



*But What About the European
Union of Scholars?*

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But What About the European Union of Scholars?

Earlier this year the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk published a brief essay on what he called 'The Fading Dream of Europe'. Pamuk recalls how in the schoolbooks of his youth and in later discussions with friends and fellow students, Europe appeared not so much as a historic region to be reflected upon, but as an imagined community, as a 'rosy land of legend'.¹ For the political and intellectual elites in Turkey, which was never colonised by a world power, representations of the West did not necessarily carry the humiliating overtones evoked by Frantz Fanon, V.S. Naipaul or Edward Said. But, Pamuk notes, that 'dream of Europe', once so powerful that even the most anti-Western thinkers and politicians secretly believed in it, has faded.

This disenchantment with Europe is obviously related to the souring of relations between Turkey and the European Union. But Pamuk's observations go well beyond the political deadlock about Turkey's membership of the EU. Considering the European landscape from Istanbul, he sees 'confusion' about Europe's internal problems. That Europeans seek to preserve cultural traditions and retain advantages gained over many centuries he finds perfectly understandable. Some recent developments, however, strike him as questionable and contradictory to

¹ Orhan Pamuk, 'The Fading Dream of Europe', *The New York Review of Books* 58, no. 2, 10-23 February (2011), p. 20. Pamuk does not use Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities', but his description of Europe fits Anderson's concept very well. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (rev. ed., London: Verso, 1991).

these very same traditions: the anxieties about multiculturalism, the resistance to immigrants and outsiders, and, more generally, the tendency to turn inward, to cherish local bonds and national symbols, and eagerly insist on the boundaries that separate them from others.

Following a phase of accelerated economic integration with the completion of the single market in 1993 and the introduction of the euro in 1999, and subsequent to the enlargement from 12 to 27 member states in little over a decade, the European Union today faces a multifaceted crisis. The financial downturn of 2008-09 not only sharpened attention to monetary and other economic problems, it also deepened awareness of the difficulties Europe faces. One of the critical issues is the much discussed 'democratic deficit'. The European Union has an elected parliament since 1979, but its position is relatively weak, its debates in Brussels and Strasbourg are largely inaudible to citizens of the member states, and voter turnout for its elections has seen a downward trend.² While there is no lack of European policymaking, it is not rooted in a democratic process of political deliberation. Without a public sphere on a European scale, the EU seems condemned to a process of 'policymaking without politics'.³ Since there are so few European newspapers, magazines and television channels, European citizens and their organisations have no way of properly expressing themselves and engaging in a regular exchange of views. This lack of a public sphere has been blamed in the first place on language barriers, but it is also caused by the near absence of the kind of cultural institutions that could provide an infrastructure for opinion formation and debate on a European level.⁴ It is a telling detail that Pamuk's essay did not appear in a European periodical, but in an internationally oriented American journal, *The New York Review of Books*. This 'cultural void', as Abram de Swaan has called it, is all the more troublesome because it is not recognised as a

² Vivien Schmidt, *Democracy in Europe: The EU and National Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). For a sociological account of European integration, see Neil Fligstein, *Euroclash: The EU, European Identity, and the Future of Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

³ Abram de Swaan, 'Policy without Politics', in: S. Munshi and B.P. Abraham, eds., *Good Governance, Democratic Societies and Globalisation: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (New Delhi, India: SAGE, 2003), pp. 54-69.

⁴ Abram de Swaan, 'The European Void: The Democratic Deficit as a Cultural Deficiency', in: John Fossum and Philippe Schlesinger, eds., *The European Union and the Public Sphere: A Communicative Space in the Making?* (London/New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 135-53. For European media, from Euronews and Eurosport to the community of journalists in Brussels, see Dominique Marchetti, ed., *En quête d'Europe: Médias européens et médiatisation de l'Europe* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004).

problem in the public spheres of the individual nation states. European integration thus seems trapped in a vicious circle. The EU cannot function democratically without a public sphere, but the lack of such a public sphere is not considered a major issue in the nation states that form the European Union.

