

ARTICLE

The Struggles for European Science. A Comparative Perspective on the History of European Social Science Associations

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Abstract

How and in what way are the social sciences becoming European? This paper answers this question by comparing the creation and development of eight European associations rooted in five disciplines (sociology, economics, anthropology, political science, psychology). It shows that the Europeanisation of the social sciences is linked to different types of competitions: rivalries between scientific paradigms, competitions between academic institutions, as well as geopolitical tensions. Europeanisation works as a resource that can be used on these different stages, in the framework of pre-existing institutional, intellectual and political conflicts. However, the use of this resource tends to only partially achieve intended objectives. As associations grow, their objectives, practices and agendas become increasingly autonomous from what their founders intended. They are also shown to be relatively confined to certain geographical areas, rather than encompassing the whole of Europe. European associations thus appear to only foster limited transnational convergence.

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Introduction

Internationalisation is a relatively late phenomenon in the history of scholarly associations. While national scientific academies were created as early as the 17th century, international forms of scientific gatherings were not organised before the 19th century. They first took the shape of a few punctual congresses, mostly around the discipline of physics. After 1850, the number of such congresses began to grow at an exponential pace and became more diversified at the disciplinary level, with both natural (e.g. physicists, biologists) and social scientists (e.g. demographers, geographers) organising such events. Several disciplines, such as statistics, set out to hold congresses on a regular basis, thereby paving the way for the creation of proper international scholarly associations (Rasmussen 1995; Brian 1999; Feuerhahn and Rabault-Feuerhahn 2010; Jeanpierre and Boncourt 2015). More than 350 such associations were then created between the mid-19th and the late 20th century, with over 70 percent of them being founded after 1945 (Schofer 1999). These organisations differ in terms of their geographical scope: some seek to have a global reach (internationalisation), while others have continental or regional ambitions (regionalisation). European associations are prominent examples of the latter (Europeanisation).

Most international social science associations were created after 1945 ([Tables 1 and 2](#)). International and European associations, however, were founded at different stages. International ones were mostly created in the late 1940s or early 1950s. They had common political roots as they were founded under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which aimed at stimulating the expansion of the social sciences worldwide as part of its general mission of strengthening world peace through cultural ties. They also had similar structures (they were all federations of national associations) and organised comparable activities (world congresses, journals, bibliographical inventories, etc.) (Platt 1998; Boncourt 2009). In contrast to these strong similarities between disciplines, European associations were founded from the second half of the 1960s onwards, with important fluctuations across disciplines: organisations were set up in different contexts (e.g. during and after the Cold War) and initiated in different countries; they relied on funds from diverse sources (philanthropic foundations, national governments, the European Union, etc.); and they structured themselves around different types of membership, organisational set-ups, and intellectual orientations ([Table 3](#)).

Thus, in contrast to prior developments, the Europeanisation of the social sciences appears to be the product of multiple processes. This leads to two questions: (1) Under what conditions do continental forms of internationalisation emerge? (2) What are the effects of this Europeanisation on the international structure of disciplines?

Table 1: Creation of main international and European social science organisations

	Pol. sci.	Socio.	Econ.	Anthrop.	Psycho.
1940–1949					
	IPSA (49)	ISA (49)		IUAES (48)	
1950–1959			IEA (50)		IUPsyS (50)
1960–1969					EAESP (66)
	ECPR (70)				
1980–1989			EEA (84)		
				EASA (89)	
1990–1999		ECSR (91)			
	EpsNet (96)	ESA (92)			
2000–2009					
2010–...	EPSA (10)		WEA (11)		

Legend	
ECPR (70)	European organisation
IPSA (49)	International organisation

Table 2: Names and acronyms of international and European organisations

Acronym	Name
EASA	European Association of Social Anthropologists
EAESP	European Association of Experimental Social Psychology
ECPR	European Consortium for Political Research
ECSR	European Consortium for Sociological Research
EEA	European Economic Association
EPSA	European Political Science Association
EpsNet	European Political Science Network
ESA	European Sociological Association
IEA	International Economics Association
IPSA	International Political Science Association
ISA	International Sociological Association
IUAES	International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences
IUPsyS	International Union of Psychological Science
WEA	World Economics Association

Table 3: Characteristics of main European social science organisations

Name	Discipline	Date	Funding	First president	Membership
ECPR	Political science	1970	• Ford Foundation • University of Essex	United Kingdom	Institutional
EpsNet	Political science	1996	• European Union • Sciences Po	France	Institutional
EPSA	Political science	2010	• Founders' own funds	United Kingdom	Individual
ECSR	Sociology	1991	• European Union	Sweden	Institutional
ESA	Sociology	1992	• Austrian government	United Kingdom	Individual
EEA	Economy	1984	• Central banks • Belgian ministry of economy • European Cultural Foundation	Belgium	Individual
EAESP	Psychology	1966	• Royaumont, Volkswagen and Ford Foundations • Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes	France	Individual
EASA	Anthropology	1989	• Wenner-Gren Foundation	United Kingdom	Individual

1. Literature Review and Research Approach

While international scientific associations—and, especially, European social science associations—have not been much studied in the literature, some authors have looked at the causes and effects of the internationalisation of the social sciences.

Authors interested in the causes of internationalisation have provided two types of answers. For part of the literature, the origins of internationalisation lie in the properties of national fields. The internationalisation of the social sciences has to be understood as the combined consequence of the national development of disciplines, the diversity of national scientific “traditions”, the unequal international distribution of “research capacities” (Unesco 2010), and the linguistic properties of different countries. Correlatively, the transnational circulation of ideas is seen as an import-export phenomenon: concepts, methods, and paradigms are produced in an “exporting” national field before being transferred to an “importing” national field (Bourdieu 2002). Internationalisation is conceptualised as a “stage” in the development of disciplines that comes after national developments. In other words, “the international is made exclusively of national stuff” (Guilhot 2014: 64). By contrast, another part of the literature highlights the transnational dynamics that shape sciences from a very early stage (Adcock *et al.* 2007; Heilbron *et al.* 2009). Disciplinary fields are analysed as transnational from the outset, and ideas are presented as produced in and by these “interstitial” spaces (Gemelli 1998: 249; Guilhot 2014: 79). The emergence of a transnational scientific infrastructure is a mere consequence of the pre-existing circulation of knowledge and researchers.

