

The Sociology of a Diverse Discipline: International Relations, American Dominance and Pluralism.

Submitted by Helen Louise Turton, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics, January 2013.

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Signed: Helen Louise Turton.

Abstract.

The discipline of International Relations is frequently depicted as an American dominated discipline. This disciplinary self-image has become so entrenched that it is rarely questioned and operates as a 'quasi-fact' within the field. However, the manner in which this widespread claim has been put forth is largely speculative. There is a surprising lack of data verifying the prominent notion, and indeed the 'evidence' that does exist is largely out-dated and methodologically problematic. As such, this thesis attempts to remedy this dearth of data by systematically investigating if and how the United States dominates the discipline of IR. Rather than speaking of a generic and ambiguous form of dominance this thesis begins by disaggregating the concept of dominance and stating the ways in which an actor can potentially dominate and how this can be measured. What this crucially means is that the US may dominate in some ways and not others. Through exploring twelve of discipline's international journals over a ten-year period from 1999-2009, and four international conferences from 2005-2011 it becomes clear that the central issue is not whether the United States dominates the discipline but the degree and manner in which it does. Through demonstrating the numerous current trends and inclinations in the discipline a complex image of the IR emerges; an image that challenges a number of prevalent assertions about the disciplinary character of IR. The findings presented illustrate how the discipline of IR is more international and more diverse than is commonly perceived, and yet how the discipline of IR still experiences certain forms of American dominance. This thesis aims to highlight the importance of perspective and consequently how we need to be more nuanced and reflective in the ways we characterize the discipline's dominance claims. Overall this thesis aims to highlight the many dynamics occurring at different levels of the discipline, all of which shape the contours of the field and IR's relationship with the American academy.

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List of Abbreviations.

| | |
|--------|--|
| AJIA | <i>Australian Journal of International Affairs</i> |
| APSR | <i>American Political Science Review</i> (journal). |
| BISA | British International Studies Association |
| CC | <i>Cooperation and Conflict</i> (journal) |
| CEEISA | Central Eastern European International Studies Association |
| EJIR | <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> |
| JIRD | <i>Journal of International Relations and Development</i> |
| IO | <i>International Organization</i> (journal) |
| IR | <i>International Relations</i> (journal) |
| IRAP | <i>International Relations of the Asia Pacific</i> (journal) |
| IS | <i>International Security</i> (journal) |
| ISA | International Studies Association |
| ISI | Institute for Scientific Information |
| ISQ | <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> (journal) |
| ISP | <i>International Studies Perspectives</i> (journal) |
| JCR | Journal Citation Report |
| JIF | Journal Impact Factor |
| SGIR | Standing Group on International Relations |
| SSCI | Social Science Citation Index |
| RIS | <i>Review of International Relations</i> (journal) |
| WISC | World International Studies Committee |
| WP | <i>World Politics</i> (journal) |

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“In the midst of winter, I finally learned that there was within me an invincible summer”

Albert Camus.

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1.

Introduction: Is International Relations an American Dominated Discipline?

Scholars addressing the question of whether the discipline of International Relations (IR) is an American dominated discipline tend to respond in some shape or form to the seminal article written by Stanley Hoffmann in 1977.¹ Hoffmann was arguably the first recognized academic to draw explicit attention to the alleged American dominance of IR in mainstream circles. The question had first been raised by Alfred Grosser in 1956, in the French journal *Revue Française de Science Politique*, where Grosser explored the provoking possibility of whether the discipline was becoming an 'American specialty'.² However, the response to his stimulating review was minimal in France and non-existent in America. The issue in the 1950s failed to attract scholarly attention both in America and other IR communities, and as such no further questions were posed regarding the discipline's spatial dimensions and geographical composition until 1977. In the decades following the publication of Hoffmann's article there have been multiple scholarly works claiming that IR is an American dominated discipline, so many indeed that the disciplinary depiction of American preponderance operates as a quasi-'fact'.

Whilst the US may have dominated the discipline in the 1970s can we continue to claim that this is the current state of affairs? The literature indicates that it is. Hoffmann's image of the field as an American enterprise has been adopted and seamlessly reproduced by contemporary academics time and time again. For example in 2000 Steve Smith stated that "the discipline remains a US dominated one"³, whereas in 2003 Arlene Tickner declared "Twenty five years after Stanley Hoffmann's critical depiction of IR as an American social science, the basic contours of IR have changed surprisingly little".⁴ In a recent 'state of the discipline' article by Michael Lipson et al, it was argued "The centre of gravity for the academic discipline of international relations is located in the United States"⁵, similarly Thomas Biersteker in 2009 claimed "American International Relations scholarship is globally hegemonic".⁶ Claims such as these populate not

¹ Stanley Hoffmann "An American Social Science: International Relations" *Daedalus* 106 (3) (1977), pp. 41-60.

² Alfred Grosser "L'Etude des relations internationales, specialite americaine?" *Revue Française de Science Politique* 6 (3) (1956), pp. 634-651.

³ Steve Smith "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (3) (2000), pp. 396.

⁴ Arlene Tickner "Seeing IR Differently: Notes From the Third World" *Millennium* 32 (2) (2003), pp. 297.

⁵ Michael Lipson *et. al.*, "Divided Discipline? Comparing Views of US and Canadian IR Scholars" *International Journal* 62 (2) (2007), pp. 327.

⁶ Thomas Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Tickner, A. B., and Waever, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 309.

only the literature but also the collective disciplinary mindset. This characterization and disciplinary label⁷ has become deeply embedded within the discipline and is treated *a priori* and rarely questioned. This is extremely problematic given that the majority of claims that entrench this disciplinary characterisation are of a speculative nature.

Many of the arguments that IR is an American discipline are rarely supported by empirical data, lending the body of work to be largely impressionistic as opposed to detailed and systematic. Despite the dearth of data the disciplinary self-image of IR as an American field has become widely disseminated in the disciplinary consciousness, as Richard Little argues, "It has become almost a cliché to argue that during the course of the twentieth century the study of International Relations developed into a quintessentially American discipline".⁸ The number of scholars who treat the alleged American dominance as a given is astounding. Certain sections of the discipline's literature are rife with sweeping and speculative assumptions about America's supposed intellectual hegemony. It is not uncommon for academics to state, "the discipline is so dominated by the United States. In general there seems to be little reason to revise Stanley Hoffmann's verdict of more than thirty years ago about IR as an American discipline".⁹ Furthermore, articles examining the state of the discipline in different national communities often begin by unquestioningly declaring that America is disciplinary preponderant.¹⁰ This readily adopted premise is then used as a foundation from which to launch their own investigations into national IR communities. By uncritically accepting this notion this disciplinary self-image is embedded and perpetuated without it being questioned whether this is the even the current disciplinary reality.

It is worrying that many assertions that the discipline is hierarchical are empirically unsupported; instead scholars tend to solely justify their statements in relation to a relatively small body of literature.¹¹ For example it is not uncommon for articles to state that IR is an

⁷ Felix Grenier "Conversation in and on IR: Labeling, Framing and Delimiting IR Discipline" *Bridges: Conversations in Global Politics* 1 (1) (2012), pp. 1-17.

⁸ Richard Little "Series Editor's Preface" in Friedrichs, J. (ed) *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2004), pp. iii.

⁹ J. C. Sharman "Benchmarking Australian IR: Low Impact, a Bookish Lot or a Very British Affair?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62 (4) (2008), pp. 530-531.

¹⁰ For two such examples see Alan Chong and Natasha Hamilton-Hart "Teaching International Relations in Southeast Asia: Historical Memory, Academic Context and Politics – an Introduction" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 9 (1) (2009), pp. 1-18 and Jozef Bátora and Nik Hynek "On the Barbaricum in Slovakia" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 186-193.

¹¹ For further examples see Henrik Ø Breitenbauch and Anders Wivel "Understanding National IR Disciplines Outside the United States: Political Culture and the Construction of International Relations in Denmark" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 7 (4) (2004), pp. 414-443; Gunther Hellmann "International Relations as a Field of Studies" in Badie, B., Berg-Schlosser, D. and Morlino, L. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Political Science: Volume Eight* (London: Sage, 2011); James Robinson "The State of IR in Mexico" Paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, New York, February 2009, pp. 1-30; and J. Ann Tickner "Dealing with Difference: Problems and Possibilities for Dialogue in International Relations" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 607-618;

American discipline based exclusively on citing the works of Kal Holsti¹², Steve Smith¹³ and Ole Wæver¹⁴ in order to substantiate their allegations. It is rarely questioned whether the aforementioned works could be outdated or indeed inaccurate; for instance Holsti conducted his investigation into whether there was an American intellectual condominium in IR over twenty years ago. Considering the growth of the discipline in the last two decades, in global institutional as well as theoretical terms his claims need to be reassessed.¹⁵ Looking at Wæver's 1998 investigation one can argue that it is methodologically problematic and consequently his results limited (the problems with Ole Wæver's methodology will be explored in more depth in the section detailing the research design, which appears later on in this chapter). Whereas Smith's article contains no systematic investigation of his own, instead his claims are supported by the data produced by Holsti and Wæver.

The lack of empirical data and the impressionistic nature of IR research relating to state of the field inquiries was also raised in the 2007 TRIP survey:

“Scholars of international relations periodically re-interpret the history of the discipline, assess current trends in the field, and speculate about or advocate particular directions for future research, but they rarely use systematic evidence to do so. To determine the content and trajectory of previous research, these scholars typically read hundreds of prominent books and articles and attempt to discern patterns. To determine the opinion of other scholars in the discipline they attend professional meetings, discuss papers and chat with colleagues and former students”.¹⁶

This thesis attempts to remedy this problematic situation. Through employing an in-depth empirical investigation (which will be detailed shortly), exploring different realms of academic production, this study aims to generate a body of data that will demonstrate the present inclinations and trends in the discipline, and therefore be able to assess in what ways, if at all, the discipline is dominated by the US as the literature suggests. The need to systematically investigate this disciplinary characterization is imperative, because without empirically assessing the past and present we tend to ingrain and reproduce disciplinary myths.¹⁷ Myths that may condition negative academic practices and encourage marginalizing behaviours.

¹² Kal J. Holsti *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985).

¹³ Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 374-402.

¹⁴ Ole Wæver “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations” *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 687-727.

¹⁵ The *Worlding Beyond the West* series of edited volumes details the global expansion of the discipline in both theoretical and institutional terms. For more see Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver (eds) *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009) and Arlene B. Tickner and David L. Blaney (eds) *Thinking International Relations Differently* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁶ Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson and Michael J. Tierney “The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006” Paper prepared for the annual meeting of the *American Political Science Association*, Chicago, Illinois, August/September 2007, pp. 1. Available at www.irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/publications.php

¹⁷ Wæver “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline”, pp. 692.

Not only does this thesis aim to produce a large data set that will 1) generate an in-depth insight into the discipline's spatial configuration, and 2) re-assess speculative disciplinary self-images, it also aims to do so in a more nuanced manner, which will consequently highlight the complexities within the global discipline. Rather than speaking about disciplinary dominance in generic terms this study aims to refine the way scholars will speak about intellectual hegemony by looking at *the way* one dominates, as well as the specific modes and forms of domination. The majority of the literature addressing the popular self-image speaks of an unspecified form of dominance, hence we need to ask what does it mean to be dominant and ask how exactly does America dominate the discipline, if indeed it does? Instead of treating 'dominance' as a general state of affairs we must begin to prefix discussions of dominance with the actual means of preponderance, be this theoretical, methodological, institutional etc. In other words dominance must be disaggregated. By disaggregating the ways in which an academic community can potentially be hegemonic creates the possibility that America may dominate in some ways and in some realms of academic production and not others.