An ambiguous heritage

But what about Europe as a transnational field of science and scholarship? Promoting scientific collaboration was not a priority in the initial projects for European integration. But neither was it entirely absent. One of the earliest and still most prominent examples is the European Laboratory for Particle Physics, founded in 1954 and better known by its French acronym, CERN, Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire. CERN and other scientific programmes and institutes are often presented as continuing a time-honoured European tradition of higher learning. Medieval universities, although they borrowed several of their practices from Islamic institutions, indeed represented a European-wide network of scholarly exchange. The network operated on the basis of a shared language, Latin; a common understanding of higher education; and high rates of geographical mobility.⁵ The academies and other learned societies that emerged during the Renaissance enlarged the field with an additional set of institutions. Often covering domains of knowledge that were peripheral in the university, academies equally evolved into a network across the whole of Europe.⁶

It would be misleading, however, to present contemporary European institution building as a continuation of a medieval and early modern legacy. European scholarly organisations have done more than revive and recreate the heritage of universities and academies. They have also come to terms, like it or not, with another component of the European tradition: the nation state and the structures associated with it. The rise of national states since the late Middle Ages culminated in the establishment of a European state system in which centralised

⁵ On borrowings from Islam, see George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981); on European universities, see Walter Rüegg, ed., *A History of the University in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 4 vols., 1992-2011).

⁶ Hans Bots and Françoise Wacquet, *La République des lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997). For visual representations of the network structures of the Republic of Letters, see <https://republicofletters.stanford.edu/> (accessed 23 March 2011).

nation states like Britain, France and Prussia prevailed over city states and political confederations.⁷ The intellectual repercussions of this shift are well illustrated by the fate of scholarly institutions. The world of learned societies came to be dominated by prestigious national academies like the Académie française (1635) and the Royal Society (1660). Latin lost its monopoly as the lingua franca of the Republic of Letters, a process that was strengthened by the subsequent rise of periodicals, which were often published – by these same academies – in national vernaculars.⁸ Although originally ecclesiastical institutions, universities came to rely on national states as well. As a consequence, the proportion of foreign professors and students declined all over Europe. Around 1600, Leiden University still had more foreign than Dutch professors, but in the 18th century foreign professors had become rare and Dutch students taking a degree at a foreign university were becoming exceptional as well.⁹

The rise of nationalism in the core countries of the European state system had a fargoing impact on intellectual institutions. The obverse is also the case. One could argue that the nationalisation of cultural and scholarly institutions was a precondition for the success of nationalism as a political force. It was in the name of the ‘nation’ that French revolutionaries put an end to the old regime, while the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars did much to foster nationalism in other countries. Throughout the 19th century, then, European higher education was organised in national academic systems; teaching was done in the vernaculars and Latin was reserved for ceremonial purposes. Intellectual traditions often took on distinctive national profiles, and even in the sciences national schools were a recurrent phenomenon. The notion of the ‘sciences of the mind’, *Geisteswissenschaften*, was conceived as a German alternative to French

⁷ On European state formation, see Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990* (Oxford/Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (rev. ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 2000). The changing demography of the European scientific community corresponds to this pattern of state formation. While in the 15th century Italy housed the largest number of scientists and scholars, it was gradually overshadowed by France, Britain and Germany. See Robert Gascoigne, ‘The Historical Demography of the Scientific Community, 1450-1900’, *Social Studies of Science* 22, no. 3 (1992), pp. 545-73.

⁸ On vernacularisation, see Sheldon Pollock, ‘Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History’, *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000), pp. 591-625; on the history of Latin, see Françoise Wacquet, *Le latin ou l’empire d’un signe* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999).

⁹ H. Wansink, *Politieke wetenschappen aan de Leidse universiteit 1575-1650* (Utrecht: HES Publishers, 1981), p. 12; W.T.M. Frijhoff, *La société néerlandaise et ses gradués, 1575-1814* (Amsterdam: Holland University Press, 1981), p. 122.

positivism and British empiricism. What was referred to as 'French chemistry' – that of Lavoisier and his associates – was contested in Britain and Germany, and it provoked controversies for the greater part of the 19th century.¹⁰ Disciplinary journals, which originated during the 19th century, were by and large national periodicals; journals in mathematics or physics were no exception.¹¹

It has been argued that the rise of international organisations from the mid-19th century onwards brought about a critical change in this process, representing a new phase in the relations between the most advanced nation states.¹² Looked at more critically, however, the emergence of international institutions did not fundamentally challenge the predominance of national institutions. International scientific conferences, committees and institutes may have provided occasions for scientific exchange and scholarly diplomacy, but they presupposed the existence of national institutions. They functioned in a way that is analogous to the International Olympic Committee, as an instrument to organise and regulate competition not so much between individuals as between nations. The selective group of scientists and scholars involved were expected in some fashion to represent their country.¹³

So when after the Second World War more and more European scientific organisations were established, they were caught in a bind. On the one hand, they could legitimately claim to perpetuate a European tradition that predated the nation state. On the other hand, they could only thrive by building on the more recent European tradition of distinctly national systems of higher learning and rival nation states.