The study of the effects of internationalisation has revolved around that of the convergence mechanisms that are commonly associated with them. These mechanisms have been interpreted in two different ways. For part of the literature, internationalisation is linked to an incremental homogenisation of scientific knowledge and practices. The process is seen as an aggregate of local interactions that produce different effects in different contexts: local appropriations of scientific ideas developed elsewhere lead to heterogeneous hybridisations (Bourdieu 2002; Rodriguez Medina 2014). By contrast, another approach analyses internationalisation as a hegemonic process. It is seen as linked to domination relationships between scientific “centres” and “peripheries”: harmonisation is the process by which centres impose dominant scientific orientations to peripheries (Alatas 2003; Keim 2010 and 2011; Keim *et al.* 2014; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014), and internationalisation is often taken as a synonym of “Americanisation”.

This article engages in a debate with these different approaches as it follows a relational approach to internationalisation. In line with studies of the transnational history of the social sciences (Guilhot 2005 and 2014; Fourcade 2006; L’Estoile 2007; Heilbron *et al.* 2009), it studies scientific internationalisation in connection with the evolution of several social fields (scientific, academic, philanthropic, political) at different levels (national, international, European). Following the “new sociology of ideas” (Camic and Gross 2001; Camic *et al.* 2011) and related approaches of the history of the social sciences (e.g. studies of “Cold War social science”—see Solovey and Cravens 2012), it pays special attention to the interactions between dynamics internal and external to the scientific field. It especially emphasises the conflicted character of these interactions, who bring together actors with different (and not always compatible) interests and strategies.

This article also follows a different perspective. While the research strands described above share a structural approach of the international—the latter being described as a space made up either of national or transnational elements, relatively egalitarian or dominated by the United States (US)—this article sees internationalisation as a resource that may be used by different actors, to serve

different purposes. It emphasises the social uses of internationalisation rather than the international structure of science. Thus, the article contributes to a literature that analyses internationalisation as a means for actors to stand out in competitive environments (Dezalay and Garth 2002; Michel 2002).

These theoretical choices lead to two hypotheses that focus, respectively, on the causes and effects of internationalisation. First, this theoretical framework suggests that internationalisation is best conceptualised as a product of the actions of multiple actors pursuing different strategies, rather than a consequence of a single process (be it national or transnational). Thus, the article hypothesises that the resource of internationalisation is mobilised in different ways according to the specific contexts in which it unfolds and the configurations of actors involved. Second, the relational approach also suggests that internationalisation cannot be *a priori* defined as an Americanisation or creolisation process: the resource of internationalisation may be used to serve different intellectual agendas, with more or less success. Thus, the article hypothesises that internationalisation has different shapes in different contexts and that, correlatively, it alters the structure of disciplines in different ways.

In order to test these hypotheses, this article compares the history of eight social science associations (EAESP, ECPR, EpsNet, EPSA, EASA, EEA, ECSR, ESA) that belong to five disciplines: anthropology, economics, political science, psychology, and sociology. These disciplines are empirically connected. For several actors that played a part in their development (notably philanthropic foundations and the European Union), they are all seen as part of the “social sciences”. Their development was also influenced by the same paradigms (e.g. behaviouralism) and methods (e.g. the increasing sophistication of quantitative and qualitative techniques)—even though the extent of this influence varies across cases. They all claim the label “European”, rest on similar structures (organised around members and an executive committee, for example), and organise comparable scientific activities (as opposed to associations that are more concerned with lobbying).

Table 4: List of interviewees

Discipline	Assoc.	Interviewees	
		Name	Function
Political science	ECPR	Jean Blondel	Founding member, first director
		Serge Hurtig	Founding member
		Ian Budge	Second director
		David McKay	Third director
	EpsNet	G�rard Grunberg	Founding member, first president
		Andr�-Paul Frogner	Founding member
EPSA	Ken Benoit	Current secretary	
	Simon Hix	Founding member	
Economics	EEA	Jacques Dr�ze	First president
		Tony Atkinson	First second vice-president
Anthropology	EASA	Jean-Claude Galey	Journal editor
		Adam Kuper	Founder
Sociology	ECSR	Serge Paugam	EC member 2001-07
		John Goldthorpe	Founding member
	ESA	David Lane	First president

The argument rests on qualitative and quantitative data gathered in the course of the INTERCO-SSH research project¹. As [Table 4](#) shows, interviews were conducted with founding members and past officers of European social science organisations. Material was also collected from the records of these associations as well as from the Ford Foundation's archives, the Foundation having contributed to the funding of many European social science organisations. The article also draws on accounts of the history of these organisations written by their founders and past officers (e.g. Kuper 2004; Moscovici and Markova 2006).

2. The Creation of European Scientific Associations: A Resource in Power Struggles

The comparison of the fluctuations of the variables listed in [Table 3](#) indicates that the creation of European associations is a product of the actions of different groups of actors in different cases. It invites more precise studies of the sociological dynamics behind the creation of associations. A closer look at the history of European social science organisations shows that their founders pursued different kinds of scientific, academic and political strategies.

2.1. IN THE SHADOW OF THE UNITED STATES: EUROPEANISATION AND SCIENTIFIC DEBATES

At the scientific level, most of the founders of associations aimed at *changing the paradigmatic structure of their discipline* on the European stage by either promoting or resisting “American” approaches. In the case of the majority of organisations (ECPR, ECSR, EPSA, EEA, EAESP), their founders strived to imitate American social sciences—or rather a specific part of them, as these actors mostly assimilated “American social sciences” with their most positivist, deductive, and statistically sophisticated factions, thus artificially reducing the internal diversity of the US field. They criticized European approaches to social issues and claimed that it was necessary to “catch up” to their American counterparts by importing “modern” approaches into Europe and subverting dominant paradigmatic power relations in the continent. This stance has to be understood in relation to these scholars' trajectories. In contrast to many of their contemporaries, their careers were marked by transatlantic circulations. Notably funded by philanthropic foundations, these moves did not follow random logics. Rather, they were oriented towards the establishment of connections between European researchers and specific parts of American social sciences and especially behavioralism, whose domestic development had itself been sponsored by the same philanthropic foundations (see 2.3 below).

