



# Diverging or converging trajectories? Assessing differences in the internationalisation of political science within Central and Eastern Europe

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Accepted: 27 September 2021

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## Abstract

Internationalisation among European political scientists is not uniform and while research emphasises variations between Western and Eastern Europe, we know less about the contrasting patterns of internationalisation among countries in Central and Eastern Europe. This contribution aims to identify if there are different patterns of internationalisation among groups of countries in the East and what factors influence diverging or converging trajectories. We look at how historical institutionalisation of the discipline, European Union membership, and levels of national funding impact internationalisation in four groups of countries, for three different profiles of international scholars. Relying on data from the 2018 ProSEPS survey among European political scientists, we find that historical legacies have a significant negative impact on levels of internationalisation for all profiles of international scholars. On the other hand, higher access to national funding and EU resources has a positive impact on internationalisation, but not as significant. We conclude that legacies matter and that Europeanisation and access to resources leads to a slow convergence in internationalisation of political scientists from Eastern and Western Europe.

**Keywords** Central and Eastern Europe · Discipline · EU membership · Internationalisation · Institutionalisation · National funding · Political science

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## Introduction

Internationalisation of political science and political scientists in Europe is not uniform with noticeable regional trends between Western and Eastern Europe. At the same time, research is lacking on whether there are different patterns of internationalisation among countries within Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), what factors might impact such variations, and if we can see diverging or converging trajectories towards the rest of Europe. Even though the same policy rationale drives internationalisation in Europe, the outcomes are different, and it is worth exploring why (Engeli et al. 2021). Based on data from the ProSEPS survey of individual career experiences and in-depth country analysis this article aims to assess differences in internationalisation of political science in CEE from a comparative perspective. Specifically, we explore structural factors centred around two arguments that can impact internationalisation of three different profiles of political scientists in this region.

Internationalisation of political scientists is not uniform and there are different types of internationalised scholars. We build on the contribution of Tronconi and Engeli (2021) to this symposium and distinguish between (a) international networked researchers, (b) international publishing gatekeepers (originally defined as international editorial manager), and (c) international mobile researchers (originally international traveller). These categories are non-exclusive, but each relies on different preconditions, institutional systems, and support structures. In assessing each profile of international scholar against the two arguments, we are able answer the question what fosters and what hinders internationalisation in CEE and are there differences between groups of countries.

First, we look whether path dependency plays a role in internationalisation in CEE.<sup>1</sup> The path dependency argument builds on theories of historical institutionalism and looks at patterns of institutionalising the discipline in CEE countries that established political science in the 1960's and 1970's, and those that established the discipline in the 1990's. Poland and four Western Balkan countries that were part of Yugoslavia established the discipline early on.<sup>2</sup> The three Visegrad group countries that belonged to the Soviet Block and the Baltic states that were part of the Soviet

<sup>1</sup> We group countries into blocks with similar characteristics for analysis to increase the robustness of results: three Visegrad group countries (abbreviated in tables as VG3), Poland (POL), Baltic states (BS3), and four Western Balkans countries (WB4), in addition to Western Europe as a control (WE). Despite a good response rate, the small N in several countries of the ProSEPS survey does not allow for robust country-by-country analysis.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia, some as part of the joint Yugoslav state.

Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia, as well as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, respectively. Some countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Slovenia) were not included due to small sample size, different patterns of institutionalisation, or more recent EU membership, while Kosovo was not covered in the survey.

<sup>2</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia, some as part of the joint Yugoslav state.



Union set up their political science only after the end of the Cold War.<sup>3</sup> Although one would expect to find higher levels of internationalisation where the discipline is more established, we argue that path dependence doesn't strengthen internationalisation for any profile of political scientists as early institutionalisation of political science occurred in largely closed authoritarian regimes.

Second, we look at the availability and scope of national funding for higher education and research. This is a factor that crosscuts the identified country groups and offers additional opportunities that can offer possibilities to enhance internationalisation. We also emphasise funding opportunities and especially access to internationalisation offered through membership in the European Union. The EU membership argument is linked to the concept of Europeanisation as convergence of academic behaviour. Here, we distinguish countries with good, medium, and low access to national funding, a division that is also mirrored in EU membership with countries that joined the EU in 2004 and four that are not members. We argue that national funding has a strong impact on internationalisation, especially in countries where access to resources offered through EU membership is limited.

