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Indicators of the Internationalization of the Social Sciences and Humanities

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Abstract

This contribution, which is part of the collaborative European research project INTERCOSSH, presents indicators for studying the internationalization of the social and human sciences. Five dimensions are distinguished and for each one of them various indicators are presented. Although neither the dimensions nor the indicators are exhaustive, they capture some of the most significant aspects of internationalization. They pertain to international scholarly associations, international scholarly journals, the flows and meanings of book translations, transnational authorship, and policies of internationalization. In addition to these dimensions, three particular areas of inquiry are presented: changing relations between the North and the South, between Western and Eastern Europe, and between the West and Asia.

Keywords

Internationalization, globalization, social and human sciences (SSH), international associations, international journals, book translations, transnational authorship

Introduction and Research Question

As has been documented by studies and reports like the UNESCO World Social Science Report (1999, 2010), the social sciences and humanities (SSH) are today practiced in virtually all countries and regions around the world. Since the 1990s, and related to the more general debate about 'globalization', the internationalization of the social sciences and humanities has become a defining characteristic of research, teaching and publishing practices. Even disciplines of which the practice was traditionally restricted to specific national and linguistic contexts, such as the study of national languages and literatures, are in the process of becoming more internationally oriented and

organized, although teaching and research remain primarily located at the national level. While the process of internationalization is widely acknowledged by scholars and policy makers alike, its historical development, specific forms and scholarly consequences have, so far, been rarely analyzed systematically.¹

1. Objectives

The collaborative research project INTERCO-SSH (INTERNational COoperation in the SSH: Comparative Socio-Historical Perspectives and Future Possibilities)² contributes to filling this gap by studying the post-war history of the SSH in Europe³. Its Work Package 3 focuses on the internationalization of these disciplines and seeks to fulfill three main **objectives**:

- to measure and analyze the main patterns of transnational exchange and collaboration in the SSH, both within Europe and between Europe and other regions of the world;
- to produce case studies to exemplify, enrich and refine the understanding of the above-mentioned general patterns;
- to assess the main obstacles to crossing national boundaries and stimulating fruitful transnational relations and exchanges.

2. Tasks

These objectives have been translated into **three tasks**:

(1) Considering its central position in the global field of SSH, the project pays special attention to the exchanges between European countries and the United States (US).

(2) The project also studies various aspects of the emergence and functioning of the European Research Area, where regional integration in the SSH has been particularly pronounced.

(3) In addition to studying processes internal to the West, the project seeks to capture global dynamics by paying special attention to the West's changing relationships with the South and the East.

For these three tasks different dimensions have been distinguished, each of which have been broken down into specific indicators. The dimensions that have been identified are not the only ones that are relevant for understanding internationalization. Several other dimensions can be distinguished, and some of them are taken into account into other Work Packages of the project. Thus, national patterns of institutionalization and internationalization are covered in Work Package 2, while the transnational circulation of paradigms, methods and controversies is analyzed

¹ Efforts have been deployed to study internationalization dynamics in other social fields and, most notably, to provide guidelines for investigating these types of processes (Siméant 2015). On the internationalization of the social sciences, see Alatas and Sinha-Kerkoff (2010), Boncourt (2011), Bourdieu (1999a and b), Danell et al. (2013), Gingras (2002) Gingras and Heilbron (2009), Fourcade (2006), Heilbron (2014b), Heilbron et al. (2008), Karady (2009), Keim (2011), Keim et al. (2014), Kennedy (2015), Kovács and Kutsar (2010), Kuhn and Weidemann (2010), Medina (2014), Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras (2014), Sapiro (2009a), UNESCO (2010).

² For more information on this EU-funded project, Grant Agreement n° 319974, see <http://interco-ssh.eu/en/>.

³ The project studies seven disciplines: anthropology, economics, literary studies, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology.

in Work Package 4.⁴ Among other dimensions of particular significance for internationalization are, for example, processes of migration, both voluntary and forced (Jeanpierre 2010), or the spread of English as an international language of science and scholarship (De Swaan 2001). In spite of these limitations, Work Package 3 captures five key dimensions of the internationalization of the social sciences and humanities.