Overall, the aim of this thesis is to correct some of the problems with the existing body of scholarship in order to empirically, systematically and comprehensively address the issue of whether the contemporary discipline of International Relations can be described to be an American enterprise, in any or all forms of dominance. In doing so this thesis will illustrate the many dynamics in operation and how the question of American dominance is much more complex than is often presented. Before presenting the methodology and laying out the structure of my thesis this chapter will begin by unpacking the term 'dominance'. As suggested above, the word 'dominance' is actually used in many different ways, taking on many different forms and measured in numerous modes despite the fact that it is presented as 'one size fits all' practice of dominance. Yet American dominance has not developed in a uniform manner, upon a more detailed inspection it is clear that America allegedly 'dominates' in multifarious means due to the different conceptions of dominance being employed by different scholars. By unraveling the term and revealing the different lenses through which IR can be seen to be an American discipline a 'criterion of dominance' was constructed in order to clearly explicate the different definitions of dominance in operation. Through disaggregating the term dominance it becomes clear why we must be more nuanced in our handling of dominance claims because the American IR community does not dominate in a generic manner; it dominates, or may dominate, in certain ways and not others.

Dominant Definitions of Dominance.

When claims are made that IR is an American discipline academics are simultaneously professing that the United States dominates the field. However, as previously mentioned one unified notion of dominance is not employed. Instead the various authors are drawing upon different definitions of dominance; hence they are looking at the issue through diverse standpoints. What

this means is that although certain scholars may agree that America is intellectually hegemonic they may be talking at cross-purposes about *how* and *why* America dominates. Employing divergent understandings of the term 'dominance' has and will lead academics, depending on the meaning adopted, to focus on particular ways in which the US professedly dominates. These means will differ depending on the definition and will therefore result in scholars drawing on different rationales and looking at different disciplinary implications. Although there may be agreement in one sense, there will be different answers to the questions of how and why America allegedly became and remains disciplinary dominant. It is important to emphasize, that many academics do not declare what they mean or imply by dominance and as a result employ various conceptualisations and operate with different notions of the term. It is not uncommon for a given scholar to be speaking about one form of dominance on one page of a text, and then refer to a different understanding on another page.¹⁸ Conceptual ambiguity (whether intentional or unintentional) creates confusion and the potential generation of different disciplinary images, that may be either competing or contrasting. All together such fluidity and the lack of a clear position and awareness of how 'dominance' is being perceived creates a muddled picture that may be some distance from the actual disciplinary reality.

There are five prominent conceptualizations of dominance (that are by no means mutually exclusive or exhaustive) and associated means of measurement that underpin the body of scholarship declaring that IR is an American enterprise. In other words the literature looking at whether the contemporary discipline of IR is an American one often frames the issue using five different forms of dominance, which are as follows: Dominance is the ability to:

- 1) Set the intellectual agenda.
- 2) Dominate the discipline theoretically
- 3) Produce a set of preponderant epistemological and methodological assumptions that guide and fortify the majority of IR research and scholarship
- 4) Command a dominant and overtly significant presence in the institutional structure.
- 5) Gate-keep the disciplines borders, thereby managing the process of inclusion and exclusion into the international disciplinary realm.

First, Dominance as *Agenda Setting*. The argument follows that the United States dominates the discipline through its ability to set the intellectual agenda and align the discipline's points of focus with the policy concerns of America. Hoffmann defines dominance in this manner as he clearly states, "To study United States foreign policy was to study the international system. To study the international system could not fail to bring one back to the role of the United States".¹⁹ The function of setting the agenda means, according to Hoffmann and Steve Smith²⁰

¹⁸ Smith's "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 374-402, is a prime example of this conceptual ambiguity in practice.

¹⁹ Hoffmann "An American Social Science", pp. 47.

that America is able to exercise its dominance through defining the focus and scope of the discipline and therefore designating what is the appropriate subject matter of the field. It has been argued that IR is an American enterprise because the US has twisted the discipline towards the policy concerns of America.²¹ This form of dominance has a primarily ontological dimension, and has been measured in terms of the link between foreign policy goals and concerns of America and the research focus of the discipline.²²

Second, Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan argue that American IR dominates the discipline because its theories dominate “largely unconsciously in the minds of others, and regardless of whether the theory is correct or not”.²³ Dominance in this case is defined and measured as *Theoretical Dominance*. Kal Holsti, for example, claimed that dominance takes a theoretical form as it is clear that the American IR community’s theories saturate the IR literature and other academic communities are dependent on American scholarly works.²⁴ According to Holsti, theoretical dominance is determined through focusing on the volume of theoretical works produced by the US in comparison to other IR communities, and by gauging how other academics both inside and outside the US rely on American theoretical works.

It is argued however, that not only is America theoretically dominant due to the volume of theory produced, it also dominates the discipline through its associated ability to establish a theoretical orthodoxy. According to certain academics, not only does American theory dominate but also a specific theory (or set of theories) dominates. For example, Darryl Jarvis argues that IR is an American enterprise because neo-realist and neo-liberalist approaches tend to predominate in the field.²⁵ Jarvis claims that this is seen from a quick perusal of the discipline’s leading journals, as their content clearly demonstrates the discipline’s commitment to the ‘neo-neo synthesis’.²⁶ Defining dominance as the ability to establish and entrench a theoretical orthodoxy and produce a greater volume of theory, has lead some scholars, such as Jarvis, to 1) state that IR is an American discipline and 2) demonstrate this through the dominance of said theories in the discipline’s intellectual production.

A third definition of dominance that is found in the literature takes on an epistemological and methodological form. Viewed from this perspective American IR is hegemonic when the issue is seen through the lens of *Epistemological and Methodological Dominance*. Allegedly the

²⁰ Steve Smith “Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science” *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 189-206.

²¹ Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 394.

²² For example see Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker “The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archeologist of International Savoir Faire” *International Studies Quarterly* 28 (2) (1984), pp. 121-142.

²³ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan “Why is There no Non-Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction” *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 294.

²⁴ Holsti *The Dividing Discipline*, pp. 103.

²⁵ Darryl S. L. Jarvis “International Relations: An International Discipline?” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 372.

²⁶ Ole Wæver “The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate” in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 149-185.

discipline is an American one because IR is dominated by a specific series of 'American' epistemological and methodological assumptions. Steve Smith argues that we can support the claim of US dominance because of the preponderance of certain epistemological and methodological approaches.²⁷ Although the discipline's handling of the term epistemology has been rather vague and confusing,²⁸ it is argued that the main epistemological assumptions guiding research in the discipline are empiricist, and thus license rational choice methodological approaches that are favoured by the American IR community.

According to Smith the dominance of an empiricist epistemology and certain quantitative methods means that American IR is able to dominate the discipline through using its epistemological and methodological dominance to define what counts as legitimate knowledge in IR and acceptable ways of accessing and discovering that knowledge, thereby ultimately defining what counts as "proper social science".²⁹ Dominance is then defined and measured by an actor's capability to establish an epistemological and methodological benchmark, a set the guidelines or a blueprint for research and knowledge accumulation. In the case of IR this means producing a set of epistemological and methodological assumptions that underpin and guide research, and thereby provide a certain way of thinking about knowledge and a researchers relationship to the social realm. This form of dominance can then be measured by assessing which epistemology and methodology dominates and whether this can be linked back to the mainstream approach in a given IR community.

Fourth, is *Institutional/Structural Preponderance*. Jörg Friedrichs argues that IR is a hierarchical discipline with America at the apex, and this can be seen he declares as "intellectual hegemony as structural bias".³⁰ When speaking of American intellectual hegemony certain authors focus on the institutional elements to support their claims and argue that dominance takes a structural mode. By looking at indicators such as: the number of IR scholars from each national IR setting, the volume of national centers of IR, where the majority of academics receive their PhDs, and the rankings of universities, assessments of dominance have been made and certain academics have begun to compile a case to demonstrate American disciplinary dominance. Through exploring such structural components certain academics, for example Freidrichs³¹ and Peter Volten³², have made claims of US dominance, arguing that the American IR community dominates in size (measured by the number of self identified American IR scholars compared to numbers in other national communities) and institutional volume (measured in the

²⁷ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 374-402.

²⁸ For more see Colin Wight "The Impossible Dream: Theorising International Relations Without the Philosophy of Science" Paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, New York, February 2009.

²⁹ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 383.

³⁰ Jörg Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-23.

³² Peter M. E. Volten "Theory of International Relations in Europe: A Social Science Stillborn or Still Born and Raised in America?" Paper presented at the *Standing Group of International Relations* conference, The Hague, September 2004, pp. 1-28.

number of IR departments and courses in existence when again compared to the institutional volume elsewhere). Whereas the 2008 TRIP survey³³ investigated where scholars receive their PhDs and university rankings and found that:

“Sixty-eight percent of all IR scholars-including about half of scholars in Hong Kong and Singapore and around a third in Canada, New Zealand and Israel-receive their PhDs in the United States. American universities top the rankings of the best PhD and M.A granting institutions”.³⁴

When viewed through the above institutional and structural frame the TRIP survey concluded, “there is evidence of US hegemony”.³⁵ Overall, the fourth definition of dominance that is utilized is that dominance is witnessed in the internal structure of a discipline. Meaning that if an actor dominates the institutions and commands structural authority then this is representative of disciplinary dominance.

The fifth widespread form that dominance takes in the body of scholarship investigating IR’s American status is that of *Gate-keeping*. It is argued that America dominates the discipline in terms of control of/or facilitating access to the discipline’s international arena. Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews,³⁶ and Arlene Tickner³⁷ for example, have employed this definition of dominance. Each has respectively argued that the American mainstream operates as the discipline’s gatekeeper, permitting entrance to American scholars or scholarly works that adhere to American standards, whilst restricting access to non-American academics or research that deviates from the American model. The selection of editors of key journals, and the reviewers of articles that are submitted are politicized enterprises as these individuals, according to Thomas Biersteker “play critical gate-keeping and discipline-defining roles, at times with a relatively narrow conceptions of the field, though rarely self-consciously so”.³⁸ It appears that the gate-keeping role is played out through publication practices, hiring strategies, and editorial selection. Hence this form of dominance is often measured through examining *who* is writing in the discipline and *what* type of research and scholarship is being published.

³³ The Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) project seeks to investigate the relationship between IR research and teaching and its influence on “the real world of international politics and policy making”. The TRIP project has embarked upon numerous qualitative and quantitative data collections in order to capture the state of the discipline of IR and important features of international politics and policy. For more see the Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations, at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. <http://irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/about.php>.

³⁴ Richard Jordan, Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson and Micheal J. Tierney “One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries” *Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations*, at the College of William and Mary. Available at www.irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/ (February 2009), pp. 11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, op cit.

³⁶ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews “Are the Core and Periphery Irreconcilable? The Curious World of Publication in Contemporary International Relations” *International Studies Perspectives* 1 (3) (2000), pp. 289-303.

³⁷ Tickner “Seeing IR Differently”, pp. 295-324.

³⁸ Biersteker “The Parochialism of Hegemony”, pp. 311.

