trends in Metropolitan France (and the United States). While colonial sociologists developed a critical, anti-positivist, and historically sensitive approach to sociology, their counterparts in the metropole, and arguably in the US as well, gravitated toward the opposite. The tumultuous terrain of Algeria, on the eve of the War of Independence, where French imperialism had wreaked havoc on local social structures, provided fertile ground for sociological innovation. One could even get the impression that this context had more in common with the turbulent period of classical sociology, than what could be said of the prosperous and stable conditions enjoyed by the leading figures of what Giddens (1982: 1-2) called the "orthodox consensus" of post-war sociology, principally marked by functionalism, positivism, and the theory of industrial society. "Colonial situations are horrifying and unjust" as Steinmetz writes, but they "could also be generative of startling insights". Given the generalizing intent, at least as evidenced in the book title, it would be interesting to know whether this holds for modern social thought more generally,

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Book review

George Steinmetz, The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought: French Sociology and the Overseas Empire (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023).

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In The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought, George Steinmetz departs from the "disciplinary amnesia" in the field of sociology toward the way "colonialism, like fascism, goes almost unmentioned" in the discipline's history, and produces this "intellectual history [as] anamnesia" (Steinmetz, 2023: 24, 29, 39). Such is the breadth of Steinmetz's book that a single review would not do it full justice, but we can safely say that it has definitively demonstrated the profound entanglements, even entwinement, between French sociology and empire. First, colonial sociology (and the sociology of colonialism) in post-War France is represented by "around half of the French sociologists" (p. 10). Second, it is in colonial sociology where one will find the first draft of conceptual insights that these sociologists later deployed for the study of metropolitan France (pp. 9, 34) – and which are so well-known in global academia.

Throughout the book's first three sections, Steinmetz offers a methodical and complete account of the themes, professions, institutions, and individuals which allows us to claim with great certainty that colonialism was a decisive factor for the formulation of French sociology in the mid-20th century. Here, the author produces an authoritative history of knowledge production combined with a history of colonialism and decolonization grounded in the French, German and Anglophone sociological traditions. Steinmetz draws a Bourdieusian field-study of French sociology (pp. 14, 17, 315), with a strong chronological focus on the mid-century in France and the late colonial period of the 1940s and 1950s (p. 7). The book's ambition is to develop a transnational and trans-temporal field that integrates metropolitan France and its former colonies dynamically (North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa) (p. 20), and one which covers the period from the 1930s to the 1960s, across independence while holding relevance for the present (p. 28). The object, approach and chronological barriers are convincing and match the strength of its ambition.

The author chose to offer a complete and detailed chronicle of the sociological field, its institutions and its people, often in a counter-intuitive sequence, which comes at the expense of a more accessible and narrative approach. This includes a lengthy listing of curriculum forms and their numbers in higher education (chapter nine); the network of institutions across the French empire (chapter five); the relationship between sociology and other disciplines in French academia (chapters six and seven); and the way colonial developmentalism persisted after political independence through the role of experts (chapter three).

We can imagine how this book will be used as a starting point and then enriched by further studies, many of which are in the author's own list of publications. One comes out with important observations regarding the relationship between disciplinary fields, especially sociology and ethnology; the demarcation between metropolitan theorists and fieldwork specialists, and the hierarchy that develops between them; relationships between figures and institutions in the field; the centrality of the late-colonial period (1950s) as a generative moment for sociologists of colonialism to produce original epistemological insights; the importance of combining sociological works, individual biography, and contexts in order to reconstitute the conceptual value of key terms in the field (field, context, author, and text p. 19); and the genealogy of key conceptual frameworks in the study of societies in the Global South including the "colonial situation" (Balandier), historical sociology of tradition (Berque), or the social and cultural habitus (Bourdieu; see page 341 for an explanation of the mechanism of circulation of ideas from colonies to metropolitan France).