The aim of the article is to draw evidence-based conclusions about the factors behind different patterns of internationalisation in Central and Eastern Europe and contribute to the discussion on best policies to support scholars from the region, but also specific policies targeted towards country groups. We find that there are significant differences within CEE and that no single argument can explain internationalisation (or the lack thereof) within this region. We conclude that early institutionalisation of the discipline has noticeable impact on contemporary internationalisation of all profiles of political scientists, thus confirming the path dependency argument. The availability of national funding for research as well as financial and networking opportunities arising from EU membership, are relevant but to a lesser extent than expected. Both factors have significant impact on networking internationalisation and on gatekeeping internationalisation, while international mobility in CEE seems to be less dependent on any factor.

The following section introduces the three different profiles of internationalised scholars. After that we explore the historical institutionalisation argument and Europeanisation and funding argument in two sections. This is followed by an analysis and discussion of the survey results for the eleven countries and a conclusion.

## **Profiles of internationalisation in European Political Science**

Internationalisation is an individual experience where scholars expose themselves to environments, colleagues, and thoughts from outside their national borders. Internationalisation is also a collective value of a national academic system where

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<sup>3</sup> Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia, as well as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, respectively. Some countries (Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, Slovenia) were not included due to small sample size, different patterns of institutionalisation, or more recent EU membership, while Kosovo was not covered in the survey.



increased international exposure strengthens linkages with institutions and education systems abroad. In this article, we specifically look at the individual level of internationalisation. There are several aspects of internationalisation and within the ProSEPS survey we distinguish between five: (1) international mobility which includes travel to another country for work, (2) international research collaboration on publications, research and in networks, (3) publications with international journals and publishers, (4) international professional services such as reviewing or editing for international journals, publishers and grant agencies, and (5) receiving support for internationalisation activities.

Then, we group these aspects into three profiles of international scholars, constructed from responses to the ProSEPS survey and based on principal component analysis according to Tronconi and Engeli (2021). These are the international networked researcher, the international publishing gatekeeper, and the international mobile researcher. Each of the three is an ideal-type profile that requires a different set of individual interests, skills, and resources, but also institutional systems and support structures. While scholars often take on multiple roles and can be active as all three profiles, usually there are opportunities and limitations that impact an individual scholars' ability to become equally relevant in all three, of which time constraints is the ultimate factor. We therefore examine three types of international scholars and assess whether they are equally present in CEE as in Western Europe, and if there are differences between countries in CEE and the systemic factors that help or hinder their development.

The international networked researcher is an ideal-type in their prime that actively collaborates with colleagues in several countries and is involved in publishing and research beyond national borders. They publish articles in peer-reviewed international journals and chapters with international publishers, also with international co-authors and in English. This profile of researcher is member of international research networks, goes to international conferences and is referee for international peer-reviewed journals. Researchers from countries with small national academic communities and where there are few linguistic barriers (such as in the Balkans) might be more inclined to register as international (or rather regional) networked researchers, even though they do not publish in high-ranking English language journals (Carammia 2021). Our ideal-type of international networked researcher would be part of pan-European research networks.

The international publishing gatekeeper ideal-type of researcher acts as an editor for series from an international publisher or an international peer-reviewed journal, a manuscript reviewer for international publishing houses and project applications reviewer for international funders. They also publish monographs and individual chapters with international publishers. Here, we are thinking about researchers that are leaders and well recognised names in their field.

Finally, the mobile researcher is someone with time and ability (family obligations, health, resources) to spend time working abroad. In our ideal-type they spend long research stays of several months abroad and teach outside the country where they usually work. The main criterium here is the total time spend working abroad in the past three years. Primarily we envisage researchers who choose to



be mobile between countries for either career reasons (early career researchers) or have more personal time to do research abroad (late-career researchers).

The data for this article was collected through a peer-survey among political scientists in Europe in 2018 as part of the COST-funded Action ProSEPS. The sample of data we use covers responses of 359 political scientists from eleven CEE countries, out of the total 2216 complete responses gathered through the CAWI method with an overall response rate of 20.7 percent. In the following two sections, we continue to explore structural factors that can produce differences in internationalisation of these three profiles and differences between CEE countries.