This process can be exemplified by the case of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR). Its founders, a group of scholars essentially based in Western and Northern Europe (UK, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, France), and whose careers had been marked by research stays in the United States, in universities where behavioralism was growing in importance (e.g. Yale, Berkeley), had been united as a group through a series of transnational meetings held notably in the framework of the international political science and sociology associations. Thus socialised to behavioralism and statistical and comparative methods, they claimed that European political scientists did not know enough about “sophisticated” approaches to be able to interact, let alone

¹ The INTERCO-SSH project (“International Cooperation in the Social Sciences and Humanities: Comparative Perspectives and Future Possibilities”) is coordinated by Gisèle Sapiro and funded by the European Union Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under Grant Agreement n°319974 (INTERCO-SSH).

compete with their American colleagues. They therefore set up the ECPR as a means to disseminate these approaches into Europe (Daalder 1997; Budge 2006; Boncourt 2015).

Similar dynamics were at work during the creation of the European Consortium for Sociological Research—which took its name from the ECPR. Created in 1991, ECSR was founded by an international group of scholars from Western and Northern Europe (notably the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden). This group, which had up until then been structured by the 28th Research Committee of the International Sociological Association, was united by a common interest in social stratification and mobility and in the application of mathematical techniques to the study of society. First developed in the US and imported into Europe during the 1950s, this quantitative and deductive sociology was seen as threatened by the rise, from the 1960s onwards, of “Marxist and phenomenological perspectives” in Europe. The creation of ECSR was thus a reaction to these evolutions and to what was seen as a political threat to the integrity of a purely scientific sociology:

It all changed at the end of the 1960s. A catalyst in many ways was the évènements in Paris, and student rebellion in Germany and around the world. Well, one thing had been starting a little bit before, that kind of reaction in sociology to quantitative work, interest in phenomenological approaches to sociology and ethnomethodology, Garfinkel and co. But perhaps more important than, from the end of the 60s was the revival of Marxist sociology (...). And so these two reactions (...) came together in this so-called reaction against positivism, which I thought was intellectually quite incoherent. (...) And in some ways in this country, sociology became a substitute for religion for a lot of young people of sort of left-wing radical attitudes. And the idea was that it was the discipline that would lead in itself to social transformations. (...) The effect on sociology through the 70s on to the 80s from my point of view was quite disastrous. People were going into sociology for primarily political reasons (...). And I think intellectual standards fell very sharply. So then the whole idea that we had before of this engagement between American and European sociology of a very exciting and constructive kind, that was all lost. And it just became a fight in a way about the nature of sociology within the different countries. And this I think is where you can see the origins of ECSR. (...) Those of thus who believed that sociology had to be founded in serious empirical research which had at least to a large extent to be quantitative in character, and who also believed that theory had to be for use not for decoration (...), we felt that we had to do something to coordinate our activities across Europe.²

The case of political science shows that such pro-American European associations were not typical of the Cold War period, and that several of them may coexist in the same discipline. In 2010, and while ECPR had become a successful organisation (numerous members, multiple activities, etc.), the European Political Science Association was set up with the explicit aim of imitating the American example. Its founders, a group of political scientists predominantly based in Germany and the UK, felt that the growth of ECPR had led to the consortium “losing its soul”: they saw it as having become too open to sociological and historical approaches to politics, and believed that a new organization had to be created to showcase political science studies of a deductive and statistical kind³.

In these cases, as well as in others that will be further detailed below, the same dynamics were at work: Europeanisation was a way for marginalised intellectual factions to try to subvert dominant

² Interview with J. Goldthorpe.

³ Interviews with S. Hix and K. Benoit.

European scientific hierarchies by claiming to be promoting a “modern” and alternative approach to social phenomena, inspired by a particular part of American social sciences.

This process can also be observed in the creation of the other associations under study, albeit with opposite consequences. The founders of EASA (anthropology), ESA (sociology), and EpsNet (political science) presented themselves as occupying difficult positions in relation to American social sciences that would, this time, threaten the quality of scientific debates by their hegemonic tendencies. As in the previous case, the American field was seen here as more homogeneous than it actually was, as it was reduced to one of its parts. The idea, then, was for Europeans to organise themselves in order to resist this “American orthodoxy”⁴.

The case of the European Association of Social Anthropology provides a good example of this process. Created in 1989 by a heterogeneous group of scholars based in a variety of European countries (UK, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Austria, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece), this organisation sought to provide a counterweight to some of the anthropology that was then developed in the US (Silverman 2014). This approach, centred around the notion of culture and embodied by the work of Clifford Geertz, was criticised by the founders of EASA as “essentialist, idealist and relativist” (Kuper 2004: 154). It was seen as a threat to the scientific character of anthropology, as it brought it closer to the humanities than to the social sciences. The founders of EASA therefore sought to “create an alternative space for theoretical debates, an institutional counterweight to American institutions” (Kuper 2004: 154). In contrast to the “post-modern” tendencies of American anthropology, they presented themselves as the keepers of Claude Lévi-Strauss’s tradition of “social anthropology”. In so doing, they also distinguished themselves from the “folklorist” studies developed in Southern and Eastern Europe and emphasised the need for comparative approaches in anthropology⁵. The process that led to the creation of EASA was thus different from those of ECSR and EPSA, in that the association’s founders openly criticised American social sciences. But it also stemmed from similar aspirations to promote a paradigm presented as superior to the others.

The cases presented in this section show that, in all the periods and disciplines under study, the creation of European social science associations can be presented as an attempt to stand out in scientific competitions and to subvert the dominant intellectual structure. Thus, scientific debates are one of the factors at work behind the creation of these organisations.

2.2. EUROPEANISATION AND ACADEMIC COMPETITIONS

The connections between European associations and particular countries (fifth column, Table 3) also calls for an analysis of the links between organisations and the national contexts in which they were created⁶. While their founders saw these associations as means to promote certain ideas on the European and international stage, they were also designed to give them additional weight at the national level. Through Europeanisation and internationalisation, these scholars aimed to gain new symbolic resources—a form of prestige that they could then attempt to convert and use locally

⁴ Interview with A. Kuper.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ The geographical origins of associations could also have been studied through the first location of their official seat. This indicator would, however, have been misleading, as some of these early “seats” and “secretariats” only existed on paper. Table 3 therefore uses the geographical location of European associations’ first directors as a proxy for their geographical origin. The indicator, though imperfect, gives information on the national field that was most active in the setting up of a given association.

(Dezalay and Garth 2002; Michel 2002; Dezalay 2004; Wagner 2007) and in academic competitions: for universities, hosting an international organisation was a way to legitimise themselves in relation to more established institutions. The creation of associations was thus connected to institutional ambitions.