The central contribution of this book in this reader's view lies in how Steinmetz explains how the late colonial situation created the conditions for an "epistemic break" in the discipline regarding the colonial situation and its influence on the sociological field (p. 24). In other words, the author explains how a set of original insights were produced as a "specific form of reflexivity… to make sense of the underlying social logics of practice" (p. 22). The four figures on which the author devotes specific chapters (Raymond Aron, Georges Balandier, Jacques Berque and Pierre Bourdieu) were inserted in the "colonial situation" and were able to overcome existing tools of the colonial infrastructure of knowledge production, to "objectify the scientific fields and the field of power they [found] themselves in… and carry out a historical sociology of their own scientific field, its categories, positions, and polarizations leading up to the present" (pp. 22-23). As Steinmetz writes in the chapter devoted to Bourdieu (the culmination of this thesis), "the present book has reconstructed some of the conditions of possibility for the genesis of Bourdieu's analytic framework, and thus my own" (p. 315). As such, we learn as much about the object of their sociology (the colonial cultures and societies) as we do about the meaning of their works for the field of French sociology writ large.

There are several shortcomings in Steinmetz's approach that undermine his core argument, primarily the absence of a dynamic, historical contextualization of the colonies and the limited recreation of a dialogue and exchange as generative of these thinkers' "reflexivity." What impact did the colonies – as a place, a history and a people – rather than colonialism as a system, have on these figures and French sociology? On the evidence provided in these four chapters, the answer would be "very little." Leaving aside Aron, who produced his theories of empire from Paris comparing Nazi Imperialism, French colonialism and the American Empire, we find the analysis on Berque and Balandier to be disembodied from the countries' histories where they passed, save for their personal trajectories and encounters with the colonial administration. For example, for Berque, there is an extensive discussion of his work in Fez in the 1940s with Islamic legal scholar Zayd ibn Ali or al-Mahdi al-Wazzani, followed up with his "extensive campaign to reconcile 'indigenous emancipation with the French presence'" and even the "progressive structural reforms" agenda of French Resident Gaston Puaux in the countryside (pp. 252-3). However, Steinmetz fails to mention the 1944 Proclamation of Independence by the Salafi nationalists in Fez, including Allal al-Fassi, which produced a significant body of writing on authenticity and tradition in the Islamic tradition and which Berque had access to, both linguistically and by being in Fez at the same time. This is a missed opportunity that makes Berque appear solitary in his work, save for later discussions on his meetings with Fanon in Tunis (p. 262) or several orientalists in France after his departure from Morocco (p. 263). There are similar tendencies for Georges Balandier, whose childhood and youth is explored at length through his literary memoirs (p. 277), but Steinmetz offers very little in terms of a dialogue with events and counterparts in Africa aside from French colonial colleagues – with the exception of Alioune Diop "an African political leader he had met at [Michel] Leiris' apartment in Paris" leading to the launch of Présence Africaine, (pp. 279-81).

With Bourdieu, we are rewarded with a more thorough discussion of the impact of the Algerian war of independence and his intellectual ties with the likes of Abdelmalek Sayad, from colonial Algeria to post-independence sociology on migration in France. Indeed, Bourdieu's fieldwork in Kabylia and his work in the French army offer the ideal set-up to experience a "shock of Algeria", defined as "the pivotal moment" in his transition to sociology (p. 318), and often understood as his moment of reflexivity. Subsequently, Bourdieu's conceptual insights, such as "the invention of tradition" and the cultural habitus, are grounded in the political history of Algeria (including colonial laws, the war of independence, forced labor and displacement), and the socio-cultural fieldwork into Mozabit, Chaoui and Kabyle societies. This chapter is insightful and satisfying by comparison to the other cases because it demonstrates the importance of dynamic historical contextualization, but it also confirms its absence for the other figures. As a result, Aron, Berque, and Balandier are depicted as "prophets" and geniuses (or modern day lumières) rather than social scientists inserted in specific contexts – which the ill-intentioned might perceive as reinforcing white-savior narratives. By being "plucked from" their environments (that are not dynamically reconstituted), the "reflexivity" of these thinkers is not fully earned.

Beyond these general remarks, this review is an opportunity to reflect on how this book engages with and will be received within the field of Arab intellectual history, and especially among North African historians of intellectual decolonization. North Africa represents one of the three major terrains of French colonial sociology, especially for Berque and Bourdieu.

North African sociologists are occasionally evoked in the book, as research partners or those attempting to gain employment in French institutions. In my discussion below, I discuss two areas where The Colonial Origins of Social Thought will inform debates about postcolonial politics, the history of knowledge production and the history of Arab thought from the Maghreb.