Defining dominance in gate-keeping terms means that the hegemonic IR community polices the discipline's borders, and protects the discipline's parameters as defined by the mainstream. According to Roland Bleiker "The doorkeepers of IR are those who, knowingly or unknowingly, make sure that the discipline's discursive boundaries remain intact".³⁹ The gate-keeping function is thus an extension of and demonstration of the hegemon's power. Therefore through demonstrating that IR is a field whose margins are defined and defended supports assertions that the discipline is an American dominated one. To conclude, dominance can also be defined as an actor's capacity to maintain the present structure of the discipline that supports the status quo power through gate-keeping practices. Dominance defined as gate-keeping in IR means control of the process of inclusion and exclusion to the discipline's international arena, entrance to which is guaranteed by adhering to the mainstream's agenda, as Bleiker argues; "The doorkeepers of IR remind the women and men from the country who pray for admittance to the temple of IR that only those who abide by the established rules will gain access".⁴⁰

These forms of dominance are not mutually exclusive, in fact they are mutually reinforcing. For example, if American academics are placed in positions of authority and control the access to the international disciplinary realm (dominance as gate-keeping) such scholars have the potential to enable and perpetuate the dominance of certain theories or methods. Or if American academics overwhelmingly populate the discipline and are parochial in their outlook this will then aid the positioning of American scholars in gate-keeping roles. Each means of dominance has the potential to lock together with other forms and exacerbate and entrench the dominant conditions being exercised. Whilst the central term dominance must be disaggregated in order to fully explore the disciplinary dynamics in operation, the different means of dominance do not need to be kept separate from each other. It is important to examine the interplay between each definition of dominance to see if they work to support the realization of each other and consequently stabilize America's alleged hegemonic position.

The different definitions of dominance focus on the different ways in which the US is able to exercise its dominant position in order to change/dictate/condition the behaviour of other scholars to meet its agenda. Therefore if the US is dominant we should see the emulation and replication of its preferred means of 'doing IR' laid out above. Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony seems to capture these relationships of dominance and explains how the US is potentially able to illicit the consent of global IR scholars to replicate its intellectual agenda, thereby exercising its dominance in different ways. For Antonio Gramsci the concept of hegemony captures a "special kind of power relation in which dominant groups secured their positions of privilege largely (if by no means exclusively) through consensual means".⁴¹ According to Gramsci hegemony is a "dynamic lived process in which social identities, relations,

³⁹ Roland Bleiker "Forget IR Theory" in Chan, S., Mandaville, P. and Bleiker, R. (eds) *The Zen of International Relations: IR Theory from East to West* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 44.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 45.

⁴¹ Mark Rupert "Antonio Gramsci" in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 177.

organizations and structures based on asymmetrical distributions of power and influence are constituted by the dominant class”⁴² or in this case IR community. Hegemony is established when individual choices align with the preferences of the dominant strata largely through consensual means.

In terms of measurements, in order for Hoffmann’s disciplinary characterization to operate as an accurate self-image of the contemporary field, and therefore for the US to dominate in terms of a Gramscian style hegemony then there must be evidence of either: 1) America’s ability to set the disciplinary agenda and align the discipline’s concerns with those of the United States foreign policy ones; 2) The preponderance of either ‘American theories’ and/or a certain ‘American’ theory which operates as the discipline’s orthodoxy; 3) Data suggesting that the majority of IR academics are working under the auspices of an empiricist epistemology and demonstrate a methodological proclivity towards quantitative methods especially the use of rational choice approaches; 4) A demonstration that the majority of work published is written by American scholars and/or scholars situated in American institutions; and 5) Finally verification of gate-keeping strategies being employed by predominantly American journal editors to exclude certain forms of scholarship and scholars.

Therefore to see whether the contemporary discipline of International Relations can be described as an American dominated discipline one needs to investigate each realm of dominance in turn to see if the claims in the literature capture the actual trends and inclinations taking place in the discipline. This means that we may find that America dominates in some realms and not others. For instance we could discover that the United States dominates the discipline in institutional/structural terms but not theoretical ones. Through disaggregating the issue and looking for different forms and means of dominance permits the possibility of producing a number of different perspectives regarding the issue of American disciplinary preponderance. In other words depending on the definition of dominance used, which correspondingly focuses attention towards certain disciplinary arenas and dynamics, one could potentially and most possibly construct a different image of the discipline. IR may appear more plural theoretically for instance, but seem more ‘American’ and dogmatic methodologically speaking.

Through highlighting the multiple ways in which dominance has been defined and allegedly has been exercised this thesis suggests that we can no longer speak of a *carte blanche* form of dominance. Because of the different conceptions of dominance operating in the literature it no longer makes sense to construct ambiguous statements of intellectual hegemony relating to some sort of overall American preponderance. Instead we need to conceive disciplinary dominance as something that needs to be prefixed with the form and means that it is taking. In staking this claim this thesis aims to highlight that the issue is not simply one of whether the US is disciplinary dominant, instead it is about revealing the ways in which the US is able to exercise

⁴² James H. Mittelman *The Globalization Syndrome: Transformation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 167.

its hegemonic position and illustrate all the complex dynamics and forces in operation (American or otherwise) that shape the contours of the discipline. Overall, this analysis attempts to construct a multifaceted view of the discipline and in doing so aims to avoid producing a misleading disciplinary image that not only generalizes the situation, and perpetuates a number of myths but also overlooks and misses the complex reality.

Methodology.

To provide an insight into *how* America dominates the discipline of International Relations, if it even does, a number of different methods were used. The methodology was designed to explore each definition of dominance in turn to see if there was any evidence of the discipline being dominated by the United States in one, any, or all of the different arenas of dominance. The research design was predicated on producing a more reflective and detailed account of the discipline rather than responding to the question of whether IR is an American dominated discipline in a yes or no manner. To produce such an account the investigation was comprised of three principle areas of investigation; 1) Academic journals; 2) International Conferences; and 3) Interviews with a number of journal editors.

In order to build a more comprehensive image of the state of the discipline it was vital to explore different scholarly domains to avoid producing an overly deterministic and impressionistic summation. Although the bulk of the data is generated from the journal investigation, the exploration into a number of conferences and interviews with some of the discipline's journal editors provided some interesting insights. These two other avenues helped survey certain claims and disciplinary dynamics in more depth, for instance, the interviews with the journal editors helped examine the statements surrounding the alleged gate-keeping function of the mainstream journals. This mixed methods approach was devised to explore each realm of dominance in great depth to give a nuanced account of IR's self-images.⁴³ Due to the different mechanisms of these different academic forums one could find that the results from the conference investigation challenged those produced from the journal one. Rather than being used in the traditional triangulation purpose of a mixed methods research design to verify each other,⁴⁴ the aim here was to highlight the different *modus operandi* and to argue that IR (like any other discipline) is a multifaceted field and resultantly American dominance may be expressed in some scholarly realms and not others. As it happens the data generated from the conference investigation was similar to that from the journals, meaning that the same disciplinary trends and inclinations were present in both arenas of scholarly production. Nonetheless, it was vital to

⁴³ My mixed methods approach was based on the work of Mario Bunge, Andrew Sayer, Ray Pawson and Nick Tilley. For more see Mario Bunge "On Method in the Philosophy of Science" in Mahner, M. (ed) *Scientific Realism: Selected Essays of Mario Bunge* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2001), pp. 121-141; Andrew Sayer *Method In Social Science* (London: Routledge, 1992); and Ray Pawson and Nick Tilley *Realistic Evaluation* (London: Sage, 2004).

⁴⁴ Colin Robson *Real World Research: Second Edition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 371.

illuminate the different forces and to put a stop to 'one size fits all' disciplinary depictions; as one needs to specify where and how American dominates, even if it does.

As previously noted America has been said to dominate the discipline of IR in five divergent ways, hence there are five different ways in which we can define dominance. The methodology was constructed in order to explore each realm and find out whether the United States is intellectually hegemonic in each, or any, of these spheres. Next the investigations will be detailed one by one, beginning with the journal analysis to show how they have been designed to specifically examine each arena of dominance in turn.

Journal Investigation.

Journals play a key role in the dissemination of scholarly knowledge. They are a vital means of both providing information and notifying scholars of the contemporary debates and issues in a field. Not only are journals an important means of scholarly communication and the distribution of knowledge they are also, according to Ole Wæver, the best and most direct measure of a discipline.⁴⁵ Wæver formulated such a standpoint based on the work in the sociology of science by Robert Merton and Richard Whitley. Both of whom argued that journals are the 'crucial institution of modern sciences' and therefore can in a sense be seen to be a microcosm of a discipline itself.⁴⁶ Whether one wholeheartedly or partially accepts Wæver's claim (therefore leaving aside the statement that journals provide *the best and most direct* gauge of the discipline) journals nevertheless do provide a valuable insight into current academic trends and disciplinary inclinations.

This is not to say that textbooks, monographs and other forms of publication are not important or attractive to scholars, or indeed to claim that such formats do not have a lasting impact on a field, but rather, journals offer a clearer, current and more accurate picture of the present trends in a discipline than other modes of academic literary expression. This is due to a number of reasons; firstly as Marijke Bruening et. al. note, journals are a more immediate measure of a field.⁴⁷ Textbooks and monographs for example take far longer to complete and publish, whereas journal articles tend to be more contemporary and responsive in terms of academic debates. Additionally, scholars also have a tendency to submit arguments to journals prior to publication in book format. Therefore ideas, theories, research and methods etc. that tend to eventually find their way into collected volumes or monographs, for instance, are usually first published in journals. Secondly, it has been argued that journals are often subject to different standards of scrutinisation and review than textbooks etc; such standards are debatably

⁴⁵ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 698.

⁴⁶ Robert K. Merton *The Sociology of Science: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1979) and Richard Whitley *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴⁷ Marijke Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft and Eugene Walton "Promise and Performance: An Evaluation of Journals in International Relations: *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) (2005), pp. 448.

“more rigorous and constitutive of any disciplinary subfield”.⁴⁸ Finally, journals facilitate the conduct of systematic reviews, content analyses, or qualitative investigations of the sort being conducted here for the purpose of the thesis. This is due to the regular schedules of journals and the associated identification of articles. Overall, it can be stated that in the arena of published academic literature, journals provide a more up to date and immediate purview into the discipline of International Relations than other types of academic written expression, and hence why I opted to explore journals as one of the realms of investigation in order to question whether IR is an American dominated discipline.

It must, however, be stressed that a field’s academic journals are not to be confused with or to become coterminous with ‘the’ or ‘a’ discipline. Scholarly journals must be viewed as a reflection of a field, and work as a means of representing, reviewing, and accessing trends of academic activity. A discipline is in part defined by the scholars who consider themselves part of an academic field and in turn form, construct and constitute that discipline.⁴⁹ It must, therefore be kept in mind that the purpose of this journal investigation is to use a number of IR journals operating as a reflection of the discipline, and to examine the content of various journals in order to gain access to and understand the current developments and inclinations in the field. The journals investigated will not be treated as ‘the discipline’ but rather as a mirror of the field of International Relations.

This thesis aims to investigate the content of a number of journals in order to question the various assumptions that have prevailed in the discipline regarding IR’s depiction as an American enterprise. Hence, the purpose of this inquiry is to use academic journals as a means of appraising the present inclinations in the discipline and to see whether such trends correspond to the many assertions operating in the field. By empirically exploring each area of dominance and the associated claims as to why IR is to be characterized as a US dominated discipline, this thesis attempts to put forth a sustained and non-speculative depiction of the discipline, one that addresses *if* and *how* the US dominates IR. However, this representation of IR in a sense will only provide a partial insight into the contemporary workings of American disciplinary dominance because this investigation is only looking at one avenue of academic expression. Thereby giving only one view/insight into what is a multi-faced discipline, as IR cannot solely be reduced to its representation through journals. Looking at other academic domains such as pedagogy could provide an alternative portrayal of IR, due to the different structural and agential forces at play, which is why a number of conferences will be explored and a number of journal editors will be interviewed.