3. Dimensions and Indicators

These dimensions capture different aspects of transnational SSH infrastructure, exchange, and collaboration:

- 1) The development and role of international scholarly organizations;
- 2) The development and role of international journals;
- 3) The flows and meanings of book translations;
- 4) The development of transnational co-authorship;
- 5) The politics of internationalization.

As outlined above, the dimensions have been used to study both processes internal to the West, and dynamics linked to its changing relations with the Global South, Eastern Europe and Asia.

3.1. INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS

The composition, development, and functioning of international scholarly associations represent an important mode of international exchange and collaboration. The oldest international organizations in SSH date back to the second half of the 19th century (Boncourt and Jeanpierre 2015). After the Second World War, new international SSH associations were established under the auspices of UNESCO; they have more recently been complemented by transnational regional organizations on a continental scale (Europe, Asia, Latin America, Africa)⁵. The study of these organizations provides valuable information on the way in which the social and human sciences have become internationalized over time. More specifically, it contributes to answering three questions: What is the balance of power between different national and regional scientific fields, most notably between Europe, the United States, and emerging fields in the South and East? What is the role of political actors (UNESCO, philanthropic foundations, the European Union, etc.) and contexts (before, during and after the Cold War) in shaping these internationalization processes? Can we identify different patterns of internationalization across different SSH disciplines?

International Associations

International associations exist in all SSH disciplines. As they have, for the most part, all been founded in the late 1940s or early 1950s under the auspices of UNESCO, their study is a way of highlighting the connections between international politics and the transnational development of the SSH. As transnational forums that grew in size and became more geographically diverse over time, these organizations also provide comparative information on the changing international

⁴ For the indicators of institutionalization, see Fleck et al. (2016).

⁵ For historical outlines of the internationalization of the social sciences, see Fleck (2011), Heilbron et al. (2008), Heilbron (2014b).

structure of disciplines. Data on these processes may be gathered through a study of associations' archives and interviews with their founders and officers. While such sources are not always available (not all associations have kept orderly archives, and gaps are frequent), these data are especially valuable when put into historical perspective.

Possible Indicators:

- **Overall membership.** Gathering data on the total number of members of each association provides key information on the quantitative weight of these organizations in different disciplines.
- **Breakdown of membership per country** (absolute and relative to total). Gathering such data shows that these associations vary in their geographical scope and structure, with some of them being more oriented towards certain regions (Western and/or Eastern Europe, North America, etc.) than others. In that sense, these organizations are not all international in the same way. It is worth noting, however, that this distribution tends to fluctuate regularly in connection to the changing location of major congresses: South American membership will, for example, rise significantly when congresses are held in the region, and decrease in the following years.
- **Ratio between North American, South American, European, African, Asian and members from other regions.** Calculating such ratios demonstrates that the place of Europe varies across organizations and disciplines, notably in relation to members from North America and other regions.
- **Location of world congresses over time.** The location of world congresses organized by international associations is more than a strictly scientific matter. It also has organizational and political implications: holding a world congress of political science in Moscow in 1979 had implications that went beyond the scientific field—just like the Moscow Olympics of 1980 (Sarantakes 2010). The comparison of the location of world congresses across disciplines and over time thus provides valuable insight into the evolution of the relationship between national scientific fields, as well as between international scientific associations and politics.
- **Programs of congresses.** The list of participants to world congresses provides information similar to membership distribution. The list of topics that feature in the programs of these congresses shows the themes that emerge out of the interactions of national fields in different time periods. The influence of world politics and, more generally, contemporary events, is also tangible in this list. It also gives a sense of the way in which congresses contribute to the transnational circulation of ideas and the evolution of intellectual power struggles.
- **Organizational structure** (composition of governing bodies, number and themes of research committees). Over time, international associations have sought to institutionalize their research activity in the shape of research committees. A look at this scientific structure provides information on the subdisciplinary structure of each discipline and the degree of institutionalization of each association.
- **Development of activities** (frequency and type of international conferences, existence or not of international prizes) **and publications** (books series, journals). Over time, some international associations have sought to widen the range of their activities in order to become more stable, notably at the financial level. The comparison of the extent of this expansion across organizations provides information on the dynamism of these associations and the competitiveness of their organizational environment.