¹⁰ The same applied to the analytical style of French physics. Echoing these debates, the French physicist Pierre Duhem contrasted the 'broad' style of British physics, represented by James Clerk Maxwell and others, with the 'deep' and more analytical mode of conceptualisation that he saw as quintessentially French. See Pierre Duhem, *La théorie physique, son objet, sa structure* (1906; Paris: Vrin, 1981), pp. 99-154. On national traditions in the social sciences, see my 'Qu'est-ce qu'une tradition nationale en sciences sociales?', *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines* 18 (2008), pp. 3-16.

¹¹ Hélène Gispert, 'Les journaux scientifiques en Europe', in Michel Blay and Efthymios Nicolaïdis, eds., *L'Europe des sciences: constitution d'un espace scientifique* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), pp. 191-211.

¹² John Boli and George Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

¹³ Elisabeth Crawford, *Nationalism and Internationalism in Science, 1880-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Elisabeth Crawford, Terry Shin and Sverker Sörlin, eds., *Denationalizing Science: The Contexts of International Scientific Practice* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1993).

The genesis of a European research policy

European science policy has in recent years become an ever more important factor in the shaping of virtually all fields of research. During the past decade, since the so-called Lisbon Agenda of 2000, science has been a cornerstone of European policy.¹⁴ In the 1950s support was given to discrete institutions like CERN (1954) or the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM, 1957), but it was not until the 1970s that systematic European science policy came into being. Against the background of the deepest economic recession since the Second World War and in the face of mounting international competition, European funding for research and development became concentrated in multi-annual 'Framework Programmes'. The first was launched in 1984, and European research funds gradually increased from 800 million euros in 1984 to over 7 billion euros per year in 2007.

The overall objective of the Framework Programmes was to strengthen the scientific and technological bases of the European economy and improve its competitiveness. In their thematic structure, the Framework Programmes reflected the policy objectives of the European Community as a whole. The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 slightly broadened the programme, but it was only with the Lisbon Agenda of 2000 that research and innovation became a European priority. Europe, as was famously declared by the government leaders assembled in Lisbon, was to be transformed into the most competitive knowledge economy in the world. The route mapped out for science was to parallel that laid down for education. Just as the Bologna Process of 1999 aimed at creating a single European Higher Education Area (EHEA), research policy now set out to establishing a European Research Area (ERA). ERA is more than just a policy framework, however. It is conceived as nothing less than an extension of the single market itself. While the single market is defined by the 'four freedoms' – the free movement of goods, capital, services and people – the European Research Area adds a fifth freedom: the free circulation of researchers, knowledge and technology. One of the central consequences of the new policy was the establishment in 2007 of the European Research Council. As the equivalent of the American National Science Foundation, it funds excellent research in all disciplines, independent of specific policy objectives. As such, it

¹⁴ On European research policy, see L. Guzzetti, *A Brief History of European Union Research Policy* (Brussels and Luxembourg: OPOCE, 1995). For more recent information, see http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/expert/displayFtu.do?language=en&id=74&ftuld=FTU_4.14.html (accessed 26 March 2011).

represents a major renewal in comparison with the more policy-oriented Framework Programmes.¹⁵

Curiously little is known about the consequences of this process of Europeanisation for the social and human sciences.¹⁶ Aside from the usual policy reports, there are hardly any studies on the emergence of a transnational European field of scholarship and the consequences this has for research in the social and human sciences.¹⁷

The earliest European research structures seem to have been local initiatives funded by American philanthropies like the Ford Foundation. The beneficiaries of their support were programmes for empirical social science research, then a promising but weakly underpinned European development. This applied, for example, to the Centre for European Sociology and the associated *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie*, both founded in 1960 by the French sociologist Raymond Aron. The same goes for the European Consortium for Political Research, which was founded a decade later, in 1970, and which also launched a journal, the *European Journal of Political Research* (1973).¹⁸ Both

¹⁵ It was probably a consequence of the policy orientation of the Framework Programmes that very few of the most prominent European social scientists have participated in them. See EU, *Evaluation of the Impact of the Framework Programme Supported Social Sciences and Humanities Research: A Bibliometric Approach*, Directorate-General for Research, 2010, p. 3 (available at http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/reports_en.html, accessed 30 April 2011).