## **Historical institutionalisation of political science in Central and Eastern Europe**

The argument we want to test by looking at the history of the institutionalisation of the discipline in CEE is whether path dependency and an institutional history of international contacts favour contemporary internationalisation. Poland and the countries of the Western Balkans established political science as a discipline in the 1960's and 1970's along with a presence at international conferences and exchange of Western literature. The other three Visegrad Group countries and the Baltic states only established independent political science institutions in the 1990's, also with help from diaspora based at Western institutions. The following overview does not comprehensively cover the institutionalisation of the discipline in eleven CEE countries and estimates of historical levels of international exposure. Historical institutionalisation seems to have an impact on contemporary internationalisation, but not in ways that might seem obvious. Countries where the discipline is more established do not have higher levels of internationalisation. Rather, early institutionalisation of political science that occurred in largely closed authoritarian regimes produced path dependencies that limited internationalisation.

### **Poland**

In Poland periods of “thaw” under communist rule permitted the early emergence of an active political science community. A national association was founded in 1956, the Institute of Political Science at the University of Warsaw was established in 1967 and transformed into the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science in 1975. The Institute of Political Studies and International Relations was founded in 1970 at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and a Political Science Committee was set up at the Polish Academy of Sciences in 1972. International contacts through the International Political Science Association played a major role in the discipline's evolution (Eisfeld and Pal 2012, 92). Nowadays, the field as such may be seen as quite strong, especially given its visibility in the national media, its considerable institutional and human resources, and large numbers of students. During post-Communist transformation the field retained most staff and institutional assets, carrying on some of the previously established institutional practices. Political scientists are largely focussed



on the national level with a dominant, locally oriented majority. A smaller faction of internationally oriented scholars exists that are well connected to global academic networks. This creates an interesting duality within Polish political science.

### Three Visegrad Group countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary)

Political Science in the Czech Republic and Slovakia developed concurrently within the context of Czechoslovakia. During the communist period (1948–1989), any political research was based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology of scientific communism which was completely isolated from the West. Early beginnings of the discipline were twice abolished by the communist regime. The first schools of Political Science in the Czech Republic were established in 1990 at Charles University, the Czech University of Economics in Prague, and at Masaryk University in Brno. During the 1990s, the independent academic status of Political Science within the Social Sciences was disputed as members of the historiographic and legal communities felt that there was no need for establishing a new discipline (Holzer 2010, 137). Throughout the 1990s significant effort was devoted to “existential” questions and positioning of the discipline within existing university structures, attaining financial independence, and establishing links with schools and experts abroad. The scholarly community remains bifurcated, because researchers with international reputations hardly contribute to building Czech political science and researchers preoccupied with the discipline’s domestic development rarely publish internationally.

Following the “velvet” character of the Czechoslovakian revolution, communist faculty were largely kept on in Slovakia, seriously impeding the internationalisation of the discipline. The first Department of Political Science was established at Comenius University, followed by other universities, where former departments of Marxism-Leninism or scientific communism were transformed into institutes or departments of social and political sciences in 1990–91. The Slovak government established several new universities in 1997–98, all of which offered political science programs (Eisfeld and Pal 2012, 93). Although there have been positive changes the discipline is still poorly connected to international research.

The institutionalisation of Hungarian political sciences can be traced back to 1978 when the Commission of Political Science at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was established. The official acceptance of political science was not just tolerated in its indirect forms, but it was also recognised. Early institutionalisation was very uneven and reflected the deep and protracted socioeconomic crisis in Hungary and the growing pressure of the Brezhnevian leadership on Hungarian politics. We can talk about a nascent political science community in Hungary, with roots in the late 1970s and the mid-1980s under Kadar’s “goulash communism”. Crucially, a Department Group of Political Science was established in 1984 at the Faculty of Law of Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest (ELTE) and was transformed into an official department in 1989. During the early 1990s all remaining scientific socialism departments transformed themselves into political science departments while retaining the existing staff. As in Slovakia this had stymied the internationalisation of the discipline. Also, Hungary retained a strong



tradition of public intellectuals where the lines between them and professional political scientists are blurred.

### **The Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia)**

Political science in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia was institutionalised only in the last decade of the twentieth century. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and democratic transformation. During the initial phase of post-Soviet development of political science, various foreign funds and programs played a special role, including the Soros Foundation that financed the translation and publication of classical and modern works in social sciences. This was especially important for the development of a national political science since there were almost no books published in the national languages in the discipline. A side effect of the lack of local literature was a growing knowledge of English among the students and scholars of political science and sociology.