⁴⁸ Daniel Maliniak et. al., “The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006”, pp. 2. Also see Jennifer Kiestler, James Long, Douglas McNamara, Susan Peterson and Michael Tierney “Trends in IR Pedagogy and Scholarship: An Introduction to the Project on Teaching and Research in International Politics (TRIP)” Paper prepared for the annual meeting of the *North East Political Science Association*, Boston, Massachusetts, November 2004, pp. 6. Available at www.mitier.people.wm.edu/intnlpolitics/teaching/trip04.pdf.

⁴⁹ Brian C. Schmidt *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), pp. 12.

The content of the following 12 journals were examined: *Australian Journal of International Affairs, Cooperation and Conflict*, the *European Journal of International Relations, International Organization, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, International Studies Perspectives, International Relations, International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, the *Journal of International Relations and Development*, the *Review of International Studies* and *World Politics*. In order to select the above publications I did not opt for a random sample, and instead decided on a targeted sample. By embarking on a random sample for the quest of unachievable objectivity and bias free research, would have run the risk of selecting all, or predominantly, American journals, which possibly could have reproduced a number of assumptions in the discipline; one being the unfounded assertion that there is hardly anyone writing or researching outside the United States. Or conversely this investigation could have ended up analyzing none of the 'big name' journals, and jeopardized the findings by presenting the discipline in a more diverse and eclectic light. It seems that the investigation would have been endangered and subjected to a range of problems if the methodology had driven the exploration. By letting the question lead the selection process and thereby by employing a targeted sample this study was able to overcome a number of potential pitfalls and ensure a degree of multiplicity and geographical diversity without potentially missing out any key disciplinary movements.

Returning to the issue of geographical coverage the publications selected stem from the Asia Pacific,⁵⁰ Australia,⁵¹ Central, Eastern and Western Europe,⁵² Great Britain,⁵³ North America and Scandinavia⁵⁴. Despite the attempt to give broad geographical spread to the investigation, it is extremely clear that colossal gaps remain. These voids are due in part to the limited spatial diversity of the 2009 JCR,⁵⁵ and also the language bias that is present in this investigation. All the journals are English language ones and this obviously drastically reduced the potential for geographical diversity, and centred the exploration around the 'Anglosphere' nations and Europe. Although a number of the journals selected do emanate from other regions, it can still be

⁵⁰ The journal *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* is published by Oxford University Press in association with the Japan Association of International Relations.

⁵¹ The *Australian Journal of International Affairs* is the journal of the Australian Institute of International Affairs and is regarded as Australia's leading journal in this area.

⁵² The *Journal of International Relations and Development* is published in association with the Central and Eastern Europe International Studies Association, whereas the *European Journal of International Relations* is the journal of the Standing Group of International Relations, which is supported by the European Consortium for Political Research.

⁵³ The journal *International Relations* is a British journal that is published in association with the David Davies Memorial Institute, in the UK, however the editorial team is based at Aberystwyth University. Whereas the *Review of International Studies* is the flagship journal of the British International Studies Association.

⁵⁴ The journal *Cooperation and Conflict* is published in connection with the Nordic International Studies Association.

⁵⁵ The 2009 JCR contained no journals from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East or Russia. It is not because there are no journals being published in these regions, but rather because such journals are not being recognised by Thomson Reuters. This once again brings us back to the set of criteria and indicators used by the ISI to select the journals for evaluation, and how the measures employed work to exclude and delegitimize a number of journals outside the Anglophone nations and Western Europe

argued that due to their publication in English their content may have reoriented itself around an international English speaking audience, thereby bringing us back to an 'Anglo-centric' position. One of the suspected causes of the American preponderance in the literature is the linguistic bias in the discipline, due to the way that the English language is used as an exclusionary barrier. I am aware that I too could be potentially perpetuating the so-called 'linguistic imperialism'⁵⁶ by using all English language journals for my investigation, however, this choice was not strategic but one borne out of limitations. It remained unfeasible in terms of time and resources to select a greater number of journals including non-English journals to explore such claims and have the desired geographical spread.

Using the 2009 Journal Citation Report nine out of the twelve journals for this study were selected from a list of journals designated and evaluated as 'International Relations' by Thomson Reuters (formally known as the Institute for Scientific Information).⁵⁷ Currently Thomson Reuters classifies IR journals as those covering "resources concerned with foreign policy, comparative world politics, world commerce and trade, international legal issues, peace studies and conflict resolution, military alliances and strategic studies".⁵⁸ The definition used is just one of the many prejudices and disciplining practices that is inherent in the Journal Citation Reports and the selection process for inclusion in the Social Science Citation Index hence by selecting all the journals for exploration from the list of 'recognized' IR journals by Thomson Reuters would have meant that the investigation would have inherited the predispositions of the ISI.⁵⁹ The biases and selection criteria are investigated in more depth in Chapter five, for now one just needs to be aware of the existing prejudices, and to briefly highlight the outside processes and mechanisms at work that influence the present form of the discipline and knowledge production. In order to counter the biases of the ISI to ensure that the investigation did not reproduce the same preconceptions three 'rogue' or rather non-ISI approved journals one were selected to avoid such an entrenchment.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Kim Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell: Ethnocentricity and Diversity in American Introduction to International Relations" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations- Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 171.

⁵⁷ The 9 ISI 'approved journals' reviewed were: the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, *Cooperation and Conflict*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of IR and Development*, *Review of International Studies* and *World Politics*.

⁵⁸ Thomson Reuters "International Relations: Category Description" *Scope Notes*, ISI Web of Knowledge. Available at <http://admin-apps.isiknowledge.com> (accessed on 8/06/2011).

⁵⁹ The biases and problems with the way the Journal Citation Reports are compiled and how the journal impact factor is formulated is explored in great depth in chapter five when I examine the claims surrounding gate-keeping and American dominance.

⁶⁰ The three journals that I investigated that were not recognized by Thomson Reuters and therefore not featured in the annual 2009 JCR were: *International Relations*, the *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, and *International Studies Perspectives*. However, the following year all three journals were included. The 2009 JCR included 59 IR journals whereas the 2010 ranked 78, and the most recent 2011 report rated 80 IR journals. The greater volume of publications included reflects the steady increase in the number of publications, however the JCR is still not completely inclusive. Journals such as *Perspectives on Politics* and *Third World Quarterly* are not

By selecting all non-JCR journals the investigation would have been completely safe from any biases intrinsic to the ISI, however, this would have also have denied the opportunity to discover and examine all the forces in operation regarding the construction of the discipline of IR. Further solely looking at 'rogue' journals would have meant that a disciplinary 'gate-keeper' or rather a preserver and producer of disciplinary standards would have failed to be accounted for. In other words, the inferences drawn would have possibly presented the discipline in a more pluralistic light, as Thomson Reuters' agenda would not have been in full force. Furthermore as the Journal Citations Reports are taken seriously by the discipline, it was important to explore the processes involved and their role in the construction of knowledge and standards.

The time span for this investigation was ten years, from 1999-2009. In a sense, this exploration picks up from where Ole Wæver's investigation into the state of the discipline left off,⁶¹ to see the inclinations in the discipline of IR over the last decade. To state explicitly, the article was the unit of analysis for the purpose of this exploration. Rather than employing just one method for the analysis of each article, alternatively a mixed methods approach was adopted. Normally when one speaks of employing mixed methods or even triangulation this is in relation to using different methods, for example content analysis, interviews and participant observation.⁶² Therefore using different methods of inquiry, and doing different investigations and viewing the results next to one another to see if they support each other.⁶³ However, a number of different means of enquiry were employed in the same journal investigation. These different means were not used to question or verify the other but rather to build a more comprehensive analysis. The method used depended on the 'object' or rather the line of inquiry, in a sense the investigation can be described as purposefully 'methodologically opportunistic'.⁶⁴ The plurality of methods employed was in part designed to remedy the problems associated with content analysis.

If quantitative content analysis had been solely used one would have risked typecasting a number of articles into categories that had been constructed, which potentially may have been problematic and reductive. For example, by coding for methodology one would have had to create a number of categories and arguably would have had to limit the number to make the analysis work, thereby forcing approaches together and concealing differences. The journal explorations by Ersel Adylini and Julie Mathews,⁶⁵ Marijke Breuning et. al.,⁶⁶ and Ole Wæver,⁶⁷ all

ranked as IR journals. The selection processes of Thomson Reuters and its exclusivity is discussed in depth in Chapter Five.

⁶¹ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 687-727.

⁶² Bruce L. Berg *Qualitative Research Methods: For the Social Sciences, Seventh Edition* (Boston: Pearson Education Ltd, 2009), pp. 7. Also see for example Alan Bryman *Social Research Methods: 4th Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 635-648.

⁶³ Robson, *Real World Research*, pp. 370-373.

⁶⁴ Colin Wight "Incommensurability and Cross-Paradigm Communication in International Relations Theory: 'What's the Frequency Kenneth?'" *Millennium* 25 (2) (1996), pp. 310. Also see Andrew Collier *Critical Realism: an Introduction to Roy Bhaskar's Philosophy* (London: Verso, 1994).

⁶⁵ Adylini and Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 289-303.

⁶⁶ Breuning, Bredehoft and Walton "Promise and Performance", pp. 447-461.

used quantitative content analysis, and due to the very nature of this method and the ensuing process of categorization and coding, their results suffered from pigeon holing articles by placing them within problematic categories that they devised, some of which only served to confound conceptual confusion in the discipline and work as reductive disciplinary devices themselves. For example, Wæver's study operated with only two distinct paths of examination; one was the author's country of residence whilst the second was the articles position on the rational/reflectivist axis. For the country of residence Wæver divided the globe into four categories: 1) United States and Canada; 2) the United Kingdom; 3) Rest of Europe and 4) Rest of the world. To quantify the contents of the articles under review Wæver devised six rather ambiguous categories; 1) Formalised rational choice; 2) Quantitative studies; 3) Non-formalised rationalism ('soft' rational choice); 4) Non-postmodern constructivism; 5) Post-structuralism, Marxism and Feminism; and 6) Other. The categories conflate theory, methodology, and different epistemological standpoints. Wæver's bizarre categories hide crucial differences and jumbles widely different approaches. The problematic nature of Wæver's categories diluted the explanatory power of his findings. Wæver himself openly admitted that the classifications he used for his investigation were rough and combined approaches that differed in certain respects,⁶⁸ all in all culminating in a confusing set of categories.

By using a mixed methods approach with a largely qualitative orientation this investigation was able to put forth the positive analysis that was intended, looking at what was there as opposed to a negative analysis of what was not. Instead of coding for theory, and methodology the authors defined themselves, and through using the approaches of interpretivism⁶⁹ and critical discourse analysis⁷⁰ I was able to reveal academics self-identification. Meaning one was able to delve deeper into the articles in order to gain a more

⁶⁷ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 687-727.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 701.