¹⁶ The very few studies about European social sciences are either concerned with a presumed but ill-defined 'European identity' or with a juxtaposition of national cases that ignore the transnational level. For an example of the former, see Birgitta Nedelmann and Piotr Sztompka, eds., *Sociology in Europe: In Search of Identity* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993); for the latter, see Bob Coats, ed., *The Development of Economics in Europe since 1945* (London: Routledge, 2000). For an alternative approach, see Johan Heilbron, Nicolas Guilhot and Laurent Jeanpierre, 'Toward a Transnational History of the Social Sciences', *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 44, no. 2 (2008), pp. 146-60.

¹⁷ Since I am concerned here with the consequences of European integration for the social sciences and the humanities, I leave the question aside as to how scholars themselves, mainly legal experts and economists, have shaped the process of European integration. The most important recent policy reports include *METRIS Report – Emerging Trends in Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities in Europe* (Brussels, 2009; http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/books05_en.html; accessed 30 March 2011) and European Science Foundation, *Vital Questions: The Contribution of European Social Science* (Strasbourg, 2009; <http://www.esf.org/research-areas/social-sciences.html>; accessed 29 March 2011). For other documents related to EU policy, including evaluation studies, see http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/reports_en.html (accessed 30 March 2011).

¹⁸ Ken Newton and Thibaud Boncourt, *The ECPR's First Forty Years, 1970-2010* (Essex: ECPR Press, 2010). For another early and quite similar example of Europeanisation, the European Association of Social Psychology (EAPS, 1966), see Sandra Schruijer, 'What Ever Happened to the "European" in European Social Psychology?', *History of the Human Sciences* (in press).

enterprises were concerned with comparative research, which seemed more pressing in Europe than it did in the US. With the rise of a more coherent European research policy in the 1970s and the start of the Framework Programmes in the 1980s, funding for European programmes shifted back to Europe. In the initial Framework Programmes, however, there were hardly any provisions for the social sciences and humanities.¹⁹ The first fully-fledged research programme was introduced in the Fourth Framework Programme (1994-98) and this was continued in subsequent programmes.²⁰ Although only between one and two percent of the Framework Programmes went to the social sciences and humanities, the size and significance of these programmes was considerable. The three Framework Programmes between 1994 and 2006 funded some 580 projects in the social sciences and humanities, the vast majority being research projects. They ran for about three years and had an average of ten partners. Each project could include well over a hundred individual participants. The output of these projects may be estimated at between five to ten thousand books and 20,000 to 32,000 journal articles. These figures do not include the largest output category, the grey literature of preprints, research reports, working papers and the like.²¹

Because every Framework Programme project had to include researchers from a certain minimum number of countries, they functioned not only as tools for allocating funds, but also as a stimulus for furthering transnational collaboration. With the founding of the European Research Council in 2007, European research funds increased still further. The Council spends about 15 percent of its funds on the social sciences and the humanities. In a few years time, it is expected to be spending about twice as much on these disciplines as do the Framework Programmes.²²

¹⁹ The exception was research in the field of science and technology studies, which were related to the science policy issues of the European Commission.

²⁰ Nikos Kastrinos, 'Policies for co-ordination in the European Research Area: a view from the social sciences and the humanities', *Science and Public Policy* 37, no. 4 (2010), pp. 297-310. See also Michael Kuhn and Svend Otto Remøe, eds., *Building the European Research Area: Socio-Economic Research in Practice* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005).

²¹ The calculation is based on data about the Fifth Framework Programme, which were multiplied by a factor corresponding to the size of the Fourth and Sixth Framework Programmes. See EU, *Evaluation of the Impact of the Framework Programme Supported Social Sciences and Humanities Research: A Bibliometric Approach* (Brussels: Directorate-General for Research, 2010; http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/reports_en.html; accessed 29 March 2011). For data about the three Framework Programmes between 1994 and 2006, see Ilona Pálné Kovács and Dagmar Kutsar, eds., *Internationalisation of Social Sciences in Central and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 107.