The Colonial Origins of Social Thought assists to further the conceptualization of decolonization in North Africa, not as a rupture but a reconfiguration of relations between colonizer and colonized. As identified by scholars such as Patricia Lorcin, Abdelmajid Hannoum or Osama Abi-Mershed, institutions and figures of French knowledge production were instrumental in shaping the mode of governance in French colonization – we can cite here the examples of the "Kabyle myth" and the legal regime in colonial Algeria, or the importance of the bureaux arabes as semi-military outposts. While this rich literature sheds light on the colonial era, including the French reforms meant to placate nationalist mobilization of Istiqlal, the neo-Destour or the MLTD-PPA and later FLN, how did French thinking impact post-independence development programs? The work of Muriam Haleh Davis on Algeria has shed significant light on these conceptual continuities across independence. Returning to Steinmetz's work, historians of the post-independence North Africa will find in chapter three a fascinating discussion of efforts to "counterbalance" the movement toward independence by "katechontic efforts to shore up European control" (p. 54) in the 1940s and 1950s by reconfiguring colonial institutions of knowledge production into cooperation and assistance structures, and by rebranding the "Colonial" into the "Outre-Mer" (p. 56). Colonial science saw its "engineers, technicians and scientists become the characteristic cadres of the postwar empires… from humanistic Arabists and psychiatrists to agronomists and entomologists" (p. 57). Indeed, a great number of French scholars spent a few years as coopérants in North Africa as part of development aid frameworks (see the work of François Siino, or accounts of Michel Foucault's stay in Tunisia in the late sixties). These French technical advisors then advised newly independent governments in North Africa on their social welfare programs, which Steinmetz demonstrates were adapted from French colonial policies (see chapter four on "colonial developmentalism"). Scholars of intellectual decolonization in North Africa will benefit from the focus on French social scientists as agents of continuity between the colonial and postcolonial social sciences in order to shed light on the early years of independence.

In the second instance, The Colonial Origins of Social Thought sheds further light on the postcolonial entanglements between North African intellectuals and France and French thinkers. There are echoes in this book with the rich scholarly literature on francophone postcolonial intellectuals, especially the work of Charles Forsdick, David Murphy and Jane Hiddleston. By constrast to this literature, Steinmetz sheds light on power relations between them, which is often omitted. In chapter ten, which is devoted to an "outline of a theory of colonial sociological practice," Steinmetz focuses on various inequalities and asymmetries including "sociologists who were born as colonized subjects [and] faced the most daunting barriers to academic success", using Albert Memmi and Abdelmalek Sayad in North Africa as examples (p. 196). These two figures are significant because of their connection to other figures focused on by the author, but also because they had academic careers in France. Steinmetz demonstrates their strategies to overcome marginalization, including publishing in analogous fields or enriching their fieldwork. However, the focus on Memmi and Sayad are not sufficient to paint a full picture, for which we must revert to the excellent work of Thomas Brisson, and his demonstration of the way North African and Arab sociologists were systematically marginalized in French academia with lesser employment opportunities for the same qualifications. Considering how this section of chapter ten represents "only the beginning of a fuller investigation" into "indigenous sociologists" (p. 211), we are keen to see, in future, an equally rich treatment of such sociologists.

Another oversight lies in the figures and institutions of sociological knowledge production that developed in North Africa after independence, where, despite the many interactions between individuals and their French counterparts, were firmly focused on the national horizon. In chapter five, Steinmetz notes how Berque and UNESCO oversaw the creation of sociological research centers in North Africa, especially in Tunisia, where the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Economiques et Sociales (CERES), attached to the University of Tunis, was populated by the first generation of post-independence graduates in sociology (Abdelkader Zghal, Lilia Ben Salem etc. see p.120). Many of the graduates had studied with Fanon, completed their higher degrees with Berque in Paris, or been inspired by Balandier's methodological approaches on acculturation and dynamic societies (and a similar argument can be made for the sociologists at the University of Rabat). These laboratories are rightly seen as agents of decolonization on the ground, through their own publications such as Cahiers du CERES and the reconfigured Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc, where they advised state development policies and ended up questioning their disciplinary conceptual tool kits used to better understand their societies (see my article on "Khatibi and Les Temps Modernes in 1977" in The Journal of North African Studies (2017) as an example of decolonial social thought). However, we disagree with Steinmetz's ambitious claim that the seeds of decolonization of sociology and postcolonial thinking were planted by Bourdieu and the other three sociologists of colonialism through their embrace of reflexivity, historical sociology, criticism and the use of dynamic frameworks in their study of colonized societies and cultures (p. 348).