In Lithuania, foreign scholars were coming to teach at universities while local scholars and students were enjoying new possibilities of international funds enabling them to short and long academic visits abroad. The active support of Northern European universities was a tremendous asset for the development of political science (Semanis 1994). At Vilnius University, two new departments were introduced at that time, the Department of Political Science, and the Department of Political History. A separate Institute of International Relations and Political Science of the Vilnius University was established in 1992. The Departments of Political Science and Sociology were established at Vytautas Magnus University and Klaipėda University in 1992 and 1993 (Krupavičius 1997).

Estonia carried on a minimal communist legacy and formative influences in the development of the discipline came from the United States, Great Britain, and Scandinavian countries. A political science community was established from scratch, but rapidly internationalised and contributed to a considerable impact of the discipline on public debates. Two main centres for the social sciences emerged with a Department of Philosophy and Political Science established in 1989 at the University of Tartu, and a Chair of Social Theory created at the Tallinn Pedagogical University in 1991, both of which organised the first courses in political science.

In Latvia, communist legacy had some impact as former departments of Marxism-Leninism, and their teaching curriculum experienced a serious transformation in 1989–1991. Faculty with background in philosophy, history and law played a major role in establishing political science. The Institute of International Relations was established at the University of Latvia and a Department of Political Science was established at the faculty of History and Philosophy (Semanis 1994, 182). Against a backdrop of a large Slavic minority, the role of ethnicity in politics, models of societal integration, and minority rights have figured prominently in the discipline.



## Four Western Balkans countries (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and North Macedonia)

The institutionalisation of political science in the Western Balkans happened during socialist rule within large parts of former Yugoslavia, but with significant diversity among republics. Intertwined international and domestic factors led to the establishment of political science as a separate discipline much earlier than in other Eastern European communist countries. The Yugoslav-Soviet split in 1948 was a trigger for the Yugoslav Communist Party to establish higher teaching institutions to develop self-management socialism and train party elites (Prpić 2002, 51; Boban and Stanojević 2021) and legitimise this new model of governance (Pavlović 2010, 251; Grdešić 1996, 406). In the early 1960s higher schools of political science were founded in Belgrade (1960), Ljubljana (1961) and Sarajevo (1961) by decision of the Communist Party (Smailagić 1964; Fink-Hafner 2002; Žiga and Nuhanović 2011). A Faculty of Political Science was established in 1962 at the University of Zagreb. The other three higher schools transformed into faculties of political science within Sarajevo University (1966), Belgrade University (1968), and Ljubljana University (1970). The Institute for sociological, political, and juridical research was set up at the University of Skopje in 1967 (Cekić 2015, 287). In contrast to the initial ideologically driven establishment of the discipline, a second and more liberal stage of development started in 1974 and included more critical research and a strengthening of research ties towards Western political science, primarily through IPSA. Several Yugoslav republics, such as Macedonia and Montenegro did not institutionalise political science during the communist period but benefited from an independent discipline in other republics.

After 1991/92 Yugoslavia experienced multiple transitions that centred around disintegration, war, market economy, re-nationalisation, and democratisation. Political science, while freed from the ideological burden of communism came under pressure to promote new nationalist narratives if it wanted support from state institutions (Boban and Stanojević 2021). Value free research and teaching were tolerated but did not receive funding from the state and other sources. In the 1990s and early 2000s internationalisation, even between ex-Yugoslav republics, was not considered a priority and political science in the four Western Balkan countries became inward-looking. During this period, previously established political science faculties reaffirmed their position in the newly independent countries. A Department of Political Science was established at the Saints Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje in 1993. The late 2000s saw a revival of the discipline and the establishment of several public Faculties of Political Science such as in Podgorica, Montenegro (2006), Banja Luka (2009). Internationalisation also sped up with new exchange programs, access to international funding and internationalisation being considered during promotion. In this sense, early institutionalisation of the discipline in countries of former Yugoslavia helped position the discipline in regard to other fields as an independent field of study but did not necessarily lead to the development internationalisation as ideological preferences of successive governments and lack of funding dictated research and publishing agendas.