²² Nikos Kastrinos, 'Policies for co-ordination in the European Research Area', *op. cit.*

Table 1

European associations and journals in the main social science disciplines

Professional Associations	Journals
European Consortium for Political Research (1970)	<i>European Journal of Political Research</i> (1973)
European Confederation of Political Science Associations (2007)	<i>European Journal of International Relations</i> (1995)
	<i>European Political Science</i> (2001)
European Federation of Professional Psychologists Associations (1981)	<i>European Psychologist</i> (1996)
European Economic Association (1984)	<i>European Economic Review</i> (1969)
	<i>Journal of the European Economic Association</i> (2003)
European Association of Social Anthropologists (1989)	<i>Social Anthropology</i> (1992)
European Consortium for Sociological Research (1991)	<i>European Sociological Review</i> (1985)
European Sociological Association (1995)	<i>European Societies</i> (1999)

In a remarkably short period of time, then, a transitional field of research in the social and human sciences has emerged, structured by a growing number of European programmes, organisations and networks. In the social sciences, European associations and journals have become an integral part of the institutional infrastructure (see Table 1). The tendency toward Europeanisation is weaker in the humanities, but it is present there as well. Taking the social sciences and the humanities together, currently more than one hundred English-language

journals have the adjective 'European' in their title or subtitle.²³ In virtually every discipline, there is at least one European journal and some sort of European professional association or network.

Patterns of Europeanisation

These institutional arrangements – funding programmes, journals, associations, networks – represent a widening range of opportunity for transnational collaboration. One way of examining the growth of these cross-border exchanges is by bibliometric or scientometric analysis – the quantitative study of research output. An interesting indication in this respect is the growth of transnational co-authorships. Articles registered by the Web-of-Science citation indexes for the social sciences and the humanities indicate that transnational co-authorship in Europe has gone up from about four percent of the registered articles in 1980 to 16 percent in 2006.²⁴

This expanding European collaboration is an uneven process. Considering it in more detail, three general patterns may be observed. The first concerns differences across countries. Scholars in some countries participate more often in cross-border activities than in other countries. Within the European research field, then, some countries occupy a more central position, others a more peripheral one. A second pattern of variation is across disciplines: certain disciplines have a much higher level of international collaboration than others. A third and final pattern is related to the global context in which Europeanisation takes place. Transnational collaboration in Europe has increased and has become institutionalised in various forms, but how does it compare to scholarly collaboration outside Europe? How, in particular, do emerging European networks and journals shape up next to those in the US, which, after all, is the dominant force in the world republic of science?

²³ Since there are also European journals in languages other than English, this number is in reality higher. In French, for example, there are more than twenty 'European' journals. See Yves Gingras and Johan Heilbron, 'L'internationalisation de la recherche en sciences sociales et humaines en Europe (1980-2006)', in Gisèle Sapiro, ed., *L'espace intellectuel en Europe: De la formation des États-nations à la mondialisation XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009), pp. 359-88.

²⁴ The databases referred to are the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI). See Yves Gingras and Johan Heilbron, *op. cit.*

According to bibliometric and other evidence, the degree to which countries participate in European research projects depends roughly on the size of their research system. Countries like the UK, Germany and France, which house a large number of researchers and research institutes, profit more from European programmes than smaller countries. Among the core countries, the UK occupies a privileged position. Scholars who work in Britain – they need not have British nationality – have benefitted more from European programmes than scholars elsewhere. Brits have coordinated the largest number of European research projects, and they have been more often involved in such undertakings than scholars from any other country. Germany and France come in second and third place, before Italy and the Netherlands.²⁵ The leading role of the UK is even more apparent in the networks of transnational co-authorships. British researchers have the most central position, a centrality that has increased slightly over the years, while the position of France, most notably, has diminished.²⁶ The predominant role of Britain is related to its obvious linguistic advantage and to the related fact that the country houses many more international publishers and scholarly journals than any other European country.²⁷

Although European networks are dominated by scholars from the largest countries, smaller countries, including those of central and eastern Europe, have played a significant role as well. As a whole, the emerging European research field in the social sciences and humanities has therefore become more inclusive and more dense as well as slightly more centralised.