In this reader's opinion, the ownership of the decolonization of sociology should be more balanced toward the formerly colonized subjects rather than writing them out of the narrative. There is value in exploring how Balandier, Berque and Bourdieu opened new possibilities for a decolonized sociology by leaning into its ties with history (p. 130) and treating these societies as fully historical and therefore as dynamic (pp. 152-4). That Bourdieu was "the first sociologist to call explicitly for 'decolonizing sociology'" (p. 354) may owe more to mastery of the means of publication than to Bourdieu being the first scholar to attempt to think beyond the colonial epistemology. In fact, as Steinmetz notes earlier in the volume, most of these thinkers left the colonial question from the 1960s to revert back to metropolitan sociological questions (or Islamic and Arab cultural topics, for Berque). For the sociologists in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, that is when the work began – to systematically deconstruct and recompose knowledge about their societies. While The

Colonial Origins of Social Thought points our attention toward the unique reflexivity that took place in the late colonial period and its benefits "as epistemic vigilance" (p. 358) that can be applied today, we must not overlook the equal importance of generative dialogues and dynamic historical contextualization in order to develop truly global intellectual histories of colonialism and decolonization.

Serendipities
Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences

BOOK REVIEW

Response to the *Serendipities* reviewers of *The Colonial Origins of Modern Social Thought*

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I am grateful to the reviewers for their probing comments on my book. In the limited space available I will try to respond to their main critiques.

I

Frederic Lebaron's insightful review begins by recognizing that I chose to "investigate a very large set of authors, disciplinary and academic traditions, institutions, political and economic contexts", while also proposing "in-depth analyses of scientific works and more largely of all sorts of intellectual productions, which were part of the intellectual horizon of the period covered by the book". Lebaron also notes that my book connects aspects of a history which are often analysed separately, such as "geopolitics and public policies of the declining French empire, the dynamics of higher education and research after WW2 … hierarchies and relations between disciplines in a longer period, individual trajectories and notable intellectual developments".

The part of the book that Lebaron finds least satisfactory is its explanation of the French collective amnesia concerning this colonial sociology. Lebaron writes that "the history of 'tiers-mondisme' in the 1960s, its incredible burgeoning around 68 in the academy, and its violent rejection by French dominant ideology in the 1980s, may be more serious hypotheses than the 'presentism' and 'positivism' of today's discipline, which seem rather poor candidates". I agree that I was probably projecting too much of the American context onto the French material when speaking of positivism and presentism. I do emphasize throughout the book that the postwar French sociologists developed a sociology that was opposed to American positivism, critical, and often historical (see Flemmen's review here).

I still believe that the entire colonial formation was massively repressed, not just in France but also in Britain, after independence, at least among the majority of the European population. Perhaps Lebaron is suggesting that "tiers-mondisme" was not only solidarity with the postcolonial "third world" but also helped to elide or obfuscate the massive importance of the preceding colonial period by refocusing attention on global capitalist inequality in the present. This would be a way of combining my idea about the importance of presentism with Lebaron's theme of 1960s 'tiers-mondisme'.

I do not reject quantitative or statistical research at all, as a critical realist and Bourdieusian. Instead, I agree with Lebaron that it would be interesting to integrate methods and approaches developed by the empirical sociology of fields and social spaces, such as a statistical multidimensional exploration of biographical data, including analyses of the relationships between positions, trajectories and position-takings, and their evolutions in different contexts, as well as network analysis. Now that I have the entire prosopographic dataset it should be possible to complete such an analysis.

II

Magne Flemmen's fascinating review raises two critical questions. The first suggests that my account of the colonial origins of Bourdieu's concepts might give the impression that I am merely seeking resemblances of the concepts in earlier periods. Readers of this journal might understand this argument as a version of Merton's critique of fallacy of adumbration (Merton 1968). Merton singled out the distinctions between rediscoveries, prediscoveries, "genuine anticipations," and "pseudo-anticipations" in which "resemblance is typically confined to an incidental use of some of the same words as the later version" (Ibid.: 15).