⁶⁹ To clarify when I speak of interpretivism I am referring to the specific methodological approach rather than a broad school of thought that includes numerous 'interpretive' approaches such as hermeneutics for example. By interpretivism I mean the interpretation of a text in light of its context, using interpretive judgements and inductive reasoning and as such I have drawn on Alfred Schütz's understanding. Interpretivism is a distinct methodology drawn from the Interpretivist tradition that is often juxtaposed with the philosophy of social science that is positivism. For more see for example Norman Blaikie 'Interpretivism' in Lewis-Beck, M. S., Bryman, A. and Liao, T. F. (eds) *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods* (Sage: London, 2004), pp. 509-511; Thomas A Schwandt "Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry" in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 221-259 and John Gerring *Social Science Methodology: A Critical Framework* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁷⁰ Critical discourse analysis is the Critical Realist understanding of discourse analysis. It rejects the anti-realism of poststructuralist understandings and looks at how discourse is an important part of reality, and how it interacts with non-discursive causal mechanisms and social structures. Critical discourse analysis encourages us to ask how ideas and discourse are related to the 'unobservable' level and how discursive practices distort this ontologically real level. For more see Jonathan Joseph and John Michael Roberts (eds) *Realism Discourse and Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 2004). Especially the chapter by Martin Jones "Critical Realism, Critical Discourse Analysis, Concrete Research", pp. 43-67.

nuanced understanding of the content, the relationship to the perceived mainstream, the self-positioning and location in debates, and impact on the discipline.

Quantitative content analysis was used in order to determine whether the article adhered to the American agenda and to ascertain the author(s) institutional affiliation. Firstly, I coded 0 if the article concerned itself with issues pertaining to the America agenda defined as American foreign policy aims, goals and issues, and 1 if it did not. If the article focused on items that were deemed to be of concern to the US government under the period of review it was noted in what way it did, for example making note of whether the article was concerned with democracy promotion or nuclear proliferation. Secondly, the following codes were used to determine into which category the authors of the manuscripts should be placed based on their institutional affiliation (for a full breakdown see the Appendix); 0 – The United States of America; 1 – Latin America (including Mexico); 2 – Canada (including Greenland); 3 – The United Kingdom; 4 – Western Europe; 5 – Russia and Eastern Europe; 6 – East Asia (including China); 7 – South Asia; 8 – South East Asia; 9 – Middle East and North Africa; 10 – Sub-Saharan Africa; 11 – Oceania; 12 – Non-Institutional Affiliation. Although a much greater number of categories than Wæver were employed there were of course still problems due to dividing the globe in such a manner. For instance the category of ‘Western Europe’ is comprised of numerous and distinct IR traditions. By subsuming all these IR communities within one designation the internal and inter-regional dynamics are overlooked. Some of these IR academies within this category are more ‘national’ than others. The French and Italian IR communities, for example, are more insular in their orientation and as such French and Italian IR scholars tend not to publish in the discipline’s international journals as much as Nordic or German IR scholars for example.⁷¹ Through undertaking the process of categorization resultantly the number of IR communities were reduced with the effect of glossing over the differences between them. The 2007 TRIP survey was used as the model and some minor modifications were made to the geographical template.⁷² In defense, the categories map on to the regional IR communities constituted through the discipline’s professional associations. There is already some notion of regional divides and enclaves and I capitalized on this growing phenomenon for the sake of analytical clarity in my results.⁷³

⁷¹ For more on the French and Italian IR communities see Henrik Ø Breitenbauch “Cartesian Limbo: A Formal Approach to the Study of Social Sciences: International Relations in France” PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 2008; Attinà Fulvio “The Study of International Relations in Italy” in Dyer, H. C. and Mangasarian, L. (eds) *The Study of International Relations: The State of the Art* (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 341-354; and Sonja Lucarelli and Roberto Meriotti “No-Constructivists’ Land: IR in Italy in the 1990s” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 5 (2) (2002), pp. 114-142.

⁷² See the codebook for the 2007 TRIP survey, Maliniak et. al., “The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006”, pp. 45-47.

⁷³ Christopher Jones “Locating the ‘I’ in ‘IR’ – Dislocating Euro-American Theories” *Global Society* 17 (2) (2003), pp. 107-110 and A. J. R. Groom “International Relations in France: A View From Across the Channel” *European Political Science* 4 (June) (2005), pp. 164-174.

After coding for adherence to the American agenda and the institutional affiliation of the authors the articles were explored in more depth to uncover their theoretical persuasions, and methodological approaches. Each of the lines of enquiry has been designed specifically to explore each definition of dominance and to examine the claims in the literature. The journal investigation will provide an insight into whether 1) America sets the disciplinary agenda through aligning the focus of IR with US foreign policy concerns; 2) Whether the American IR community has constructed a theoretical orthodoxy with the dominance of a specific 'American' theory; 3) Thirdly whether the United States is able to enforce its model of 'appropriate' social science on the global discipline through the preponderance of empiricism and rational choice methods; 4) The data produced will also be able to show whether the scholars from US institutions dominate the research published; and 5) Finally viewing all the results together will enable one to evaluate the claims of gate-keeping based on the plurality of theories and methodological approaches, and 'who' is being published in terms of where they are writing from.

In order to explore, deconstruct, code and record each article the following process was developed: First I read the article's abstract, introduction and conclusion, skimming the main body as I went along and paying attention to repeated words, authors mentioned, the use of certain theories and substantive examples, and any pictorial information such as diagrams, graphs, and tables for example. If the authors made overtly clear the article's focus, theoretical approach, and methodology through self-identification, then this was noted accordingly. However, if the author's commitments and preferences were harder to detect and more implicit and hidden within the text, the article was read again, more attentively and in a more deconstructive fashion in order to draw out the inclinations and persuasions of the author. After the reading the article carefully if the article could still not be deciphered and deconstructed the article was re-read once more, and with even greater detail to ensure that every article was suitably explored and analyzed.

Overall the journal investigation was designed to provide an insight into the global disciplinary trends underway and to assess how the United States exercises its intellectual hegemony, if at all, through using the disciplinary purview provided by the selected publications. One will be able to see if American is preponderant in either one, none, all, or a combination of the criterion of dominance (in other words the way dominance has been defined and argued by IR academics). Meaning that we will be able to 1) classify dominance; 2) provide a more meaningful account of America's relationship with the global discipline and 3) reveal the current complexities and dynamics within IR.

Conference Investigation.

There has been a severe lack of attention paid to other 'microcosms' or reflections of the discipline. Although there is a general lack of data as previously noted, the small number of

investigations that do exist have primarily focused on the discipline's journals. Researchers in the discipline have shown rather an acute blindness to conferences as realms of inquiry. Conferences provide an interesting insight into the trends and inclinations of a given academic discipline that differ to the ones provided by a field's journals, due to different dynamics and mechanisms of selection. Conferences provide a forum for scholarly conversation on research topics that are often fairly nascent and novel, and not always replicated in the pages of the journals. The ideas presented are often prior to publication as academics use the opportunity to present their work and receive crucial feedback. Often the comments from the audience and panel discussants are reflected upon and used to sharpen ideas and alter/improve arguments in order to get the work ready to be submitted to a journal. The conversations taking place show how interactive the conference environment is, and how it shapes the future trajectory of the discipline. Further, a degree of the research presented at conferences never makes its way to publication. Often works are abandoned or taken no further, therefore we get an insight into a slightly different body of research, as this body of work has not been subjected to editorial selection processes and review. Also one finds more graduate work showcased at conferences than in the discipline's journals, due to the standards required for publication. This again means that we are privy to research that would not be found in the discipline's journals. Looking at the work from the new generation of academics means that we can get an insight into possible future directions of the field, and what may be the next trend or 'turn' in the discipline.

The following conferences were investigated; the *International Studies Association's* annual convention, the *British International Studies Association's* annual conference, the *Central Eastern European International Studies Association's* conventions and the *International Studies Association's Joint Conventions* with other regional communities and associations. The four most recent conferences from each association were explored; consequently this meant that the time frame was not exactly the same for each association due to the divergent conference schedules in operation. However, the schedules were fairly similar which meant that the overall range was from 2005-2011. This shorter period when compared to the one used for the journal investigation (1999-2009) was due to the availability of information. For most of the associations only the full conference programme for the last four conferences could be accessed.⁷⁴ Consequently the selection was slightly limited due to available access to the conference archives. In order to adequately conduct the analysis the full conference programme had to be available. This therefore excluded a number of conferences, for example the *Standing Group of International Relation's* past conferences, which would have broadened the geographical scope of the exploration. The conferences selected were chosen by a targeted sample due to the accessibility of data, and the aims of the thesis. The discipline's conferences that were investigated have a global reach and attendance in order to prevent one IR community being overly represented. Including smaller/national conferences or association conferences with a

⁷⁴ The exception to this trend was the International Studies Association and its joint conventions, the association website (<http://www.isanet.org/meetings/>), has a detailed conference archive listing the majority of past programmes.

specific geographical caucus (such as the ISA-North East) could have skewed the results in favour of one locale at the expense of others. The conferences selected are all renowned and considered to be the main conferences within the discipline, as such their programmes are wide-scale and diverse which provided a greater insight into global research trends than the smaller conferences would have allowed.

Unlike the journal investigation this line of enquiry will only explore two of the five areas of dominance: agenda setting, and institutional/structural dominance. This was again due to the limits imposed by the issue of accessibility. Because not all the papers presented were made available I was unable to conduct a deconstructive analysis into the author's theory, and methodology, as was done with the journal manuscripts. The majority of papers were not uploaded on-line; meaning only a small sample of papers could be read. Just addressing these to gain a degree of insight into the other three realms of dominance could have resulted in skewing the findings, as the papers uploaded may not have been reflective of the whole conference, and therefore presented the forum in a narrower or more eclectic light than the actuality. In order to protect the validity of the results only explored the realms of dominance that had sufficient data were explored.

Using content analysis, whether or not the panel adhered to the American agenda was coded for, therefore gaining an insight into whether America demonstrates its alleged dominance through its ability to set the intellectual agenda and therefore focus and subject matter of IR. The panel title and abstract was taken into account, as were the titles of the individual papers. This provided enough detail to assess if the panel was adhering to the American agenda, as defined by the foreign policy concerns of the US administration. The same codes were used as the ones employed for the journal investigation, likewise if the panel was deemed to adhere to the American agenda it was noted and in what way it did. In order to determine whether the United States commands a dominant presence in the discipline's institutional structure the institutional affiliation of all the panel participants (Chairs, Discussants and presenters) for all the panels featured at each conference were coded for. This provided an insight into the configuration of the discipline and where the 'who' of IR are researching from. Again the same codes as the ones exercised for the journal investigation were used. The results from the conference investigation will sit alongside the ones from the journal investigation and allow us to see if the American IR community is intellectually hegemonic in this area of academic production, and if the different dynamics and processes in operation enhance the overall degree of disciplinary dominance or the opposite.

Interviews.

To explore the claims of gate-keeping and the final definition of dominance in more depth a number of semi-structured interviews with a number of journal editors in the field were

conducted.⁷⁵ Although looking at all the results generated from both the journal and conference investigations will provide an insight into whether gate-keeping practices are occurring through empirically revealing disciplinary silences that are lamented in the literature, these results will be unable to reveal the exact mechanisms underway. In order to explore the specific processes of selection and rejection, and the rationales adopted, a greater scope into the role of different journal editors was needed. Especially as most of the claims of exclusion and ‘misshaping’ the field are directed at the discipline’s editors. A number of questions were devised to look into the structure and policies of the journals of each respective editor, with a specific focus on editorial interventions. The interviews were largely conducted face to face,⁷⁶ with only one conducted over the telephone. The interviews were semi-structured long interviews (see the appendix). Each interview was recorded, and transcribed and then sent back to the journal editors for approval before being used anonymously. The insights gained from the interviews helped delve into the processes of each respective journal and their relationship with the Journal Citation Reports and the associated rankings. The interviews not only helped explore the alleged gate-keeping practices but also another organization, Thomson Reuters, and its effects on the discipline and what is being published.