European collaboration also varies across disciplines. Collaborative research is more frequent in the social sciences than in the humanities, where it is relatively rare and has a slower rate of increase than in the social sciences. In addition to the lower levels of co-authorship, the humanities are more strongly bound to

²⁵ Of the 529 research projects funded by the three Frameworks programmes (1994-2006), 110 were coordinated in the UK, 88 in Germany, 76 in France, 44 in Italy and 40 in the Netherlands. See Ilona Pálné Kovács and Dagmar Kutsar, eds., *Internationalisation of Social Sciences in Central and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 107.

²⁶ Yves Gingras and Johan Heilbron, *op. cit.*

²⁷ On the predominant position of UK journals as compared to other European countries, see Michael Kahn, 'Basic Statistics on the Production of the Social Sciences', in UNESCO, *World Social Science Report 2010* (Paris: UNESCO/International Social Science Council, 2010), pp. 359-65. On scholarly book publishing, see John Thompson, *Books in the Digital Age: The Transformation of Academic and Higher Education Publishing in Britain and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

national languages and national publication systems. For the articles registered in the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (AHCI), transnational co-authorship increased from a mere two percent in 1980 to five percent in 2006.

Some of the differences between disciplines can be clarified by considering the example of the human sciences in France, about which rather precise data are available. On the basis of citation patterns in the leading journals, the human sciences can be compared along two dimensions: their degree of international openness (or closure) and their degree of openness (or closure) to other disciplines. The two dimensions can be visualised by a diagram in which seven disciplines are represented (see Figure 1).²⁸ The citation profile of the top journals in these disciplines roughly indicates that there are three types of disciplines. In economics and management, and to a slightly lesser extent political science, a high proportion of the cited literature is international, but cited articles tend to be restricted to the discipline in question. In such disciplines a high level of international openness is accompanied by a high degree of disciplinary closure. Law has a strong monodisciplinary citation profile as well, but, unlike economics and management, it is strongly oriented toward national journals. Sociology represents a third type, tending to combine a fairly pronounced national citation pattern with a high level of references to journals from other disciplines.

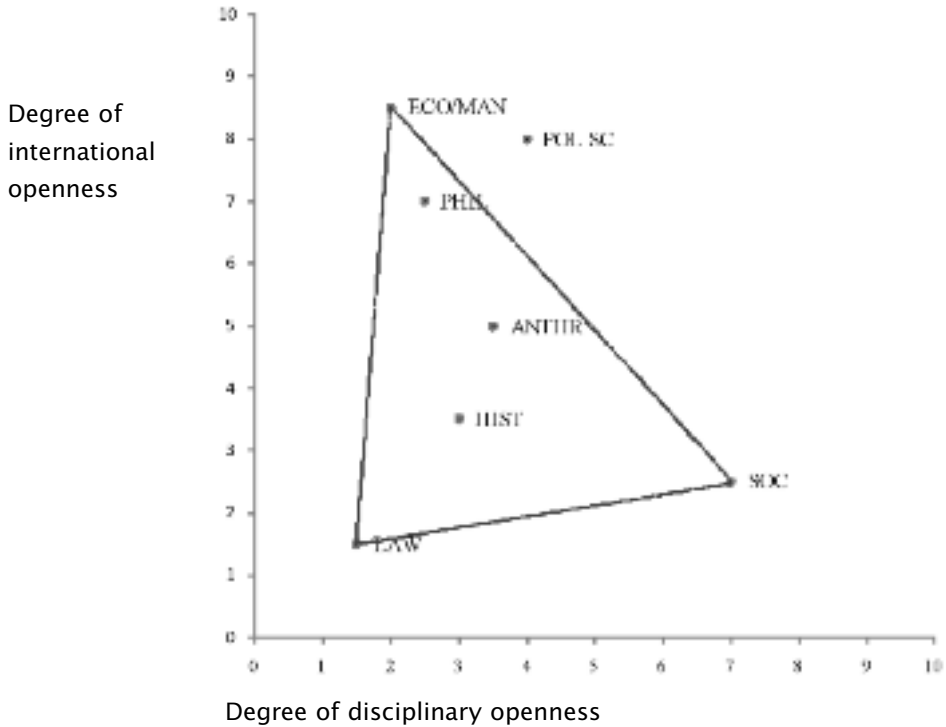
The diagram visualises the orientation of the human sciences in a particular national context – that of France – during the decade up to 2002. Whatever shifts may have since occurred, it does not seem likely that they were fundamental. Nor is it to be expected that the citation pattern in other European countries departs radically from this case. It is not unreasonable then to assume that the social and human sciences form a triangular structure, varying in the degree to which they are receptive to what is produced in other countries as well as in the degree to what is produced in other disciplines.