There are two senses in which these colonial origins are, I think, more than Mertonian pseudo-anticipations. First, these earlier ideas are occurring *within* the same writer, whereas Merton was concerned with similarities between earlier and later writers. Second, there is a great deal of evidence that the early Bourdieu in Algeria was thinking along lines similar to his later concepts of cultural capital, habitus, reflexivity, and field. As Flemmen acknowledges, I quote Bourdieu from The Algerians, comparing a "capital of combined power and prestige", in a comparison with capital in the more conventional sense. I also provide evidence that Bourdieu was thinking through Kurt Lewin's field theory in 1959 in an attempt to frame Kabyle struggles over honor (Steinmetz 2017; 2022: 324; 2023: 338).

Habitus is the clearest example of a concept that Bourdieu was already developing in his early Algerian analyses. In Le Déracinement, Bourdieu and Sayad define habitus in terms very similar to Bourdieu's mature understanding of it as corporeal and mental dispositions: "the peasant's being is above all a certain manner of being, a habitus, a permanent and general disposition before the world and others". This is an embodied structure, since the peasant's "whole corporeal habitus is 'made' within the space of his customary movements". Habitus is described as being relatively durable, surviving some changes in external conditions. The peasant can therefore "remain a peasant even when he no longer has the possibility of behaving like one". The authors discuss the habitus of the "authentic" or "bu-niyya peasant", who exudes "niyya" - a Kabyle word meaning "a certain manner of being and acting, a permanent, general and transposable disposition in the face of the world and other men" (Bourdieu and Sayad 2000: 61). This formulation is identical to Bourdieu's later definition of habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (1977: 72).

Bourdieu approached his analysis of Algerian workers and the unemployed and sub-proletarians in epistemological terms that foreshadow his later theory of reflexivity. The unemployed he argued were "not sufficiently detached from their condition to posit it as [an] object". Their "aspirations and demands, even their revolt, are expressed within the framework and logic of the system", i.e., in terms of the sorts of spontaneous prenotions that Bourdieu argued were the first target of scientific reflexivity (2013: 159-160). Fully employed workers are better able to reflexively project their subjectivities into the future, Bourdieu suggested, and a fortiori, to embark on an "active, creative and conscious participation in a common work", that is, on the common work of creating an independent Algeria (Bourdieu 2013: 114).

In short, only the field concept appears as a mere trace in the Algerian work; the other concepts are much more than pseudo-anticipations.

Flemmen's second critical point is that I could have delved deeper into the broader implications of my work for sociology as a whole. He gives an example of such an implication by comparing the late colonial conjuncture and the "turbulent period of classical sociology", contrasting both to the "orthodox consensus" of postwar American sociology, which was "principally marked by functionalism, positivism, and the theory of industrial society". I think there are at least three points I make in the book that can be taken as general implications.

The first concerns the theory of reflexivity, which Flemmen summarizes. A second implication flows from the general methodological approach to writing the history and sociology of knowledge that I develop here, which combines attention to contexts at all levels, with analysis of fields (which can be considered another sort of context), textual analysis, and individual-level biographical analysis. I think this approach is relevant to all projects in the sociology of science, intellectuals, and knowledge in general.

The third implication is to warn sociologists against condemning any thinkers – not just colonial-era ones – "without carefully considering them in their contexts and taking seriously the ambiguities and uncertainties in their writing, we need to situate authors in the dynamics of their fields", and "to differentiate between scholarly, political and private genres of writing". This is as relevant for the founders of sociology like Durkheim, Cooley, or Simmel, who were not directly engaged in colonial situations, as for pre-sociological writers such as Kant and Hegel. Only slowly are we starting to understand the importance of Kant's autonomy from imperialist ideologies and his explicit turn against colonialism in his later writing, for example (Khurana 2023; Willaschek 2023).