This is tangible in several cases. The creation of ECPR in 1970 has to be understood in relation to the University of Essex's ambition to rival top social science faculties in the UK, in spite of its relatively recent creation (Boncourt 2015). Founded in 1964, the University was one of the new institutions created in the framework of the rise of mass higher education (Anderson 1995: 16-17; Barry 1999: 434-436). These new universities were quickly faced with the task of attracting enough good students and funding to exist in an academic landscape that had for a long time been dominated by Oxford and Cambridge, as well as the LSE (Grant 2010). In the framework of this competition, Essex and its department of government followed an internationalisation strategy: the department organised a summer school in quantitative methods, recruited researchers with international backgrounds, and developed partnerships with foreign institutions (Blondel 1997; Boncourt 2015). The creation of a European consortium of political science was in line with these choices (Budge 2006). Interestingly though, the process did not go smoothly, as the department's international partners also made a case to host the new organisation. While these attempts were unsuccessful and Essex became the seat of the consortium, they signal the fact that ECPR was seen as a potential resource for universities.

The foundation of EAESP in 1966 followed a similar logic. It was, like ECSR and ECPR, founded around a clear intellectual ambition: that of importing into Europe an experimental social psychology inspired by the work of Kurt Lewin, that claimed to be close to other social sciences and emphasised the importance of group dynamics rather than that of factors internal to individuals (Schruijer 2012). Elaborated in the framework of transatlantic networks, this approach was represented in Europe by a limited number of recent institutions, such as the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE), the University of Louvain, and the University of Bristol. The creation of EAESP was a way for these "University lightweights" (Moscovi and Markova 2006: 69) to establish their reputation in their respective national field. For EPHE, internationalisation was a way to gain weight in a field of French social psychology dominated by Sorbonne, where a research centre devoted to the subject had been created in 1951 (Arbisio-Lesourd 2002: 202-205). These local agendas were the reason why the original grant application for the creation of EAESP included funded requests for the association itself (35,000 USD) but also, and more importantly, for the EPHE, Louvain, and Bristol research centres (80,000 USD per laboratory), in order for them to develop their research activity, train young researchers, and "improve or facilitate communication between Americans and Europeans" (Moscovici and Markova 2006: 120-121; Schruijer 2012).

EEA and EpsNet were created along similar objectives, although the idea was for their promoters to enhance their reputation on the international stage, rather than the national one. In the case of economics, the creation of EEA in 1984 was a by-product of the prior activities of the Centre for Operations Research and Econometrics (CORE), which had been founded in 1966. This laboratory's research priorities focused on game theory, mathematical modelling, and econometrics, explicitly along the lines of the American example. Its policy was to invite European and American scholars as fellows, in order to progressively gain weight at the international level. The creation of EEA was part of this effort⁷. In political science, Sciences Po pursued a similar agenda when it pushed for the creation of the European Political Science Network (EpsNet) in 1996, as a rival organization to the

⁷ Interview with J. Drèze. See also Drèze 2008.

well-established ECPR. In contrast to the consortium, which put a strong emphasis on transatlantic connections and American paradigms, and whose members were mostly from Northern Europe, EpsNet presented itself as European in outlook, and more open to Southern and Eastern Europe. The creation of the new network was also part of Sciences Po Paris's bid to become more internationalised and to find its place on the international scientific map, along with French political science as a whole.⁸

The study of intellectual and academic rivalries, however, does not tell the whole story, as factors external to the scientific field also played a role in the creation of European social science associations.

2.3. INTERNATIONALISATION AND THE POLITICISATION OF SCIENCES

The fourth column of [Table 3](#) shows that the founders of social science associations often relied on external grants. As they sought to gather support and funding for their projects, they were led to collaborate with political actors such as national governments and, more frequently, philanthropic foundations.

The influence of philanthropic foundations on the development of the social sciences is well documented. In the context of the Cold War, these foundations sought to influence European cultural developments, with a view of contributing to the strengthening of transatlantic ties and to the containment of Soviet influence. Studies of the “cultural” or “intellectual Cold War” show the extent to which these actors played a role in the development of literature, arts, sports and sciences (Berghahn 2001; Sirinelli and Soutou 2008; Solovey and Cravens 2012). Social sciences were a key part of this project, as foundations invested money into the development of European economics, political science, social psychology, international relations and public administration, among other areas. By funding these disciplines, they sought to support the development of social knowledge in order to improve human welfare in the long run. Investing in Europe and other continents, such as Latin America, rather than in the US, was a way to help local social scientists catch up to their American counterparts, to deepen transatlantic connections and to strengthen European democracies (Saunier 2003; Moscovici and Markova 2006; Guilhot 2011; Tournès 2011). The Ford Foundation was the main actor in this process in the 1960s. At the time, the Foundation, which had first focused on funding American projects (Hauptmann 2012), changed its policy to encourage the development of non-American social sciences, which were seen as a good vector for promoting American political values and ideas (Magat 1979; Gemelli 1998).

Such logics were mostly at work in the case of associations that sought to imitate the American example, foster transatlantic ties, and promote a conception of science that was in tune with the dominant “Cold War rationality”—a combination of positivist and statistical reasoning (Erickson *et al.* 2013). Philanthropic support took different shapes across disciplines and associations. In some cases, the Ford Foundation and other philanthropic organisations contributed to the structuring of transatlantic and transnational networks, which would later form the basis of European social science associations. Several European social scientists thus held research fellowships in prestigious American universities and built on their American connections to create European associations some years later. Most of the founders of ECPR, EEA and EAESP had benefited from such fellowships (Daalder 1997; Moscovici and Markova 2006). In other instances, the Ford Foundation provided more direct support by funding the new association itself, the University, or the research centre that

⁸ Interview with A.-P. Frogner.

was hosting it. In the 1960s, its policy was to send envoys on tours of some of the European universities and encourage the launching of transnational social science endeavours. As they sought to strengthen transatlantic ties, envoys mostly visited institutions with a track record of interconnections with American social sciences (Magat 1979; Gemelli 1998; Drèze 2008). They notably visited the University of Essex, the University of Louvain and the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, thus paving the way for providing financial backing to the creation of ECPR, EEA and EAESP (Moscovici and Markova 2006; Drèze 2008; Boncourt 2015). Memorandums internal to the Foundation about EAESP show the extent to which its support was conditional upon the new association adopting specific intellectual orientations:

The memorandum indicates [Ford Foundation Programme officer Robert] Schmid's hesitation over including 'observational' social psychology. He thought that [EAESP founding member] Moscovici 'might as well include some sociology and some behavioural political science. My personal view is that if we take these centres seriously we should not design them as social psychology centres but as behavioural science centres. The important exclusion... ought to be this: to keep out the descriptive, literary essay types... ones who masquerade in France as social researchers'. (Moscovici and Markova 2006: 126)

Events unfolded in a similar in the case of ECPR, albeit with a specificity. While the Foundation again played a role in the consortium being founded along behaviorist intellectual lines, it also inserted a political clause into ECPR's statutes: subscription to the consortium was to be restricted to universities based in democratic countries and free from political influences. This principle, which was in line with the Foundation's Cold War agenda, was also welcome by those of those of the ECPR founding fathers who had directly suffered from the war and were suspicious of communism (Daalder 1997: 227; Kaase and Wildenmann 1997: 40).