Looking more closely into the practices of collaboration and citation, it becomes apparent that they cannot be properly understood without taking the broader

²⁸ The diagram is based on a hitherto unpublished secondary analysis of a bibliometric study by the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS); for some provisional results, see Johan Heilbron, 'La sociologie européenne existe-t-elle?', in G. Sapiro, éd., *L'espace intellectuel en Europe: De la formation des États-nations à la mondialisation, XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009), pp. 347-58.

Figure 1

Degree of international and disciplinary openness of the human sciences in France



context into account. European integration is often depicted as a process that is internal to Europe, but from the very beginning it was related to alliances and oppositions on a global level.²⁹ Europeanisation in the human sciences is no exception. Here as in other domains, the most important factor to take into account is the pre-eminent position of the US. More than two-thirds of extra-European co-authorships, for example, are with North American scholars.³⁰

²⁹ For bold attempts at a global approach to Europe, see József Böröcz, *The European Union and Global Social Change* (London: Routledge, 2010) and Perry Anderson, *The New Old World* (London: Verso, 2010).

³⁰ With eight percent of the extra-European co-authorships, Australia is second; all other countries (Israel, China, Japan, South Africa, Brazil) have a share of less than three percent.

The figures show that intra-European co-authorships have significantly increased in recent years, but only at the same rate as co-authorships with scholars from the US. In other words, while European collaboration has become more frequent, more extensive, and more dense, it continues to lag behind collaboration between European and US scholars. An assessment of the scholarly significance of European collaboration makes the picture look even bleaker. Citation patterns indicate that European collaboration is still relatively weak, not only in comparison with the supremacy of the US, but also with regard to collaborative efforts on the national level.

Returning to the case of France, the most cited journals turn out to be either American or French, with few exceptions to this bi-national citation pattern.³¹ German, Italian or Spanish journals are rarely if ever among the most cited periodicals, and roughly the same applies to journals that call themselves 'international' or 'European'. These are still few in number and they do not rank prominently in the citation hierarchies. In disciplines like philosophy, history and law, there is in France not a single European title among the 50 most cited journals. In sociology and anthropology there is one European journal among the 50 most cited; in political science and economics there are two.³²

The comparative weakness of European structures is also perceptible in professional associations. Membership of the European Sociological Association, for example, has unmistakably expanded since its founding in 1995, but the European association is still smaller than the national sociological associations in both Germany and France. Its 1500 members, furthermore, total merely one-tenth of the membership of the American Sociological Association, which is the largest in the world, nearly three times as big as the world organisation, the International Sociological Association (ISA).

³¹ Although journal submissions do not depend on the nationality of the authors, virtually all major journals remain national in the sense that a large majority of the editors work in a single country. In that sense one can still speak of British, German, or American journals.

³² Here again, however, there is significant variation across countries and disciplines. European funding programmes and publication outlets tend to be more important for scholars from smaller European countries. In disciplines like anthropology and political science, furthermore, journal citations indicate a slightly more Europe-oriented pattern than in sociology or economics.

The scholarly state of the Union

The available evidence, then, about Europeanisation in the social sciences and humanities does not warrant very glamorous conclusions. A transnational field of research has emerged in Europe in a fairly short period of time, but as a whole it still appears to be relatively weak as compared to the US and to persisting national structures in the bigger European countries. This situation is similar to what is happening on other continents, where the building of viable *regional* institutions has proved to be a slow and difficult process.³³ And yet, before conceding that Pamuk's assertion about the fading dream of Europe applies to the human sciences as well, there is reason to pause. The analysis presented so far was restricted to the institutional level, to funding programmes, journals and associations; it was not concerned with any research group or individual in particular. If we consider the European human sciences at the individual level, the picture becomes quite different. In 2009 the *Times Higher Education Supplement* published a list of the most cited book authors in the social sciences and humanities. The list is derived from the Web-of-Science Citation Indexes I referred to earlier, and it contains the names of 37 scholars who were cited more than 500 times in the year 2007. If we eliminate classical authors and others whose oeuvre was completed before the Second World War, 29 names remain (see Table 2).³⁴ Some characteristics of these most cited authors are more or less predictable. With one exception – Edward Said – all are from western countries, and all except Judith Butler and Hannah Arendt are men. More surprising are the geographical distribution and the disciplinary affinities. Relatively few are Americans. Nineteen are Europeans, seven are American, two are Canadian, one is Palestinian. The top ten of this scholarly hit parade deviates even further from the common view, since half of them are Frenchmen, two are Canadians, one is British, one German, one American. These facts reveal the existence of a vast gap between the predominantly non-American individuals whose work is highly esteemed, on the one hand, and American supremacy in institutions, journals and associations on the other.