European Associations

Internationalization has more recently also taken the form of transnational regionalization—that is the emergence of international associations, journals, research councils, databases, etc., on a transnational regional level (Asia, Africa, the Arab world, Latin America) (UNESCO 2010).

INTERCO-SSH focuses on Europeanization as a relatively advanced case of this process, as European associations have been founded in most SSH disciplines (Boncourt 2016a). The central questions are how these transnational regional associations have evolved over time in their respective disciplinary context, which main forms of 'Europeanization' can be distinguished, and how Europeanization relates to more general internationalization processes (Sapiro 2009a). To answer these questions, several indicators may be taken into account and analyzed through the use of organizations' archives. While the first five are similar to those used to study international associations, the last one is specific to the case of European organizations.

Possible Indicators:

- **Overall membership.** As in the case of international associations, data on the total number of members of each association provides information on the quantitative weight of these organizations, over time.
- **Membership per country** (absolute and relative to total). There are important differences between European associations in terms of the geographical structure of their membership: while some encompass the whole of Europe, others are dominated by specific parts of the continent (be it Western or Eastern, Southern or Northern Europe), or even by extra-European countries, such as the United States. A careful quantitative study of the members of these associations makes it possible to identify different forms and strategies of Europeanization across SSH disciplines.
- **Location and programs of European congresses over time.** As seen above, the study of the location of scientific congresses may deepen our understanding of the interactions between SSH and politics, as well as between national scientific communities.
- **Origins of European associations.** All European associations originated in a given country. The mapping out of these geographical roots across organizations and disciplines may help assess the extent to which Europeanization processes are associated with national power struggles (be they intellectual or institutional), with Europeanization acting as a resource used to gain weight in these struggles (Boncourt 2016a).
- **Organizational structure** (composition of the governing board, number and themes of research committees). As in the case of international associations, this indicator contributes to assessing the subdisciplinary structure of each discipline and the degree of institutionalization of each European association.
- **Development of activities** (frequency and type of conferences, existence of European prizes) and publications (book series, journals). As argued above, this indicator helps us assess the dynamism of European associations and the competitiveness of their organizational environment.
- **Intellectual orientation.** The intellectual rationale behind the foundation of European associations varied across disciplines and organizations. While some set out to emulate the American example, others aimed at promoting European intellectual traditions. The qualitative comparative study of these rationales paves the way to a better understanding of the interactions between European and American scientific fields and ideas, and of the role of 'American hegemony' in shaping the internationalization of SSH (Alatas 2003; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1998; Dezalay and Garth 2002; Keim 2011).

3.2. EUROPEAN SSH JOURNALS

Journals with the explicit ambition to be international are of particular significance to the international circulation of knowledge. A relatively recent trend has been the establishment of European journals, which nowadays exist in virtually every discipline and research specialty. Several of them have been launched by European scholarly associations. The study of these journals provides a different perspective on the forms of Europeanization at work in SSH disciplines.

Possible Indicators:

- **Development of ‘European’ journals.** A growing number of journals uses the adjective ‘European’ in their title or subtitle. Assessing the pace of this growth over time is a way to identify trends in the rise and fall of ‘Europeanization’ in relation to developments at the national and international level.
- **Editorial policy.** As in the case of European associations, some European journals were founded on the basis of a very specific intellectual rationale. These policies usually revolve around the idea of either promoting European intellectual traditions or importing American standards into Europe. The mapping out of these rationales across journals and disciplines provides a better understanding of the shape of Europeanization dynamics, in particular in relation to American developments.
- **Location of Editor.** The study of the location of European journals’ editors is one of the keys to understanding the relationship between national scientific fields in the context of Europeanization.
- **Composition of editorial board.** As in the case of the membership of European associations, the study of European journals’ editorial boards forms a basis to understand the geographical structure of Europeanization across disciplines.
- **Location and name of Publisher.** This indicator makes it possible to assess the extent to which the publication of European SSH knowledge has been centralized around a nucleus of publishers and countries over time.
- **Impact factor and rank in citation hierarchies** per discipline and research specialty. The study of such indicators is a valuable tool to answer questions about the relative weight of European SSH production in relation to national, international and American publications.
- **Journal authors** can also be studied. Their geographical distribution gives an indication of the scale and form of the Europeanization of journals themselves, and of national fields. Careful qualitative analysis must then determine whether this unequal distribution is linked to the journal’s intellectual orientation, to the uneven and asymmetrical development of disciplines across countries, etc.
- **Topics, methods and case studies published in journals.** Like the topics covered by international congresses, the themes, methods, and case studies that get published in international journals provide an indication of the role played by these journals in the transnational circulation of ideas and the international power relations between different intellectual factions (Boncourt 2008).

3.3. BOOK TRANSLATIONS

The translation of SSH books is an important aspect of the international circulation of knowledge and the accumulation of prestige. Although translation is not a necessary condition for the international circulation of ideas, since a text can be read in the original language as well, and it is not a sufficient condition either, since translation does not necessarily mean appropriation by the scientific community, translation flows are nonetheless a good measure of the unequal circulation of texts (Heilbron and Sapiro 2016). Book translations are also an indicator of the broader interest in a scholarly work, beyond the community of specialists, since a publisher is ready to invest in this costly operation. This is why translation is also an indicator of recognition and thus of symbolic capital for a researcher, as well as a measure of the impact of SSH on society.

Possible Indicators:

- **Translation flows between languages and countries.** Measuring the flows require the construction of reliable databases. Diverse sources exist, though they all need to be checked, sorted out, completed and recoded.

The UNESCO database Index Translationum is the only online database that lists translations from and to all languages since 1979, but it presents some disadvantages: the target country is mentioned, but not the source country (the language is the only given variable); the reliability of the data depends on the quality of national libraries, which is very unequal across countries; the disciplines are not coded separately but in broader categories of “subjects” (“Philosophy, Psychology”, “Law, Social Sciences and Education”, “History, Geography, Biographies”), which do not only include scholarship but also textbooks, touristic guides, biographies and other more commercial types of products. This data thus needs to be sorted out. Furthermore, the UNESCO decided to stop supplying the database, the last year for which data is available being 2008.

National libraries databases can be used to check the data but they seldom allow to sort translated books separately, or to select the source language.

Professional databases for bookstores such as the French database Electre have proved much more adequate for the purpose of listing books of SSH translated into French, though it is reliable from 1985 onwards. The variables include source language, source country (though not totally reliable for English), date of publication, publisher in France, and the discipline (Dewey code). Some data has already been collected from this database in a previous research project, for eleven languages and from 1985 to 2002 (Sapiro and Popa 2008). This could be completed to include more languages and more recent time periods.

The Argentinian book trade association also provides data on translations.

Some official databases are available: the Centre National du Livre (CNL), affiliated with the French Ministry of Culture, lists translations to which a funding has been granted. It enabled an analysis of the 424 books translated from French into English (US and UK) from 2002 to 2012 which were allocated this aid. The Bureau du Livre Français in diverse countries has also began building databases. Though incomplete, these databases encompass more translations than the CNL base. Despite their being incomplete, all these official databases present some advantages compared to the other sources: they list not only the publisher in the target country but also the French publisher. This information allows a study of the concentration of translation flows per source publisher and a network analysis of relationships between publishers; it also provides the date of publication of the original book, which allows to calculate the average time-lag for translations to be published.