III

This brings me to the peculiar review by **Idriss Jebari**. My main reaction is that the author seems to have wanted to read and review an entirely different book than the one I wrote. The book's other reviewers have all recognized that this is a history of sociology produced under colonial conditions between the late 1930s and the mid-1960s in the French overseas empire and focused on sociological research on colonialism. Jebari seems to be much more interested in intellectual life in the postcolonies after independence. That's fine, but it is not my project. Moreover, postcolonial intellectual history has received much more attention than intellectual life within the late colonial empires. In addition to Jebari's own work there is Pérez on Abdelmalek Sayad (Pérez 2022); Soriano on Memmi (Soriano 2023); Brisson (2008) on Arab intellectuals in France; and Copans on the French sociology of development emerging from colonial development studies (Copans 2010). There is a handful of studies of individual colonial-era French sociologists, including Paul Mercier (Copans 2021), Georges Balandier (Copans 2014), and Charles Le Cœur (Conklin 2019). There are a few studies of Jacquesis Berque and entire libraries on Raymond Aron and Pierre Bourdieu. But there is to my knowledge no other book that constructs the entire field of French and Francophone colonial sociology during this period. Nor have other historians discussed the colonial-era research of figures such as François N'Sougan Agblémagnon, Manga Bekombo, Eric de Dampierre, Alfred B. Schwartz, or Marcel Soret.

Jebari also seems to have wanted me to spend more time writing a history of French colonialism. I am hardly unaware of the history of colonialism (Steinmetz 2007), but to have included such material would have burdened the book unnecessarily. Instead, I bring in specific colonial political contexts where they are relevant to particular sociologists or research projects, as in the discussion of Balandier's studies of plans to regroup Fang populations in Gabon.

A reader of Jebari's review could be forgiven for thinking that I do not discuss colonized sociologists. The book actually discusses all of them, in differing detail. There is an extended discussion of the careers and writing of the two sociologists from sub-Saharan Africa who were employed full-time by the CNRS, Agblémagnon and Bekombo during this period.

Jebari also "laments" the "absence of a female figure". Here he misses the most important point, which is that there only five or six women in the entire cohort of French colonial sociologists – fewer even than the number of indigenous or colonized sociologists. These female sociologists have been completely ignored in the secondary literature on the history of French sociology, but I bring them back into the narrative. However, most of them did not begin their careers until after decolonization. Claudine Chaulet was a research associate at the Tunis Institut des Hautes Etudes and a friend of Frantz Fanon at the end of the 1950s, and afterwards a Professor at the Sociology Faculty of the Université d'Alger who took Algerian citizenship. But Chaulet only published a single article before Algerian independence and defended her first doctoral thesis in 1970 (Chaulet 1958; 1970). I discuss Danielle Storper-Perez in my treatment of the Fann psychiatric Hospital in Dakar, Senegal, whose workers developed innovative approaches to mental illness in colonial situations. Storper-Perez, who was a sociologist, wrote her doctoral thesis on the psychiatric hospitalization of Wolof patients in Senegal, and in her book La folie colonisée (Colonized Madness), analyzed connections between mental illness, social and family structures, and colonialism, and discussed the inability of traditional European psychiatric methods to deal with mentally ill Africans (Storper-Perez 1968; 1974). Yet all of Storper-Perez's publications appeared after decolonization and fall outside my self-imposed frame. I also mention Lilia

Ben Salem, who took a course with Frantz Fanon at the beginning of her studies in Tunis after Tunisian independence and went on to write her doctoral thesis with George Balandier (Ben Salem 2009).

The suggestion that I am depicting Aron, Berque, and Balandier as solitary "prophets" and "geniuses" rather than as "social scientists inserted in specific contexts" is baffling. More than two thirds of the book is devoted to reconstructing the contexts of intellectual production at the levels of colonial politics, academic and scientific institutions, disciplinary fields, and intellectual milieux; these contexts are used to make sense of individual intellectual production. I argue, for example, that writing on Bourdieu has ignored his reliance on the extant body of sociological writing on colonialism by people like Balandier and Berque. As Flemmen's review noted, I write on p. 315 that we "now have assembled the tools with which to analyze the genesis of Bourdieu's theoretical framework". My book is directed precisely against foundationless, contextless, accounts of intellectual self-conjuring. If anything, I may have leaned too far in the direction of contextual explanation rather than granting more importance to individual creativity, agency, innovation, and defiance of social constraints.

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