Chapter Overviews.

The criterion of dominance has not only formed the framework for the empirical analysis it has also provided the overarching structure of this thesis. Not only do the different definitions of dominance provide the separate lines of inquiry for the empirical investigation, the structure of this thesis is predicated on the five divergent conceptions employed and therefore the five ways in which America allegedly is preponderant. In order to present the results of the various investigations the thesis will proceed as follows: the first chapter looks at the agenda setting realm of dominance in order to see whether the discipline has an ‘American outlook’. This chapter begins by examining the claims that the US dominates the discipline of IR due to its ability to make the focus of the discipline synonymous with the foreign policy concerns of the United States, and then moves on to detail the American agenda. Through looking at the various foreign policies of the US government over the last two decades we can see what has been given the status of ‘the most pressing issues in international politics’, and therefore what academics should be focusing on. Despite the claims of a new era of foreign policy, or a ‘paradigm shift’ the agenda has remained constant, and the majority of research in the field however, did not adhere to this agenda, and instead of concerning itself with American primacy, terrorism, nuclear

⁷⁵ In total I conducted eight interviews with journal editors from leading international IR journals. I have chosen not to name the journals in order to preserve the anonymity of those interviewed.

⁷⁶ Even though I interviewed a number of editors that work in institutions outside of the United Kingdom, I was able to conduct the majority of the interviews face-to-face by interviewing a number of editors at the 2011 *International Studies Association* annual convention in Montreal and the journal *Millennium’s* 40th anniversary conference at the LSE in 2011.

weapons and rogue states for example, IR scholars displayed an independence from the concerns of American policy-making elites.

Chapter two also begins by examining the claims in the discipline, but this time in terms of dominance as the ability to create a theoretical orthodoxy, marginalize 'alternative approaches' and also produce the largest volume of theoretical material. Three claims populate the discipline in terms of what theory(ies) are professed to dominate, and each supports the notion that the US dominates the discipline because it produces the majority of theoretical output. This chapter looks at how these claims emerged, and explores the alleged dependent situation that entrenches America's disciplinary stronghold. In doing so it questions what it means for a theory to be classed as American and what the implications of this form of dominance are for the discipline. The claims of dominance are then examined in light of the results produced from the journal investigation. The results illustrate that rather than the dominance of either 1) realism, 2) neo-realism and neo-liberalism or 3) constructivism the majority of articles in the discipline from 1999-2009 were conducted under the auspices of classical liberalism. Furthermore, instead of orthodoxy the results indicated a situation of theoretical pluralism, with no evidence of a 'mainstream' having the ability to marginalize approaches. Even though classical liberalism proved to be the most popular theory it did not command an overwhelming, dogmatic disciplinary presence. As such this chapter challenges a number of prevalent assumptions in the discipline and explores the dynamics of pluralism, whilst critically assessing the 'Americanness' of certain bodies of thought.

Chapter three addresses the claims of dominance in the realm of epistemology and methodology. The American IR community has exercised its dominance according to certain scholars, such as Steve Smith,⁷⁷ through decreeing what counts as 'proper social science' in other words what counts as legitimate knowledge claims and appropriate methods of doing so. As previously mentioned if America is indeed intellectually hegemonic one would expect to see most research being conducted positivistically, in other words we would see the dominance of empiricism and also the dominance of certain quantitative methods. This chapter will explore these claims in more depth and then assess their validity. After discussing the discipline's problematic handling of the term 'epistemology' and detailing why I focused solely on the methods employed rather than trying to decipher each articles epistemology⁷⁸ I will show - despite the numerous claims to opposite that populate the literature - that rational choice methods are not dominant. There was no emulation of the 'American methodological blueprint' for conducting IR research in the discipline's journals which one would expect if IR were an American enterprise. The dominant method was interpretivism, which is associated with a

⁷⁷ Steve Smith "The Resurgence of Normative Theory in International Relations: the Forty Years Detour" *Millennium* 21 (3) (1992), pp. 489-506.

⁷⁸ Attempting to stake a claim as to each articles epistemological position would only serve to continue to mishandle the term epistemology, for I would be guilty of creating false categories and crediting authors with a prior allegiance to an epistemology, which I argue does not exist. My full rationale for not coding for epistemology in order to discern the disciplines epistemological inclination is given in chapter three.

different IR community: the British Academy. This chapter concludes by examining the British discipline and the applicability of certain American methods in non-American IR communities.

Chapter four turns its attention to claims of dominance defined as the ability of an academic community to command a significant presence in the institutional structure of a discipline. Many, such as Thomas Biersteker, have argued that IR is an American discipline because of the sheer size of the US academy;⁷⁹ this has arguably resulted in the production of an insular and self-referential American enclave that is ignorant to the works produced outside of this geographical domain. This chapter will explore such claims by looking at the expansion of the discipline over the last few decades and the alleged consequences of this expression of dominance. This time the findings from the journal and conference investigations support the assertions of American hegemony. The discipline is indeed dominated by scholars writing and researching from American institutions. However, this chapter will look at what this form of dominance means for the discipline and question whether other factors such as the where one studies for their PhD and the resultant movement of ideas around the globe actually has more of a determining impact upon the form of the discipline.

The final chapter will scrutinize the statements that declare IR is an American endeavour due to the gate-keeping abilities of the American mainstream and their power of exclusion. If America were dominant in this manner than we would expect to witness a very narrow discipline that replicates the interests of the mainstream. Taking all the results produced into account the image of a diverse and eclectic global discipline emerges. This chapter does not claim that there are no gate-keeping exercises in operation, but rather they have not resulted in a strictly maintained discipline that satisfies the status quo/traditional boundaries of the field. The interviews with a number of journal editors evidenced tendencies towards actively diversifying and internationalizing the field, yet clearly standards and academic rigour have to be maintained which can be operationalised in a gate-keeping fashion. This chapter will examine the politics of publication and editorial interventions and how such practices shape the discipline. Moreover, this chapter will also explore the gate-keeping function of Thomson Reuters, and how this organization is disciplining the field. Through looking at the effect the Journal Citation Reports and the Journal Impact Factor is having on our discipline it is evident that they have the power of exclusion and operate as disciplinary agents of control. Overall, this chapter highlights the number of American and non-American structural forces and editorial practices that shape the contours of the field.

The manner in which 'American dominance' has been disaggregated as previously mentioned has provided a means of assessing the various trends occurring within the discipline of IR. However, the view provided is largely internal. In other words this thesis mainly focuses on the internal dynamics and mechanisms taking place within the discipline. This is due to the fact that the focal and organizational point of this thesis is the different definitions of dominance, which were compiled after assessing the body of literature that claims IR is an American

⁷⁹ Biersteker, "The Parochialism of Hegemony", pp. 309.

dominated discipline. The definitions were drawn from IR academics, thus the definitions themselves emerged internally. Furthermore, the means in which the US has been claimed to exercise its hegemonic position largely focuses around the ways in which this dominant position affects the behaviours of IR academics. Accounts of the US's disciplinary dominant position are explained through how the US can command emulation from non-American scholars to adhere to the desired substantive, theoretical, methodological etc agenda. Resultantly the different forms of dominance that this thesis addresses are mainly disciplinary internal rather than looking at external factors such as the role of American funding bodies (for instance the RAND Corporation), certain American institutions (for instance the Carnegie Council for Ethics, and the Brookings Institution), and the relationship that IR has to other academic disciplines such as Political Science or Law.

Each of these 'external factors' clearly has an impact on the global discipline of IR, the way the discipline has emerged in certain geographical locations, and therefore whether it can be described with accuracy as 'an American dominated discipline'. For instance investigating the role of American philanthropic foundations Inderjeet Parmar concluded "It is clear that American foundations consciously have helped to construct US intellectual hegemony after 1945".⁸⁰ The vast financial resources allocated by foundations such as the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation have been crucial, from Parmar's point of view, in supplying American IR with resources, thereby facilitating the continued high levels of research that aids the US in maintaining its position as allegedly the largest and most dynamic IR community.

Furthermore, institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, according to Nicolas Guilhot and Parmar, have used their abundant resources to develop international knowledge networks, which serve to entrench American disciplinary dominance of IR through cultivating American friendly research abroad "through the fostering of pro-US modernizing elites".⁸¹ Once these relationships have been established the foundations then use their vast financial resources to demarcate what questions are worth asking, how these questions should be answered, the methodologies and theories to be adopted and finally which academics and institutions should be supported to carry out the research.⁸² Arguably not only do the foundations export and entrench the 'American brand of IR' abroad they also play a crucial role in generating a hierarchical intellectual infrastructure outside of the US. For example, through funding and creating other institutions in certain countries the foundations have thereby publicly given their support to research produced by those universities. Through giving status to certain universities and

⁸⁰ Inderjeet Parmar "American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks" *Global Networks* 2 (1) (December 2002), pp. 13. For more see Nicolas Guilhot "The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of International Relations Theory" *International Political Sociology* 2 (4) (2008), pp. 281-304 and James Cotton "Rockefeller, Carnegie and the Limits of American Hegemony in the Emergence of Australian International Studies" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 12 (1) (2012), pp. 161-192.

⁸¹ Parmar "American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks", pp. 14.

⁸² Nicolas Guilhot "Introduction: One Discipline Many Histories" in Guilhot, N. (ed) *The Invention of International Relations Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 1-32.

deeming the research they produce as ‘credible social science’ the nature of academia encourages and persuades academics to join these institutions, emulate the trends produced, and disseminate the knowledge generated.⁸³ All of which apparently reaffirms cements the purported American dominance of IR, as the scholarship being produced is decidedly American friendly and adhering to the agenda as set and defined by American institutions.

Certain external relationships and external agents will be reflected upon and encountered throughout the course of this thesis (especially in relation to certain American institutions such as the RAND Corporation and Thomson Reuters). However, the focus will largely remain on a series of internal dynamics due to the way IR scholars have focused on these dynamics in order to explain/prove/lament the alleged American dominance in IR. The thesis is centered on assessing the claims of IR academics and the disciplinary self-images that have been generated, and reproduced by scholars. The results of the journal investigation, conference analysis, and in-depth interviews with a number of journal editors do not provide much support for the continued use of Stanley Hoffmann’s disciplinary characterization by IR scholars. Because describing IR as an American dominated discipline, with dominance defined in general terms, presents a misleading image that overlooks the plural environment and a number of other forces and dynamics in operation.

The data presented throughout this thesis rather than working as a concrete foundation to bolster the internal arguments professing IR’s status as a US dominated discipline, instead challenges some rather entrenched disciplinary notions especially in regards to the ones surrounding the theoretical and methodological disciplinary tendencies. This thesis aims to show the numerous complex relations in operation in the global discipline and how referring to IR as an American discipline without prefixing discussions with the specific means of dominance serves to perpetuate a number of disciplinary myths. After extensive examination we currently find ourselves in a disciplinary milieu in which the United States is not as dominant as many have been lead to believe, and further the consequences of this form of dominance are nowhere near as disciplinary damaging as many have feared. Despite the empirical actuality that the results present the notion that IR is an American discipline is deeply ingrained, leading those in the field to behave as though the discipline was an American enterprise. The consequences of which have been to reproduce certain images and treat non-American IR scholarship in a somewhat exclusionary manner.⁸⁴ Acting under the auspices of American disciplinary dominance certain scholars have a created a ‘virtual reality’,⁸⁵ and in some ways IR is as much an American discipline as those in the field believe it to be. As Steve Smith noted “We construct, and

⁸³ For more see Whitley *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*:

⁸⁴ Bilgin, “Thinking Past ‘Western’ IR?”, pp. 5-23.