**Table 1** Government expenditure on research and higher education

	EU	VG3	POL	BS3	WB4
Research and development expenditure (% of GDP)	2.13	1.34	1.03	0.89	0.45
Government expenditure per student, tertiary (% of GDP per capita)	25.41	23.88	24.97	23.04	28.18 <sup>a</sup>

Data from the World Bank for 2017 or latest year available (<https://data.worldbank.org>)

<sup>a</sup>Does not include data for Montenegro and North Macedonia

## Funding opportunities and impact of EU membership

### Impact of EU membership

The impact of EU membership that is expected to lead to Europeanisation of academic institutions and convergence of academic behaviour is assessed by comparing countries that joined the EU in 2004 and those that are not members. The long membership period since 2004 when the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia became the members is necessary for EU membership to have lasting institutional impact. This offers academics from these countries more freedom of movement, study and employment throughout the EU and can lead to greater Europeanisation once such scholars return home. In contrast, the Western Balkan countries are not EU members but only have candidate status or a membership perspective. While not members, Western Balkan countries do participate in European research and science programs and receive limited EU funding for exchange and mobility. The scope and amount of funds available for these activities are well below levels of EU member states.

### Impact of national funding

The availability and scope of national funding for higher education and research is an important factor for the development of science. Higher availability of funding creates conditions that can contribute to higher levels of internationalisation (Kostova et al. 2021). A commitment to fund science is present in the agendas of all national governments of the researched countries. Due to different policy priorities and availability of resources the national funding of science, and political science in particular, varies. In all groups of countries, national funding is primarily allocated to teaching and less for research, but we can identify large within-group variations. According to World Bank data (2020), the national funding for research and development as percentage of GDP was significantly higher in the Visegrad countries than in the Baltic states, and both are much higher in relation to the Western Balkans (see Table 1). While these figures are for all areas of research and development, given the lack of data we assume that national funding priorities of social and political sciences do not differ drastically between European, and especially CEE countries.



**Table 2** ProSEPS survey on support of international activities

Support for international activities in the past three years (in %)	VG3	POL	BS3	WB4
Funding for travel to conferences	77.03	65.48	78.57	61.40
Research or teaching fellowship	58.11	30.95	58.57	40.35
Financial, administrative, or technical support for applying for funded projects	34.46	27.38	31.43	19.30
Language editing support	35.14	13.10	21.43	0.00
Requested but did not receive any support for international activities	0.68	2.38	1.43	8.77
Did not ask for support for international activities, yet it was available	4.05	5.95	7.14	7.02
There was no support scheme available for international activities	2.70	5.95	2.86	22.81

Yet there are large within-group variations. For example, Estonia outspends Latvia by over 2.5 times the per cent of GDP for research and development, while the Czech Republic spends twice as much as Slovakia. Similarly, Serbia spends almost five times more than Bosnia and Herzegovina but still less than most Visegrad and Baltic countries. These figures show only government expenditure, and while private funding is rare a lot of additional support for political science research depends on EU membership. In EU member states funding from national budgets is supplemented through EU structural support, largely allocated in national research councils that provide funding on a competitive basis. Most EU funds include provisions that promote internationalisation through cross-border research networks, in addition to mobility.

Countries of the Western Balkans do not receive significant EU financial support for research and development. Nevertheless, they are part of the European Higher Education Area, associate countries of the European Research Area, and have access to several university and research exchange programs that promote academic mobility. National funding of political science is also limited in all Western Balkans as these states provide a bare minimum of funding for research and generally support teaching activities at public universities. Foreign funding through EU funds and foundations' grants is available but is infrequent and tends to focus on particular topics. This puts researchers from these countries under intense pressure to compete for limited and short-term resources for research that often do not promote internationalisation.

This is confirmed by data from the ProSEPS survey which shows that political scientists in the Visegrad group and the Baltics receive much better financial support then compared to political scientists of the Western Balkans, albeit with differences between individual countries (Table 2). The data covers any type of support for internationalisation activities from any funding source. Differences in support are especially evident for activities such as attending conferences, preparing project applications and language editing support, as well as research and teaching fellowships. Almost a quarter of respondents (22.81%) from the Western Balkans stated that there was no support scheme available for international activities.

To conclude, the availability of national funding for research as well as access to resources enabled through EU membership reinforce each other and follow regional



patterns. While we acknowledge that significant differences between countries in the same group exist, it is nevertheless possible to identify three clusters, based on the level of support for research and internationalisation. First are the three Visegrad Group countries where political scientists receive relatively high levels of support, followed by the Baltic states and Poland where support is also meaningful. Finally, Western Balkan countries have, on average, low levels of national funding and little access to EU support schemes which results in few resources for internationalisation.