Aside of these philanthropic resources, some associations also received support from public authorities such as the European Union. The involvement of the EU comes at a later stage than that of philanthropic foundations and has implications for both "pro-American" (such as ECSR) and "anti-American" organisations (such as EpsNet). From the 1990s onwards, the EU indeed sought to promote the structuring of a "European Research Area" (ERA). Rather than pushing for the development of specific paradigms—be they of European or American origins—EU officials followed a geographical objective as they aimed at building scientific bridges between Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Europe. The main idea behind the funding of the European Political Science Network was thus to support the development of an organisation that would be more closely connected to Eastern and Southern Europe than the existing ECPR was⁹.

In some other cases, national governments also offered financial support to the new organisations. The fact that these subsidies were provided by relatively 'small' countries to associations that held their founding meetings on their soil—ESA in Vienna and EEA in Brussels—could be taken as an indication of the fact that hosting European organisations also constituted a way, however marginal, for these countries to enhance their international profile. Just like philanthropic foundations and the European Union, national governments thus followed their own political agenda when providing funding for the creation of European social science associations.

Table 3 also shows that disciplines are not equally able to obtain other sources of funding and, correlatively, to remain free of the political conditions that come with them. The European

⁹ Interview with A.-P. Frogner.

Economics Association is indeed unique in having secured funding from central banks. This shows the extent to which the possibility for scholars to obtain financial support for their undertakings is also linked to the existence of strong connections between their discipline and non-academic professional fields. The very object of economic knowledge may thus have facilitated access to subsidies:

[When we created the EEA], we immediately recruited donor members, that we called honorary members, among which central banks were the most active. (...) We found several honorary members, and that allowed us to start our activities. And with 1800 members providing membership fees during the first year, things were not bad. I don't recall finances as having been a major problem (...). It was rather easy [with central banks]: Europeans were getting together to collaborate and become more visible. I suppose we also told them that we were willing to compete with the Americans. It wasn't a problem as central banks all have funds for charity activities. They sometimes gave difficulties finding beneficiaries who would fit all of their criteria, who would not be affiliated with political or religious activities, that sort of things. Us, we were very pure.¹⁰

Several factors thus interacted to trigger the creation of European social science organisations. National and international power struggles and competitions came into play at the scientific level (struggles between promoters of different paradigms and methods), the academic level (rivalries between universities) and the political level (competition between countries during and after the Cold War). The importance of these different factors varied according to the intellectual (dominant paradigms and methods) and organisational (existence of other European associations) structure of disciplines. In all cases, scientific internationalisation was a resource for various types of actors. However, the extent to which this resource had significant effects on the structure of disciplines still needs to be assessed.

3. An Efficient Resource? Confinement and Routinisation

While it is relatively easy to evaluate the "success" of associations from a purely organisational point of view (do they have an important membership? Stable sources of funding?), their impact on the general structure of disciplines is more difficult to assess (do they contribute to the circulation of the ideas that they intend to promote? Do they stimulate a form of Europeanisation of social science research?). It is possible, however, to use proxies that provide partial answers to these questions. The article looks, first, at the geographical scope of associations' membership to show that it is often confined to particular regions, rather than encompassing the whole of Europe. The article then studies changes in associations' intellectual agendas and ambitions to show that their relationship to scientific debates changes over time. The creation of European associations, originally designed as a resource to alter the structure of disciplines, appears to only partially achieve these objectives.

¹⁰ Interview with J. Drèze.

3.1. SCIENTIFIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL TERRITORIES

The following tables and figures compile basic data on the current membership of eight European social science organizations (EASA, EASP¹¹, ECPR, ECSR, EEA, EPSA and ESA), EpsNet having ceased to exist as an autonomous association after having been absorbed by ECPR in 2007 (see 3.2).

Table 5 lists the four most represented countries in each association and allows us to highlight common points between disciplines and organisations. Some countries are indeed quantitatively dominant in most, if not all cases: Germany and the United Kingdom systematically count among the three most represented countries, and the United States and Italy also display high representation rates. ‘Small’ countries such as the Netherlands, Norway or Switzerland also appear to be more represented than their demographical weight could lead one to expect. By contrast, demographically ‘big’ countries such as France and Spain are underrepresented. Following part of the literature on the history of the social sciences (Klingemann 2008; Gingras and Heilbron 2009), one could take these numbers as linked to the linguistic position and the specific modes of internationalisation of national fields. The strong presence of Germany and the United Kingdom and the relative overrepresentation of small Northern European countries such as Scandinavian nations and the Netherlands could then be taken as a manifestation of their openness to the Anglo-Saxon world. Correlatively, the relative absence of France, Spain and Portugal could be understood as a consequence of the existence of alternative international arenas where French, Spanish or Portuguese are dominant languages. Other explanations could focus on national science policies as some national research evaluation schemes (such as the British Research Assessment Exercise and Research Excellence Framework) provide stronger incentives for internationalisation than comparable schemes in other countries (Camerati 2014).