³³ The recent UNESCO *World Social Science Report 2010* documents initiatives in Latin America, Asia and the Arab world to develop such supranational regional structures.

³⁴ On these grounds the following names were taken off the list: Kant, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, Weber, Durkheim, Dewey and Benjamin. Borderline cases like Heidegger and Wittgenstein, whose major work was done prior to the Second World War but who continued working after the war, have been kept on the list.

Table 2

Most Cited Authors in the Social Sciences and Humanities (2007)

Citations to Books		
1.	Michel Foucault	2,521
2.	Pierre Bourdieu	2,465
3.	Jacques Derrida	1,874
4.	Albert Bandura	1,536
5.	Anthony Giddens	1,303
6.	Erving Goffman	1,066
7.	Jürgen Habermas	1,049
8.	Judith Butler	960
9.	Bruno Latour	944
10.	Gilles Deleuze	897
11.	Martin Heidegger	874
12.	Noam Chomsky	812
13.	Ulrich Beck	733
14.	Jean Piaget	725
15.	David Harvey	723
16.	John Rawls	798
17.	Geert Hofstede	700
18.	Edward Said	694
19.	Roland Barthes	631
20.	Clifford Geertz	596
21.	Hannah Arendt	593
22.	Henri Tajfel	583
23.	Ludwig Wittgenstein	583
24.	Barney Glaser	577
25.	George Lakoff	577
26.	Benedict Anderson	573
27.	Emmanuel Levinas	566
28.	Jacques Lacan	526
29.	Thomas Kuhn	519

Source: Thompson Reuters Web-of-Science, *Times Higher Education* 2009

The disciplinary affiliations in the table expose another anomaly. Representatives of the largest disciplines, which are also the disciplines with the greatest impact on citation rankings – economics, management and psychology, for example – are virtually absent from the list of toppers. The most cited authors are, in fact, scholars from small disciplines. They are the disciplines with a more intellectual profile, a relatively strong theoretical orientation, and a sizeable audience outside their own domain. About half of the most cited individuals are affiliated with philosophy, nearly a third with sociology; other disciplines start further down the list. It is also significant that disciplinary labels do not fit the most illustrious representatives of the human sciences very well. None of the highly cited authors is a specialist in the narrow sense of the word. On the contrary, all are people who have somehow raised more general questions, who have mobilised the skills of their discipline(s) to venture into new territories, and who have transgressed the boundaries of established research specialties. In doing so, they have typically realised the ‘new combinations’ that Schumpeter took to be the defining feature of innovation. The first on the list, Michel Foucault, was trained in philosophy, but left the canonical topics of his discipline behind to explore discursive practices in clinics, mental hospitals and prisons. The last name, Thomas Kuhn, was a physicist who became famous with a book on scientific revolutions that was a shrewd combination of the hitherto separated specialties of the history, sociology and philosophy of science.

Is there a connection between the geographical distribution of these scholars and their multi-disciplinary affiliations? Might it be easier to cross disciplinary boundaries in Europe than in the US? The question is as easily asked as it is difficult to answer. The more significant fact is perhaps that many of the non-Americans have worked in the US for longer or shorter periods of time. Several of them – Erving Goffman, Edward Said and David Harvey – were attached to American universities for the greater part of their careers. The main lesson to be learned from this small collection of citation stars is that scholarly institutions should not only enable researchers to pursue their work in specialised areas, but should also allow them to change tracks, to combine institutionally separated topics and modes of inquiry, and to challenge at a fundamental level the conventional division of academic tasks. Beyond the geographical and disciplinary variations discussed, that may well be the most meaningful implication for developing and improving scholarly institutions in Europe.

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