The ratios of flows between countries can be measured based on two sources: the UNESCO database and the statistics provided by the Syndicat National de l’Edition regarding the exchange between French publishers and their foreign homologues. The latter source is restricted to the selling and acquisition of books under copyright (thus excluding the classics) and is incomplete since it depends of the publishers declaration, but has the advantage of showing exchange patterns for contemporary production in the SSH (which constitutes a distinct variable).

- **Relative weight of SSH book translations in the book production per country or language group.**

This indicator serves to assess the fluctuations of the market and the relative autonomy of the SSH. To be relevant, this indicator needs to combine two ratios: the ratio of translations in the SSH production of the country per year or period; the ratio of the SSH production in the overall book production. Though the second ratio is usually available in national statistics (for instance those produced by the Syndicat National de l’Edition in France), the first one is much more difficult to obtain, since national statistics seldom differentiate translations.

- **The place of SSH translations within these (supra)national publishing fields.**

The place of SSH translations in the national or supranational publishing field varies according to various factors: the position of the language and country in the global market of translations (the dominant languages and countries export many more translations than they import, see Heilbron 1999; 2002); the position of the national disciplinary field in the international disciplinary field (for instance, German and French philosophy occupy a dominant position in this international disciplinary field); the presence of the SSH in

general publishing (as in France, Germany, Italy and Argentina) or its being confined to academic publishing; the visibility of the SSH in the media (which is related to its presence in general publishing but also to the role academics play as experts); political interest in the SSH.⁶ Central countries within large linguistic areas usually translate much more than peripheral countries, which partly depend on the former for access to the international scene. Yet in some cases, like Argentina, translating SSH books is a way to counter the domination of Spanish publishers, interested in more profitable categories of books, and to position themselves in the Hispanic area.

- **Intermediaries in the translation process.**

The circulation of books in translation involves a chain of cooperation among diverse groups of intermediaries: publishers, editors, directors of book series, agents, scouts, academic advisors, referees, translators, state representatives. The role of these actors varies according to several variables: the location of the SSH in general and/or academic publishing; the place of academic publishing in the country or linguistic area; the place and importance of translations in the country or linguistic area (this variable refers to the previous indicator); the social recruitment of translators (professional vs academic). The identification of the main actors in the transfer could help to build networks of intermediaries and compare translation policies of different publishers in the same country (using their catalogues) or of publishers belonging to different countries (central vs (semi)peripheral).

- **Obstacles to the translation of SSH books.**

Obstacles to the translation of SSH books are of three kinds: economic (the costs of translation), political (censorship) and cultural (Sapiro 2012). The latter category encompasses various aspects such as publishing traditions, linguistic skills, academic traditions, social representations of the “other”, and so on. These obstacles vary across countries and thus require a qualitative study. An interesting perspective would be to study the obstacle to translation from (semi)peripheral countries in the book markets of central countries. The quantitative analysis of translation flows reveals unequal patterns of circulation across countries (Heilbron 1999). This is also true of the specific market of SSH books. This situation is not the simple reflection of the book production in the different countries but is the result of economic, political and cultural factors that need to be identified, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods.

- **Funding and aids.**

Among the intermediaries, State representatives often play an important part in the circulation of books in the SSH, by covering part of the translation costs, which are, as mentioned above, a major obstacle to the international circulation of books. These policies need to be systematically mapped. Governmental funding is usually devoted to support the export of the output of researchers working in their countries. In some countries, there exist (or existed) programmes for supporting the translation of classical works from other languages. It is less frequent to find aids to the importation of contemporary works in translation. The French CNL provides such a support to some projects after selection. The EU also funds translations through the Framework Programmes supporting research projects. Data about this indirect funding of translations is not available and would need to be collected (Sapiro 2009b).

- **Distribution and characteristics of most translated SSH authors.**

Databases of the translated books of the most translated authors in the SSH can be constructed in order to analyze the evolution of the number of translations per language and country and the average time-lag for different books, as has already been done in the case of Pierre Bourdieu (Sapiro and Bustamante 2009). A comparison of these results among several authors from different countries could provide a view of the circulation patterns of books in translation in the SSH.