## Differences in internationalisation of political scientists in CEE

The two arguments related to the impact of historical institutionalisation and institutional independence, and financial resources and support on international activities confirm the classification of countries into four geographical clusters (Table 3). While displaying diversity within, and individual countries that pass the threshold into another group, these clusters have important common characteristics which allow us to test the impact of a combination of factors on internationalisation. The three Visegrad Group countries experienced late institutionalisation of an independent political science and have good access to funding and resources with 63% of the EU average. Poland has funding of 48% the EU average and a longer history of institutionalisation. The Baltic states also have medium access to funding with 42% the EU average but a late institutionalisation of the discipline. Finally, the four Western Balkan countries experienced early institutionalisation within Yugoslavia but have poor access to resources with only 21% the EU average. Political science in Western Europe is included as a baseline against which to compare internationalisation in CEE.

Based on empirical data from the ProSEPS survey we can first identify general levels of self-reported internationalisation. Data presented in Table 4 shows some similar tendencies for all groups of countries—most of the researched political scientists participate in international activities on a level comparable to that of Western European countries. An outlier is Poland, where over 10% of political scientists responded that they did not participate in any international activities during the last three years. As engaging in international activities at a general level is not contingent on either history or funding, we ask if this holds true for all types of internationalisation and profiles of international researchers? In the following, we examine the impact of the two factors on three PS profiles in four geographical contexts. We find that the difference lies in the details.

ProSEPS survey data presented in Table 5 shows different internationalisation levels of the three profiles of internationalised political scientists in CEE. The value 1 presents an ideal-type of internationalised researcher, according to each profile, while the full table with subcomponents is attached as an online “Appendix” (Table 1). Here, it becomes clear that while political science scholars in CEE engage in internationalisation activities, they do not do so equally among each other, not equally according to different profiles and not equally towards their Western colleagues. Along all profiles, political scientists from Western Europe are more internationalised than their peers from CEE. This is



**Table 3** Geographical clusters and countries by institutionalization and funding

	Early institutionalization (1960–1970s)	Late institutionaliza- tion (1990s)
Good access to funding and resources (> 62% of EU average)	<b>Western Europe</b>	<b>Visegrad Group 3</b> <i>Czech R., Hungary</i>
Medium access to funding and resources (> 22% of EU average)	<b>Poland</b> <i>Serbia</i>	<b>Baltic states 3</b> <i>Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia</i>
Poor access to funding and resources (< 22% of EU average)	<b>Western Balkan 4</b> <i>N. Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	/

Geographical clusters in **bold**, individual countries in *italic*

**Table 4** Self-reported internationalization

	WE	VG3	POL	BS3	WB4
Did not participate in any international activity during the last three years (% of respondents)	4.90	3.38	10.71	5.71	5.26

most pronounced for the profile of international publishing gatekeeper, but also for the international networked researcher. International mobile researchers are almost equally present in both East and West.

A second finding is that there are significant differences among CEE countries that experiences early and late institutionalisation of the discipline. Early institutionalisation has a negative impact on all profiles of internationalised scholars but is most evident in lower presence of international publishing gatekeepers and International networked researchers. This contrasts with general expectations of path dependency and contests our argument that historic institutionalisation should have no discernible impact. It seems that path dependency also goes the other way and can perpetuate non-internationalised elements of previous systems.

The third finding is that access to research funding and resources matters, but not as much as one would expect. It is possible to notice differences in levels of internationalisation that can be explained by funding, such as greater levels of internationalisation of all profiles of scholars in the three Visegrad countries when compared to the Baltic states, but also when compared with the CEE average. The impact that funding has on internationalisation between Poland and the four Western Balkan countries is mixed. This finding is surprising as we initially argued that funding was a major contributor to internationalisation.

From the onset this article aimed to answer whether particular factors have a decisive impact on different forms of internationalisation activities at the individual level. By dividing the case countries into four groups we end up with a specific set of factors for each. Levels of internationalisation of the three profiles and country groups are visualised in Fig. 1. Countries with late



internationalisation and good access to funding have political scientists that are internationalised as both mobile and networked researchers, and to a lesser extent as publishing gatekeepers. Even countries with little path dependency and medium access to funding display high levels of internationalisation, except for publishing gatekeepers. Countries that experienced early institutionalisation, both with medium and poor access to funding and resources, have political scientists that are less internationalised. Activities related to international publishing gatekeepers are much lower for Western Balkan Countries and Poland and they have lower levels of networked researchers, while international mobility is the only prevalent type of internationalisation experience.