Table 5: Four most represented countries in each organisation (2013)

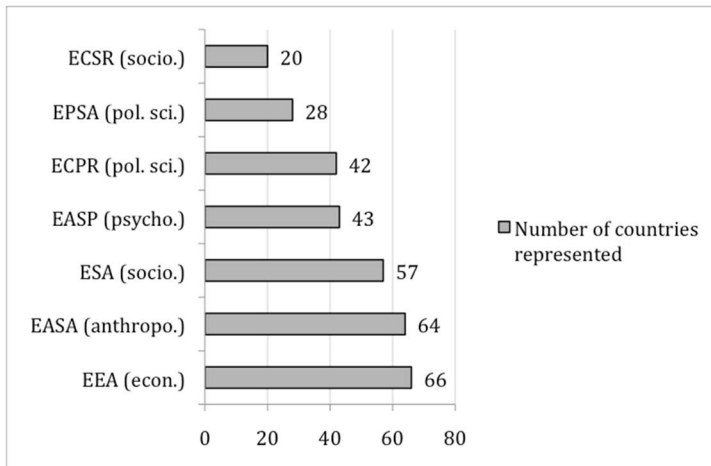
EEA (econ.)	ECPR (pol. sci.)	EPSA (pol. sci.)	ECSR (socio.)	ESA (socio.)	EASP (psycho.)	EASA (anthropo.)
Germany	UK	United States	Germany	UK	Netherlands	UK
UK	Germany	UK	Netherlands	Germany	UK	Germany
United States	United States	Germany	UK	Italy	Germany	France
Italy	Italy	Switzerland	Norway	Russia	Italy	Italy

By revolving around the properties of national fields, these interpretations enable us to make sense of the common points between the memberships of European social science organisations. However, they provide no satisfactory explanation for the important differences that divide these organisations. These differences are tangible at two levels. First, the number of countries represented in the memberships of organisations may vary by a factor of three, from 20 in the case of ECSR to 66 in the case of EEA (Figure 1). Organisations also differ at the level of the geographical repartition of their members. Figure 2 illustrates this by classifying associations according to the share of Western members (that is, Western European and North American members together) that they gather. The case of EPSA, the most Western and American association in the sample (with 96,5 percent of Western members, against only 1,3 percent of Eastern European members), thus contrasts sharply with that of ESA (67,7 percent of Western members against 27,7 percent of Eastern Europeans). In

¹¹ As described below, the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology (EAESP) has been renamed European Association of Social Psychology (EASP).

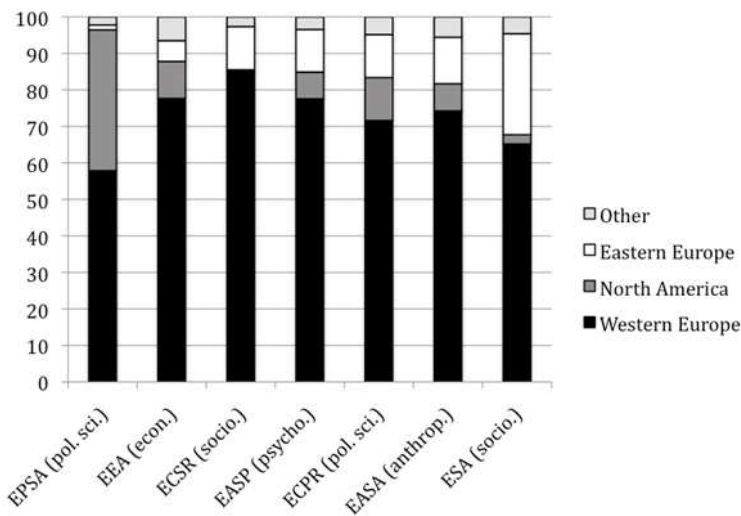
other words Europeanisation, as captured by the membership of European associations, takes different shapes in different disciplines.

Figure 1: Number of countries represented in each organization.



These variations may be explained by looking at the specific characteristics of European social science organisations. As they face various constraints linked to the specific organisational, scientific and political contexts they are embedded in, associations indeed follow different strategies to attract members and cumulate financial resources. These differences are tangible at a very early stage of their development and can be observed at three levels. The first is that of the type of members that associations gather, as most organisations work with individual members (EPSA, EEA, EASP, EASA, ESA) while a few are structured as consortiums of academic institutions (ECPR, ECSR). The second level is that of the geographical conditions that organisations set for membership: while some of them have always been potentially open to scholars based in any continent and country, others such as ECPR, ECSR and EASP originally restricted their membership to European or even West-European academics. The third level is that of activities organised by associations: while most of them focus on organising conferences and publishing a journal, some add to these classical activities by developing summer schools (ECPR, ECSR, EASP) and research workshops (ECPR).

Figure 2: Geographical breakdown of the membership of European social science organisations (percentages)



This diversity of organisational forms plays a part in explaining variations in the geographical structure of organisations' memberships. Conditions for membership have an obvious impact, and other parameters have an influence as well. Consortium formats may indeed hamper geographical diversification, as non-Western academic institutions experience difficulties in paying their high membership fees. In the same way, costly activities such as summer schools may also limit geographical diversity. The fact that ECPR, ECSR and EASP gather fewer countries than other organisations therefore appears logical.

However, differences in organisational settings should not be taken as the sole explanation for membership fluctuations. Indeed, as time went on, organisations grew and their structures evolved to become more and more similar, under the influence of mechanisms that will be further detailed below. Therefore, differences in the geographical scope of organisations must also be understood in relation to other factors. More specifically, the intellectual orientation of associations also appears to have an impact on membership, as it may be more or less compatible with dominant national paradigms. A principal component analysis (PCA) of associations' membership¹² thus locates organisations founded around the ambition of imitating the American example in the same region of the graph as Northern European countries (Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark) and Central European ones (Switzerland, Czech Republic, Hungary¹³). With the notable exception of the EEA¹⁴, these associations also rely on a relatively restricted membership (Figure 3). By contrast, organisations founded with the objective of resisting American developments are located in the same