⁸⁵ The term ‘virtual reality’ is used to denote and capture that which has been awarded the status of ‘real’ and is treated as the ‘reality’, yet this state of affairs is the product of a narrative. It is a social construction that differs from the empirical reality. My use and understanding of this concept is based on the work of Jean Baudrillard, for more see Jean Baudrillard *The Perfect Crime* (London: Verso, 2008), pp. 29-32; 65-71 and Jean Baudrillard *The Spirit of Terrorism and Other Essays* (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 27-30; 38.

reconstruct, our disciplines just as much as we construct and reconstruct our world”.⁸⁶ The concluding chapter will explore the implications of this ‘virtual reality’ and how the actual differs from the consensus and self-image held in the discipline.

Overall, the image of the discipline presented throughout the course of this thesis challenges a number of popular and ingrained internal notions about IR. Furthermore, this thesis aims to show just how prevailing the idea is that IR is dominated by the United States within the discipline, and how this self-image does not capture the actual complexities and dynamics occurring in the field. However, through disaggregating the term dominance we can begin to illustrate these different dynamics in order to refine the claims made about the global discipline of IR and its relationship with the United States.

⁸⁶ Steve Smith “Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11” *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (3) (2004), pp. 510.

2.

American Dominance as Agenda Setting?

Steven Lukes' radical conception of power claims that a dominant actor is able to determine what is taken to be true and false and thereby generate a dominant set of ideals.⁸⁷ The hegemonic power then convinces other actors, through social relations and structures,⁸⁸ to alter their interests or actions, and follow the desired agenda.⁸⁹ This structural operation of power shapes the interests of actors to suit the dominant actors interests and therefore ensures the existing order remains the same.⁹⁰ In the discipline of International Relations America's hegemonic position in the international system has apparently enabled it to set the intellectual agenda.⁹¹ Defining dominance as an actor's agenda setting ability Stanley Hoffmann argued that IR was an American dominated discipline because American interests not only determined the scope and nature of the discipline, but also engendered academics around the world to adhere to this agenda and focus their research accordingly.⁹²

In the United States the discipline of IR developed with a very close link between the policy world in Washington and IR Scholars.⁹³ Policy makers, according to Neil Richardson, desperately sought the aid of academics to help understand and guide US foreign policy in the early years of the Cold War. The distinction between the 'two worlds' of 'foreign policy making' and 'IR academics' was a matter of degree according to William Wallace during the Cold War,⁹⁴ and the outcome of this close relationship was that IR was focused around being policy relevant.⁹⁵ Furthermore, certain foundations funded key conferences and research projects, which also ensured that IR academics were addressing the issues that American policy elites felt

⁸⁷ Steven Lukes *Power: A Radical View* (Houndmills: Macmillan Education, 1975), pp. 24.

⁸⁸ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall "Power in International Politics" *International Organization* 59 (1) (2005), pp. 53.

⁸⁹ Peter Digeser "The Fourth Face of Power" *The Journal of Politics* 54 (4) (1992), pp. 979.

⁹⁰ Lukes *Power*, pp. 24. Also see Robert Cox "Social Forces, States and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory" *Millennium* 10 (2) (1981), pp. 126-155.

⁹¹ Steve Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline" *International Studies Review* 4 (2), pp. 67-85.

⁹² Ekkehart Krippendorff "The Dominance of American Approaches in International Relations" *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 207.

⁹³ Stanley Hoffmann "An American Social Science: International Relations" *Daedalus* 106 (3) (1977), pp. 47.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁹⁵ William Wallace "Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats: Theory Practice and in International Relations" *Review of International Studies* 22 (3) (1996), pp. 302.

⁹⁶ Christopher Hill "Academic International Relations: The Siren Song of Policy Relevance" in Hill, C. and Beshoff, P. (eds) *Two World of International Relations: Academics, Practitioners and the Trade in Ideas* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 3.

were the most pressing.⁹⁶ The policy-oriented nature of IR research meant that the subject matter of the discipline became synonymous with the wants and concerns of American foreign policy elites.⁹⁷ This state of affairs apparently continues unabated today. The dominant power that is America, according to Steve Smith, exercises its dominance through influencing the behaviour of IR academics globally to make the focus of their research coterminous with the American agenda.⁹⁸ As a result, its alleged 'American outlook' defines the discipline as the subject is dominated by US foreign policy concerns.⁹⁹

The aim of this chapter is to explore the claims of dominance defined as the ability to set the intellectual agenda in the contemporary literature in greater depth and then to examine their validity in light of the results produced from the journal and conference investigations. Firstly, this chapter will address the current claims of dominance defined as agenda setting and look at the alleged implications before investigating the present American Agenda. In order to see if the content of the present-day field (as expressed through publications in a number of journals and material presented at certain conferences) is adhering to the US agenda one must ascertain what it means to comply with the issue areas of concern detailed by the US administration. Therefore after analyzing the arguments of American dominance the 'American agenda' will be detailed followed by the results of the journal and conference investigation. In doing so one finds it difficult to support the claims featured at the beginning of this chapter. The majority of articles and panels examined did not focus on items of concern to America; rather academic attention was placed elsewhere. The ontological pluralism exhibited by the discipline illustrates how contemporary academics are largely not being influenced by American policy elites. Whilst America is still the hegemonic power in the international system it has not been able to exercise its dominance in terms of agenda setting, as the discipline of IR is exercising its critical distance and separation from what Hoffmann termed the 'kitchens of power'.¹⁰⁰

"Hegemonic Country: Hegemonic Discipline"¹⁰¹.

In 1987 Ekkehart Krippendorff argued that the dominance of a particular state in the international system was affecting the subject matter of IR.¹⁰² According to Krippendorff the

⁹⁶ Joseph Legold "Is Anyone Listening? International Relations Theory and the Problem of Policy Relevance" *Political Science Quarterly* 113 (1) (1998), pp. 46.

⁹⁷ P. M. E. Volten "Theory of International Relations in Europe: A Social Science Stillborn or Still Born and Raised in America?" Paper presented for the *Standing Group of International Relations* conference, The Hague, September 2000, pp. 1. Also see James L. Richardson "The Academic Study of International Relations" in Miller, J. D. B. and Vincent, R. J. (eds) *Order and Violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 150.

⁹⁸ Steve Smith "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (3) (2000), pp. 394.

⁹⁹ Fred Halliday "The Pertinence of International Relations" *Political Studies* 38 (3) (1990), pp. 304.

¹⁰⁰ Hoffmann, "An American Social Science", pp. 49.

¹⁰¹ Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations", pp. 67-85.

discipline of IR has been modeled on the world mission of the US due to its frightening accumulation of power.¹⁰³ Similarly, Steve Smith¹⁰⁴ and Richard Little¹⁰⁵ recently claimed that the United States has capitalized on its power primacy throughout the twentieth century to align the focus of IR with its foreign policy concerns. America's power has apparently been exercised through its "exceptional influence over developments in IR across the globe".¹⁰⁶ By directing the attention of IR scholars and thereby implicitly defining what *is* international relations the discipline is apparently an American dominated one. The unaltered structure of the discipline arguably reproduces this ontological frame, thereby duplicating the American-centric focus of IR. In other words, America's hegemonic hold on the discipline of IR is arguably a structural reality, and one that is constantly being embedded as academics continue to research items that are deemed to be of concerns to the US.¹⁰⁷ Resultantly, according to Steve Smith, the discipline of IR views the world through 'American lenses'.¹⁰⁸

America's agenda setting power (if actualized) potentially has destructive ontological consequences for the discipline. If a disciplinary reality, this form of American dominance would generate a very narrow definition of international relations and therefore what counts as the acceptable subject matter of IR. If academics are adhering to the US intellectual agenda (as constructed by American foreign policy elites, corporations, think tanks, research centers etc) then the discipline is operating with a limited understanding of world politics, due to the fact academics are explaining and seeking to understand a small range of actors and events from an American centric perspective. The American IR mainstream is then able to criticize and marginalize work that addresses issues outside of the discipline's predefined ontological scope, thereby embedding America's dominant disciplinary position. For example, Smith argues "those approaches that do not treat inter-state war as the core problem to be explained by the discipline run the risk of their work being deemed 'irrelevant' or 'not IR'".¹⁰⁹ Research that attempts to address issues beyond the narrow purview of American foreign policy concerns is, according to Smith, delegitimized as it is declared as not 'doing IR' and subsequently placed at the margins of the field, and "in a defensive position with regards to their fit within the discipline".¹¹⁰ In order to prevent the marginalization of their work, scholars are then coerced into subscribing to the American conception of the discipline,¹¹¹ the outcome of which further embeds America's

¹⁰² Krippendorff "The Dominance of American Approaches in International Relations", pp. 207-215.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 213.

¹⁰⁴ Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations", pp. 67-85.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Little "Series Editor Preface" in Friedrichs, J. *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2004), pp. ix.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹⁰⁷ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 394.

¹⁰⁸ Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations", pp. 68.

¹⁰⁹ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 378.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹¹¹ Stephen Gill and David Law "Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital" *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (4) (1989), pp. 475-499.

disciplinary stronghold and ensures that the realm of international politics is continuously seen through an American ontological perspective.¹¹²

America's professed ability to set the intellectual agenda also has another ontological implication; through marginalizing certain strands of IR scholarship the discipline is critiqued with overlooking particular forms of international inequalities and being blind to certain international realities.¹¹³ According Mustapha Pasha and Craig Murphy "inequality disappears in the face of power".¹¹⁴ The American dominated discipline apparently "sees a very specific world to study",¹¹⁵ it sees political and military inequalities, but fails to consider other forms of inequality as relevant to IR, such concerns do not fit the ontological scope of IR as defined by US elites.¹¹⁶ In other words gender and racial inequalities, questions of culture and migration, issues relating to the environment and human rights are seen as not belonging to the core of the discipline.¹¹⁷ The logical implication of such arguments is that certain international realities and concerns are denied ontological status and declared as something external to the realm of IR. In essence such forms of inequalities etc are deprived the status of relevant objects of study.¹¹⁸ If the alleged American dominance has such ontological consequences this situation is not only detrimental to the discipline, but also to international politics thereby having very real human and political consequences.¹¹⁹ This is because attention potentially is being directed away from these issues and placed elsewhere; the status quo is upheld which dangerously denies any chance or possibility for emancipating and improving the lives of many.¹²⁰

Moreover, the aforementioned analyses themselves have important ramifications and implications; firstly, by arguing that IR is an American discipline because the United States is the hegemonic power in the international system, which has resulted in it setting the intellectual agenda to which academics must subscribe, means there is arguably little we can do to reverse the situation. According to Knud Erik Jørgensen "If the relationship between power and discipline is a close and unidirectional as these observations suggest [referring to the work of

¹¹² For more see Gerald Chan *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations: A Framework for Analysis* (New York: St Martins Press, 1999), pp. 180.