## Conclusion

In this article, we aimed to map out the differences in internationalisation of political science in CEE, as well as to identify factors that contribute to patterns of convergence and divergence between different profiles of internationalisation. We identified two such factors: the historical institutionalisation of the discipline and the availability of national funding and resources related to EU membership.

Historical institutionalisation builds on the path dependency argument that would expect to find a positive effect of early institutionalisation of the discipline. In the CEE cases studies, we expected that this effect would be cancelled out since institutionalisation, even though it included elements of internationalisation, occurred under closed, communist style regimes. We did not expect to find that early institutionalisation in Poland and the Western Balkan countries has a negative effect on all profiles of internationalisation. On the other hand, countries that institutionalised the discipline after 1990, three Visegrad group countries and the Baltic countries show levels of internationalisation much closer to Western Europe. A possible underlying cause could be the stronger influence of established scholars in Poland and the Western Balkans, where reform and opening happened much more gradually, yet more research is needed in this regard.

The factor of national funding and EU membership builds on the argument of Europeanisation as convergence with Western European baseline level of internationalisation, as well as access to resources and institutional support for internationalisation. We expect to find a significant impact of access to EU and national resources on internationalisation. This is confirmed by our research, but the effect is not as pronounced as we expected it to be. Among countries that institutionalised political science in the 1990, those with more access to national funding display higher levels of internationalisation for all profiles of international scholars. Between Poland and the Western Balkans, none of which have high levels of national funding, the results are inconclusive and national funding and EU membership seems to have less impact. It is worth exploring if there is a ceiling in levels of funding below which access to national and EU resources does not impact internationalisation of political science. The example of Poland might also be explained by the existence of a large national research community with a sizeable publishing marketplace and tenure requirements that do not emphasise internationalisation, and subsequently less



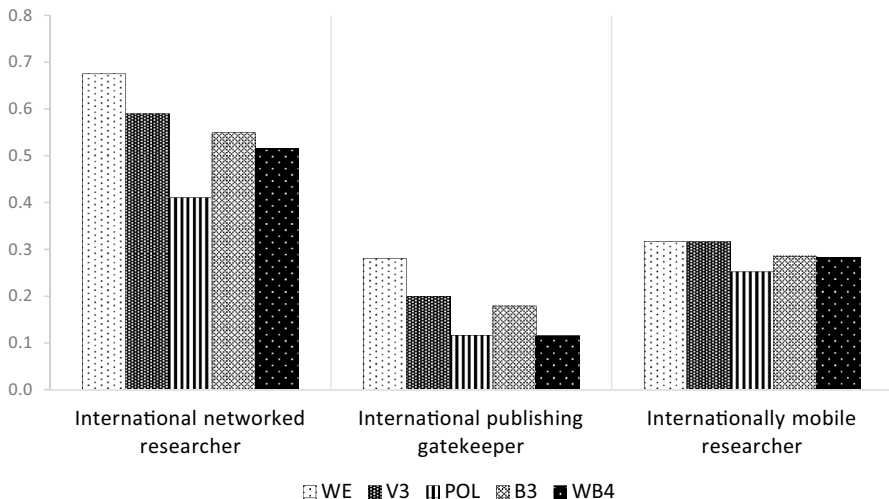
**Table 5** Internationalization by profile of international researcher

Profiles of international researchers	WE	CEE	V3	Pol	B3	WB4
International networked researcher	0.6750	0.5436	0.5897	0.4113	0.5496	0.5144
International publishing gatekeeper	0.2804	0.1710	0.1993	0.1163	0.1789	0.1155
International mobile researcher	0.3169	0.3022	0.3166	0.2523	0.2848	0.2826

CEE Does not include Russia

incentive to internationalise while such pressure is much more present in smaller national research communities.

Finally, we confirm that differences between East and West Europe exist when it comes to internationalisation of political science, but that they are not the same for all profiles of political scientists. While all European scholars are equally mobile and use opportunities for research and teaching abroad, it is Western political scientists that dominate international research networks and especially act as publishing gatekeepers. We can see a convergence towards the West among CEE countries that weak communist legacies of political science and high levels of national funding, in addition to being EU members, but also long-lasting divergence where institutional legacies are strong, and funding is precarious.

**Fig. 1** Internationalization by country group and profile of international researcher

**Supplementary Information** The online version contains supplementary material available at <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-022-00364-y>.

**Acknowledgements** This article is based upon work from COST Action “Professionalization and Social Impact of European Political Science”, supported by COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology), [www.cost.eu](http://www.cost.eu).

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