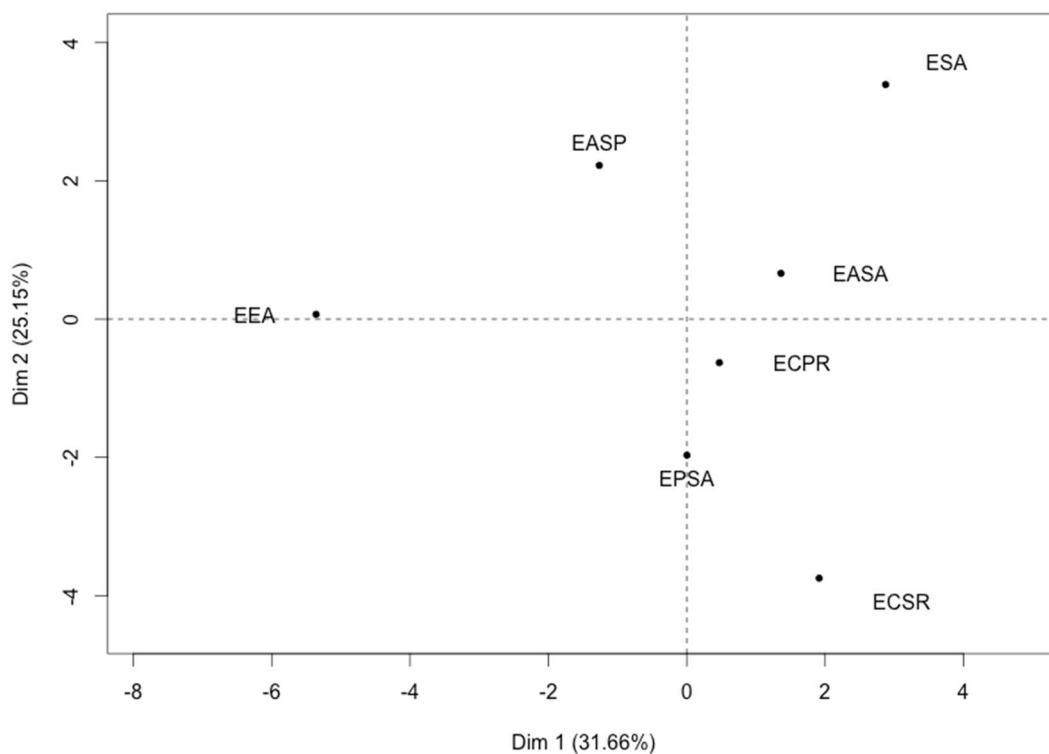
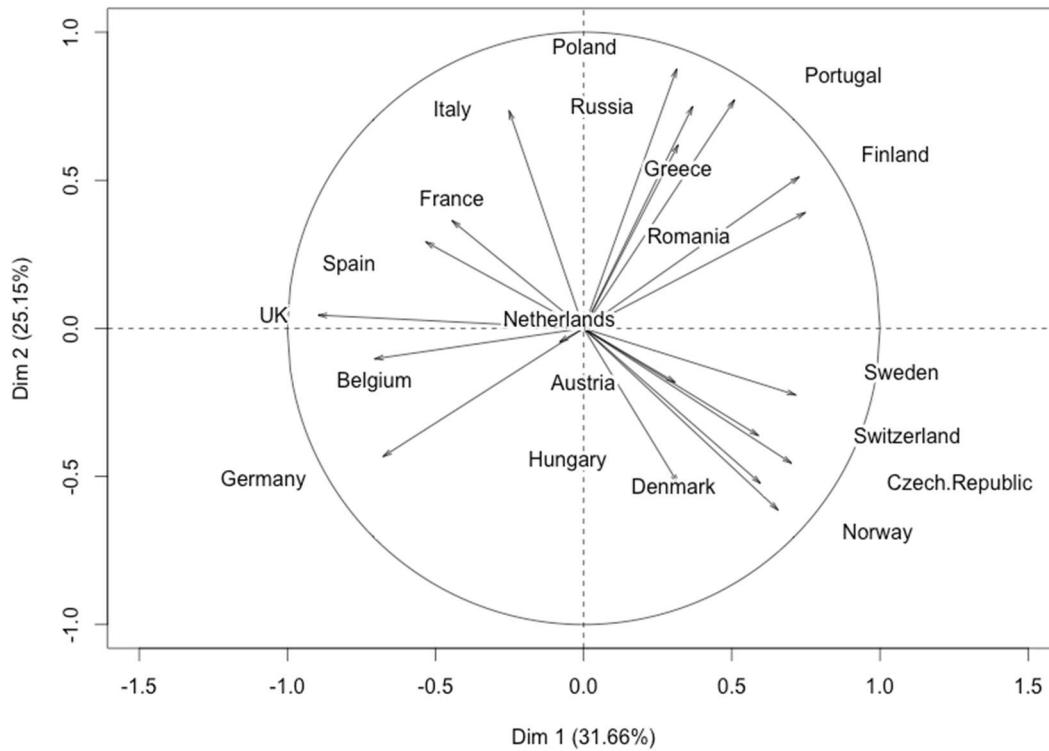
¹² The PCA used the proportion of members from a given country in each association as variables, and converted them into two uncorrelated principal components accounting for as much of the variance in the data as possible (respectively 31.66 % and 25.15 %—56.81 % in total). The two graphs are built using these principal components as x and y axes. The first figure projects variables (countries) onto the graph; the second projects associations (units). The comparison between the two graphs allows us to compare associations according to the geographical structure of their membership.

¹³ The presence of Czech Republic and Hungary could be considered surprising. However, both countries have historically been strongly connected with the American field, as they both acted as host to the American-sponsored Central European University (CEU).

¹⁴ This may notably be explained by the fact that EEA promotes a decontextualised conception of economics, as well as by the existence of a well developed professional economics field which facilitates the wide diffusion of the discipline (Fourcade 2006).

region of the graph as Eastern European countries (Rumania, Poland, Russia) and Southern European ones (Italy, Portugal, Greece).

Figure 3. European associations positions according to the structure of their membership (principal component analysis)



This data suggests that a given association's ability to "penetrate" a given national field depends on the compatibility of the own intellectual orientation and the specific scientific history of the country in question. Thus, "national social science traditions" (Heilbron 2008) may facilitate or impede such penetration. While these phenomena are hard to quantify, it is for example reasonable to assume that the specificities of French political science (which has historically been strongly connected first to law, and then to Bourdieusian sociology) had an influence on its relative underrepresentation in ECPR (Bouillaud 2009). Whatever the validity of this hypothesis, it should be noted that actors themselves give it credit: they believe that intellectual factors have an influence on their association's fortunes, and they adapt their strategies accordingly—as will be shown in 3.2.

The data thus suggests that associations' ambitions are limited by the regional perimeter that they effectively manage to cover. Moreover, these ambitions also evolve over time.

3.2. FROM STRONG INTELLECTUAL STATEMENTS TO ECUMENISM

As their organisational environment became denser and more competitive (political science having for example up to three European organisations in the 2000s) and political contexts changed (notably in relation to the fall of communist regimes), associations became more acutely aware of their opportunities for growth and their risk of decline. The case of EpsNet shows that these risks were more than just speculative as, after having been funded by the European Union, the organisation failed to gather enough members to remain independent and was eventually absorbed by ECPR. Therefore, on the basis of strategic reviews produced by internal task forces, associations adapted their rules and activities by importing from other organisations what they identified as "best practices", with the explicit objective of attracting new members.