⁶ For an example of the political use of translation, see Hauchecorne (2009).

- **Reception of translated books and authors in the target culture (interpretation and impact).** Reviews and citations in scientific journals provide a measure for studying the impact of translated books. Whereas citations can be extracted from databases like the Web of Science, the reviews need to be collected from publishers, agents or from the authors themselves and require a qualitative analysis. Some relevant case-studies must first be identified. A more thorough investigation could include a study of the “importators” (July 2012).

3.4. TRANSNATIONAL CO-AUTHORSHIP

Information about co-authorship of scholars who work in different countries is provided in most SSH journals and part of the standard information stored in bibliometric databases like the Web of Science. This, first, allows analyzing trends in transnational collaboration. The growth or decline of transnational co-authorship is an interesting indicator of increasing or decreasing internationalization. Transnational co-authorship, secondly, allows a more refined understanding of collaborative structures. Patterns of collaboration reveal, for example, that some countries, institutions and authors are more central, while others have a (semi)peripheral position in networks of co-authorship (Gingras and Heilbron 2009; Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010; Mosbah-Natanson and Gingras 2014).

Possible Indicators:

- **Development of transnational co-authorship in SSH overall.** How has transnational co-authorship in the social sciences and the humanities evolved since 1980? Special attention will have to be paid to how co-authorships between the US and European countries have evolved?
- **Development of transnational authorship in SSH in the social sciences and the humanities separately.** How do the social sciences compare to the humanities (1980-present)?
- **Development of transnational authorship per discipline.** Are there significant differences across disciplines: do some disciplines have higher levels of transnational co-authorship than others?
- **Development of transnational authorship per country:** are there significant differences across countries?

3.5. THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

States have traditionally pursued policies to export knowledge to their colonies and other countries, and to import knowledge from what they perceive as the most advanced scientific centers. In the course of the twentieth century private foundations like the Rockefeller and the Ford Foundation acquired a major role in the development of international scholarly exchange as well, and, especially after the Second World War, they were joined by international organizations like UNESCO and by intergovernmental institutions such as the European Union.

A particularly salient example of the policies of SSH internationalization is the policy of the European Union, which has developed in a relatively short period of time, roughly since the beginning of the 1990s, and today represents a structuring factor of considerable importance in all national SSH fields in Europe (Heilbron 2009, 2014a; Kastrinos 2010; Kovács and Kutsar 2010; Kuhn and Remøe 2005).

Possible Indicators:

- Development of funding, research priorities, organizational forms and distribution by country and discipline in the successive **European Framework Programs**. The Framework Programs were the main source of funding for European SSH research between 1994 and 2013. Since they implied the collaboration of research groups of various countries, they have been a major source not only of research funding but also of European transnational exchange and collaboration.
- Development and distribution per country and discipline of SSH grants of the **European Research Council** (since 2007). Unlike the Framework Programs the grants of the European Research Council are made without criteria of policy relevance; they are targeted at 'scientific excellence' and depend more on the academic reputation of individual researchers.
- Development of European policy with regard to **European data bases and data gathering like European social survey** (see for example Aldrin 2010). Part of the European funding schemes are targeted at the SSH research infrastructure.

Although not yet very developed, it is worthwhile to consider examining the following domains:

- Development of **European policy with regard to European research centers**.
- Development of **European policy with respect to doctoral education and graduate schools**.

4. Areas of Inquiry

While the project pays special attention to Western Europe, it also situates this region in a global perspective by studying its changing relations with the global South, Eastern Europe, and Asia.

4.1. CHANGING RELATIONS WITH THE GLOBAL SOUTH

One of the crucial issues about internationalization is the North-South relation of which the case of Latin America is of particular interest. Some studies of international exchange programs in Brazil and Argentina and their impact on the SSH in these countries are already available (Beigel 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Abarzúa Curtoni 2016; Quesada 2016; Gallardo 2015), but need to be completed. Beside the international mobility of Latin Americans favored by national academic and scientific policies, it is possible to observe the mobility of European Researchers and students in Latin America, thanks to programs and policies such as ECOS-Sud and Hermès, and the presence of European institutions in the South.

Related to the political conditions of international exchange is the fact that political exile and migration due to major crises have had a profound impact on the academic and scientific conversion of researchers and academics in the South. Research carried out in this area must thus strive to integrate and compare the dynamics of internationalization generated by scientific and extra-scientific factors.

The detailed study of policies designed to develop the international mobility of scientists from the South provides the means to construct detailed geographies of these scholars' circulation, as well as their interactions with European scientists, through travel and research projects. The knowledge of such exchange structures corrects simplistic views of one-way relationships (e.g. North-South, Center-Periphery). In the past 30 years there have been cases of peripheral countries that have become central in certain disciplines, as in the case of Argentina in psychoanalysis. Moreover, from

a global perspective, some developing countries such as Brazil have moved to a central position for graduate training and have become a market place for scientists from Latin American and African countries.

Possible Indicators (by national or regional institutions and by foreign or multilateral institutions):

- Type of mobility policy: grants, project funding, exchange programs, etc.
- Morphology of the beneficiary population (disciplines, sex, age, etc.).
- Reception centers (cities, countries, continents) and kind of institution.
- Position of beneficiaries initially and after the mobility experience.

Since the international mobility of scientists has also been shaped by political and economic conditions, it is necessary to integrate and weigh the relationship between this indicator and scientific policies as not necessarily antagonistic factors to the autonomization or heteronomization of SSH disciplines in the South. Two aspects are crucial in this respect:

- The migration of students, professors and researchers abroad due to political or economic crises.
- The presence of European intellectuals and scientists as migrants in Southern countries.

4.2. CHANGING RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

For assessing the changing relations with Eastern Europe, the case of Hungary has been selected. A large number of secondary sources is taken into account to compensate for the weakness or (in some fields) the lack of direct sources on transnational scholarly relations and the vicissitudes in recent history of efforts of Hungarian SSH scholars to get integrated into the still fragile European research area.

For the study of **publication patterns** various indicators and sources are used for the period since 1945:

- The language of publication of SSH books (for every 5 years by topical areas), data from SSH scholars' bibliographies and National Statistical Yearbooks since the 1970s
- Translation of books from foreign languages into Hungarian (*idem*)
- Publications in foreign languages of graduates of the Academy of Sciences (doctors and 'candidates') for each fifth year since the 1970s
- SSH books (over 100 pages) in foreign languages received by the Budapest Municipal Library (1960–2014) broken down by discipline and period
- Publication of Hungarian books into foreign languages received by the Budapest Municipal Library (1960–2014)
- Non-public translations and editions of foreign books in the SSH by the State run publishing House Kossuth: books distributed confidentially among members of the political nomenklatura in the years cc. 1960–1989.

These data will be complemented by various statistical studies of Hungarian **scholarly journals** based on the online edition of part or the whole of their published corpus. Different aspects of foreign publications (language, place of publication, author) will be analyzed for both major 'generalist' periodicals and more specialized SSH journals.

- Identification of books and studies in foreign languages reviewed
- Identification of places of publication of foreign books reviewed

- Identification of cities and countries referred to in the corpus of texts (with frequencies over time)
- Identification of the main foreign authors referred to in the corpus of texts

In addition to data pertaining to the reception of foreign work in Hungary, several indicators will be used to study the presence of Hungarian scholars abroad.

- linguistic competences and the experience of studies abroad of SSH students and staff (sources: Who is Who-s published after 1989; 2010 survey of university graduates; the 'microcensus' of 1/10 of the 2001 and 2011 nationwide population censuses (including references to university graduates born abroad)
- Foreign and Hungarian public distinctions for SSH scholars (prizes, medals, etc.)
- Publications in foreign journals as mentioned in the bibliography of Hungarian SSH scholars by disciplines and time periods
- Presence of the most reputed SSH scholars in Hungarian as well as in non-Hungarian encyclopedia's (Brockhaus, British Encyclopedia, several Romanian and Hungarian encyclopedia published since 1945)
- Special study of emigration (as signalled by places of death abroad) of SSH 'reputational elites' from several Eastern and Central European countries cited in various encyclopedia and biographical dictionaries.