This organisational competition and isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1991) had consequences for the structures and activities of associations. On the one hand, it led to a softening of their conditions for membership: some associations opened their membership to Eastern Europe by reducing fees for scholars located in the region (ECPR, ECSR) and others created "associate" or "affiliate" membership categories to allow non-European, and especially American academics to join (ECPR, EASP). On the other hand, organisations diversified their activities by publishing new journals (the *European Journal of International Relations*, *European Political Science* and the *European Political Science Review* in the case of ECPR; the *Journal of the European Economic Association* in the case of EEA; the *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* in the case of ESA, etc.), organising additional events and conferences (often dedicated to PhD students) and creating scientific prizes (the Hicks-Tinbergen medal in the case of EEA, the Jean Blondel prize for ECPR, etc.). The organisational landscape thus became increasingly uniform as membership options and activities became more numerous and homogeneous across associations.

This competition also had intellectual consequences. The intellectual ambitions of these associations' founders were not necessarily endorsed by their successors. The history of associations that sought to imitate the American model shows that they later adopted different strategies. Some organisations, such as ECPR and EASP, sought to soften their initial intellectual stances to be seen as more open and attract more numbers. Others, like ECSR, stuck to their initial choices and grew at a more controlled pace.

Even though the history of ECPR can be described as a success, the organisation faced problems in the course of its growth. While it had initially been funded by a Ford Foundation grant, it was soon faced with the problem of obtaining sufficient resources to remain viable in the long term. ECPR's

intellectual objectives then became a problem for its organisational interests, as its closeness to the American field was seen as an obstacle to its growth:

It is still the case that both in general and more specifically in some countries we are viewed by many political scientists as being in some fashion slanted towards the ‘behavioural’ school of political science. [Some institutions in Germany, the UK, Finland, France] have been reluctant to become involved in the ECPR because they are convinced that we do not give enough emphasis to some specifically theoretical and in particular normative aspects of political analysis.¹⁵

This led ECPR’s officers to adopt strategies to soften this intellectual stigma: the intellectual perimeter of the consortium’s activities (conferences, workshops, summer schools) was widened to include a greater diversity of subfields (such as political theory and intellectual history) and methods (qualitative, in particular). The fact that this diversification coincided with a growth of the organisation seems to indicate that this strategy paid off—although the move eventually led, as seen above, to some of its members being dissatisfied with ECPR, opting out of it and founding EPSA.

Similar dynamics were at work when the European Association of Experimental Social Psychology (EAESP) gave up its “experimental” label to become the European Association of Social Psychology (EASP). Others associations, however, followed different strategies. In sociology, ECSR opted for a controlled growth, with most of its member institutions based in Western and Northern Europe, in a move that was designed to avoid increasing pressures for intellectual diversification. ECSR’s strategy had therefore more to do with elitism than ecumenism:

The ECSR is really a consortium in the sense that... Let’s say it’s more elitist I think. One cannot join just like that, one has to be co-opted, it’s a fairly narrow club in a way. That’s my feeling: an institution that would want to join would first have to participate in congresses, present papers and then progressively it would be invited to join the consortium. There is no intent to close the organization completely, but let’s say there is a certain level to reach to join, a certain level of expectations, one has to be up to it.¹⁶

Conceived as resources to promote particular intellectual approaches to the study of social phenomena, associations saw their ambitions evolve because of organisational constraints. Their place and role in the transnational circulation of scientific ideas changed over time.

Conclusion

This article sought to study the causes and effects of scientific internationalisation through a study of European social science associations. The analytical choices that underpin this study have several limits. By insisting on the strategic character of internationalisation, the argument tends to minimise the importance of convergence mechanisms at work in the international spaces opened by these associations (journals, congresses, summer schools, etc.). By focusing on associations themselves rather than their members, it does not pay much attention to the exchanges of references, practices, and networks that take place within associations, in the course of routine transnational interactions.

¹⁵ Jean Blondel, “Report of the executive director on the fourth year of activity, 1973-74”, ECPR Archives, Box “reports of the executive director”, April 1974.

¹⁶ Interview with S. Paugam.

This article does not intend to criticise these alternative analytical options. Rather, it holds that its own approach has an original added value for the study of scientific internationalisation.

The article sought to test two hypotheses. The first was that the Europeanisation of the social sciences was a product of the interaction of several social fields. The data corroborated this claim by showing how negotiations that involved scientific, academic, and political logics could trigger an internationalisation of disciplines. The latter could also be seen as a “coup”, a way for actors to cumulate resources that could then be reinvested in the competitions in which they were involved. Thus, the analysis nuances claims laid out by part of the literature that internationalisation is a way for dominant actors to strengthen their dominant position. In this specific case, internationalisation is more often a tool used by marginalised actors to subvert dominant scientific hierarchies.

The second hypothesis was that the effects of internationalisation should be analysed as different in different contexts, rather than being interpreted one-sidedly as “Americanisation” or “creolisation” dynamics. The argument confirmed and refined this idea by showing that Europeanisation could be conceived in different ways by the founders of different associations, and that these initial conceptions could evolve over time. Even when initially conceived as a resource for the Americanisation of disciplines, the nature of the Europeanisation process can change as associations grow. The data also showed that these ambitions do not enjoy equal success in all national European fields, and that associations are often confined to certain geographical areas rather than encompassing the whole of Europe. European associations thus appear to only foster limited transnational convergence.

These conclusions have implications that go beyond the case of scientific disciplines. The article describes internationalisation as a process marked by a strong uncertainty. While multiple actors work to trigger it, none of them seems to control it fully. Internationalisation involves symbolic resources, but these resources may benefit different individuals, and are not stable over time. As it involves, by definition, a growing number of actors, internationalisation becomes harder to control, even for its initiators.

The article also presents organisational factors as playing a specific role in intellectual history. While structures are created to promote particular ideas, they may become increasingly autonomous from this agenda as organisational issues become more prominent. Apparently minor technical, administrative, and organisational changes (such as the choice of including a new type of member, of diversifying activities, importing “good practices”, etc.) can thus trigger important changes in the structure of intellectual fields. Behind the great history of ideas are thus hidden organisational statuses and budgets, management practices, and human resource issues that have an influence intellectual controversies—even though they are not as “noble” as intellectual factors.

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