4.3. CHANGING RELATIONS WITH ASIA

Assessing the internationalization of the social sciences in South Korea and Japan has become an important question due to the growing role Asia is playing in the global academic field (Barshay 2004; Kim 2009; Sasaki 2011; Shin with Sang-jin 2010). Methodologically speaking, this does not call for tools very different from the ones used to grasp these very circulations in the American or European contexts. Indeed the Asian scientific spaces can be easily compared with their Western counterparts for several reasons: Asian scholars set up universities based on the German model at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries; they imported European (and later American) disciplines and references, and they also sent numerous scholars to the West. They have, furthermore, developed encompassing statistical apparatus that make sound international comparisons possible. This makes it possible to easily collect various data. For instance, the international circulation of students can be accurately described, with the Korean Ministry for Higher Education maintaining a database with the universities from which countries Korean scholars have obtained their PhD, It shows the undisputed influence of American universities. It is also possible to trace back the translation and diffusion of scientific concepts in each of these nations (as with Bourdieu's habitus, the early Japanese transliteration of which as *ハビトウス* and its recent occurrences appear in bibliographical and statistical databases). Yet it should be noted that international data systems, such as the Web of Science, provide a very incomplete view of the situation outside of the West and especially outside of the English-speaking world, even in Japan and South Korea where the referencing has been made with great accuracy. To bypass this obstacle, it is necessary to complement the statistical analysis with qualitative and empirical information coming from fieldwork. A prosopography of the scholars and translators, for instance, allow for a better understanding of their positions, as well as of the structural oppositions between local universities or publishing houses. This is crucial to better assess how Korean and Japanese scholars have used Western references. If the American social sciences are statistically dominating, then, the European ones remain in a strong position. This is because the latter have a political and critical dimension that only a more refined empirical analysis of the academic field could reveal.

Conclusion

As emphasized in the introduction to this paper, the indicators listed here are by construction insufficient to fully grasp all of the multiple and complex layers of the internationalization of the social sciences and humanities. More exhaustive and systematic inventories would have to pay closer attention to, for example, scientific migrations, the national and international structures of scientific labor markets, and the diffusion of paradigms, theories, and methods. Any such inventory would, however, have to accept that some dimensions of internationalization processes in the SSH remain by nature intangible: the incremental circulation of knowledge in international conferences, the socialization of scientists in such international settings, the emergence and disappearance of informal transnational networks, the diffusion of ideas in routine transnational correspondence, etc., are all dynamics that leave little objective traces for the observer.

In spite of these limitations, the indicators listed in this paper cover key aspects of the internationalization of SSH: they provide valuable insight into power relationships between national scientific fields and languages, the influence of political factors on transnational scientific development, and the diffusion of scientific ideas. They are also, to a certain extent, relevant for understanding internationalization processes in other social spheres. Similar data may of course be gathered to study the internationalization of the natural sciences, which has also been structured by international scientific organizations and journals, transnational coauthorships, citation networks, and science policies designed to foster the transnational mobility of researchers and ideas. Beyond scientific fields, the internationalization of other types of professions has also been fuelled by the development of international professional associations, changes in national and international regulations, the translation of key documents, and the transfer of professional norms (Allsop et al. 2009). Internationalization in these other professional spheres retains, of course, specific dimensions—such as, in the natural sciences, the forms of internationalization associated with scientific expeditions and the setting up of major scientific facilities (Schulte Fishedick and Shinn 1993, Simoulin 2016) and, in other professional fields, the circulation dynamics linked to the globalization of markets, and the existence of international units of employments, such as multinational firms and international organizations (Boncourt 2016b, Faulconbridge and Muzio 2012, Hooghe 2005)—but it still relies partly on mechanisms common to many internationalizing professions.

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