¹¹³ Stephanie Neuman "International Relations Theory and the Third World: An Oxymoron?" in Neuman, S. G. (ed) *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (New York: St Martins Press, 1998), pp. 1-30.

¹¹⁴ Mustapha K. Pasha and Craig N. Murphy "Knowledge/Power/Inequality" in Pasha, M. K. and Murphy, C. N. (eds) *International Relations and the New Inequality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), pp. 1.

¹¹⁵ Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations", pp. 68-69.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 82.

¹¹⁸ Steve Smith "Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11" *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (3) (2004), pp. 499-515.

¹¹⁹ Brooke Ackery and Jacqui True "Reflexivity in Practice: Power and Ethics in Feminist Research on International Relations" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 693-707.

¹²⁰ Caroline Thomas and Peter Wilkin "Still Waiting After All These Years: 'The Third World' on the Periphery of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6 (2) (2004), pp. 241-258.

Steve Smith], it is easy to predict a continued US intellectual hegemony, perhaps even empire".¹²¹ If accounts such as Hoffmann and Smith's are correct the discipline looks set to continue to be dictated by American foreign policy elites until 1) the international system undergoes a shift in power distribution or 2) academics themselves become aware of the influence being exercised upon them and resist the coercive efforts.¹²² Out of the two options, the latter seems much more probable and even possible.

Overall, there are clear dangers ('real world' and disciplinary) associated with an American foreign policy-focused discipline of IR. If the United States is found to be dominating the field in an agenda setting manner then the situation needs problematising and remedying in order to prevent the suspected continued marginalization of certain works, and more worryingly the ignorance to inequalities and the plight of many millions of people. With so much at stake it is important to discover whether such claims of American agenda setting do indeed capture the current disciplinary reality.

The American Agenda.

The structured expression that is foreign policy is where the American administration puts forth its views, policies, and practices thereby defining what are the important objects of focus and in need of attention in the international realm. What makes it on to the administration's foreign policy represents what issues are deemed to be of interest and concern to US and therefore which issues are most in need of international scholarly attention. If America is able to exercise its dominance in the discipline of IR through its agenda setting power we would expect to see an overwhelming presence of articles and panels concerning themselves with issues that are deemed to be of concern to American foreign policy elites.

The official foreign policy documents that emerge from an American administration represent the convergence of a myriad of interests, and perspectives. It is the result of various bargaining, exchanges and debates between governmental actors, government agencies (in particular the intelligence agencies), elite individuals, interest groups, think tanks, research councils, various funding bodies, and certain ideological segments within a government (for example Conservative-Realists, Liberal Wilsonians, or Isolationists).¹²³ Looking at the official discourse and academic accounts of recent American foreign policy provides a means of succinctly capturing the different agendas of certain actors in operation in order to ascertain *the* overriding American foreign policy agenda.

¹²¹ Knud Erik Jørgensen "Towards a Six-Continents Social Science: International Relations" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 6 (4) (2003), pp. 331.

¹²² Robert Cox "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method" in Amoore, L. (ed) *The Global Resistance Reader* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 40.

¹²³ Michael Foley "The Foreign Policy Process: Executive, Congress, Intelligence" in Cox, M. and Stokes, D. (eds) *US Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 107-128.

Addressing who influences American foreign policy certain analyses for instance see the work of Ronald Rogowski¹²⁴, Helen Milner¹²⁵, and Jeffrey Winters¹²⁶, have singled out big business corporations as the actors exerting a particular influence on US foreign policy because of “their effects on the economy and their capacity to prompt voters to punish the incumbent political party”.¹²⁷ However, recent research on ‘epistemic communities’ has indicated that due to the growing complexity of the international system and the uncertainty of global problems, policy makers have begun to turn to “networks of knowledge-based experts”¹²⁸ or in other words academics and think tanks. According to Peter Haas the “epistemic community members’ professional training, prestige and reputation for expertise...accord them access to the political system and ... influence over policy debates”¹²⁹ through their agenda setting capabilities and their ability to formulate policy alternatives. A recent empirical analysis conducted by Lawrence Jacobs and Benjamin Page revealed that American foreign policy is actually “most heavily and consistently influenced by business leaders, followed by experts”¹³⁰ as opposed to other actors such as particular lobbyist groups or even public opinion.

Therefore, after detailing the ‘official ‘ account, the American agenda will be complemented and bolstered by a brief review of the Rockefeller Foundation and three American think tanks (the Project for the New American Century, Council on Foreign Relations, and the RAND Corporation) in order to show the correlation between their agendas and US foreign policy. The links between these bodies and US foreign policy will be examined to capture the mutually constitutive relationship that aids the construction of the American foreign policy agenda. Investigating the relationship between these actors and their own agendas will provide a more thorough insight into what is argued to be the most pressing issues that should be focused on by academics and researchers in the realm of international politics.

As previously mentioned, the construction and adherence to the American agenda was clearly seen during the Cold War era, especially throughout the period that has been termed the ‘first Cold War’. It was during this timeframe that Hoffmann claimed that IR was an American dominated discipline, because he argued that the discipline had adopted the American agenda, as the field was primarily orientated around the superpower struggle - meaning that other issues were marginalized and not deemed to be IR. For example, Hoffmann argued:

¹²⁴ Ronald Rogowski *Commerce and Coalitions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

¹²⁵ Helen Milner *Interests, Institutions and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹²⁶ Jeffrey Winters *A Power in Motion* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996).

¹²⁷ Lawrence R. Jacobs and Benjamin I. Page “Who Influences US Foreign Policy?” *American Political Science Review* 99 (1) (2005), pp. 108.

¹²⁸ Peter Haas “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination” *International Organization* 46 (1) (1992), pp. 12.

¹²⁹ Haas, “Introduction”, pp. 2-3. Also see Emmanuel Adler and Peter Haas “Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program” *International Organization* 46 (1) (1992), pp. 367-390.

¹³⁰ Jacobs and Page “Who Influences US Foreign Policy?”, pp. 107.

“Almost inevitably, a concern for America’s conduct in the world blended with a study of international relations, for the whole world seemed to be the stake of the American-Soviet confrontation . . . To study United States foreign policy was to study the international system. To study the international system could not fail to bring one back to the role of the United States”.¹³¹

Similarly Steve Smith in his article ‘Paradigm Dominance in International Relations’ noted that the discipline during this period was solely concerned with the Cold War.¹³² Following the ‘first Cold War’ the discipline, according to Fred Halliday,¹³³ has continued to map itself against the concerns of America; from the Cold War, to a focus on International Political Economy in the 1970s, back to the Cold War during the 1980s, with a supposed current preoccupation with ‘terrorism’. This alleged chronological convergence is driven by the needs of American policy-makers and elites.¹³⁴

The question that now needs answering is: what is the recent/present American agenda? What issues have been given top priority and what should academics, according to the US administration, funding bodies and think tanks be focusing on? And crucially, is the content of the articles and panels being explored replicating the agenda by focusing on the issues of concern, thereby demonstrating the exercise of American dominance? The total period under analysis here, 1999-2011¹³⁵, has housed three different presidents and this time frame has also been variously described as a tumultuous age in which the world has allegedly changed, or has undergone a substantial shift,¹³⁶ so much so that we are now, according to some, in a new era of geopolitics or international relations.¹³⁷ ‘Change’ or rather disruptions to the ‘norm’ or fabric of the international have been emphasized as the defining feature of this period; as Colin Wight notes “Change seems to be the leitmotif of the new millennium, although this undoubtedly also will be susceptible to change”.¹³⁸ Therefore we would then expect to see dramatic shifts and turns in the American agenda to reflect the various exogenous changes and the differing identities and interests of each president. However, ‘change’ can only be understood in relation to continuity. If the American agenda has altered these changes can only be understood in relation to what has not changed. What ‘stays the same’; is just as telling and constitutive of the social realm as change. Indeed what undergoes metamorphosis – in this case the American agenda – can only ever be a partial change because “there is still a residue of the old such that we

¹³¹ Hoffmann, “An American Social Science”, pp. 47.

¹³² Smith, “Paradigm Dominance in International Relations”, pp. 189-206.

¹³³ Halliday, “The Pertinence of International Relations”, pp. 510.

¹³⁴ Hoffmann, “An American Social Science”, pp. 47.

¹³⁵ My journal investigation examines the content of 12 international IR journals from 1999-2009 whereas the conference investigation looks at the content of 4 different associations conferences over the period from 2004-2011, hence the total period under review is 1999-2011.

¹³⁶ Robert Jervis “An Interim Assessment of September 11: What Has Changed and What Has Not” *Political Science Quarterly* 117 (1) (2002), pp. 37-54.

¹³⁷ For example see the collection of essays focusing on the world after 9/11 edited by Ken Booth and Tim Dunne (eds) *Worlds in Collision* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) and Fred Halliday “International Relations in a Post-Hegemonic Age” *International Affairs* 85 (1) (2009), pp. 37-51.

¹³⁸ Colin Wight “The Continuity of Change, or a Change in Continuity?” *International Studies Review* 3 (1) (2001), pp. 81.

can identify a change from ‘this’ into ‘that’. In this sense, continuity is what makes change possible”.¹³⁹

This relational understanding of continuity and change, and how change is not possible without continuity, has led me to argue that there has been more ‘continuity’ in the American foreign policy agenda than is commonly perceived.¹⁴⁰ The ‘changes’ have been over emphasized and highlighted in such a manner that the continuities, which are integral to any perceived changes, are overlooked. Stephen Walt argued that the basic foreign policy of the US was unaffected following 9/11¹⁴¹; I argue that this claim can be extended to cover the 12 years under-review for there is a remarkable amount of similarity between the foreign policies of Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. In other words, the American agenda has remained rather constant, however, “What has changed, of course, is the priority attached to these different goals”.¹⁴²

All three presidents focus on the threat of terrorism, nuclear weapons and ‘rogue states’. In the various policy statements published between 1999-2011 these three issues appear repeatedly and are each denoted as key areas of concern for America.¹⁴³ The differences find themselves in the ordering, strategies and whether other items share the foreign policy agenda. Although the underlying rationales have shifted, the general orientation and aims of the American agenda in this period has not.¹⁴⁴ The next section will clearly elucidate the agenda of each president, drawing on the continuities and any fundamental differences that emerge out of the continuity. Any big conceptual changes will be highlighted in the American agenda in order to see whether these ‘changes’ come though in the journal and conference content. The following section will then examine the agendas of certain funding bodies and think tanks to map out their impact on the official foreign policy discourse. Rather than review all the myriad of corporations and think tanks individually, the integral role played by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Project for the New American Century, the Council of Foreign Relations and the RAND Corporation will be unpacked in order to highlight a section of the other agendas in operation that gave rise to and shaped of the official discourse. Overall it will be made very clear what it means for an article or

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82.

¹⁴⁰ For examples of the continuity in American foreign policy see David Campbell “Global Inscription: How Foreign Policy Constitutes the United States” *Alternatives* 15 (3) (1990), pp. 283-286 and Henry Nau *At Home Abroad: Identity and Power on American Foreign Policy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002).

¹⁴¹ Stephen M. Walt “Beyond Bin Laden: Reshaping U.S. Foreign Policy” *International Security* 26 (3) (2001/2002), pp. 56-78.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 64.

¹⁴³ For example see *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age* (2000) Washington, DC: The White House, pp. 1-84. www.bits.de/NRANEU/others/strategy/nss-0012.pdf (Accessed on the 09/09/12); *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (2002). Washington, DC: The White House, pp. 1-35. www.state.gov/documents/organization/63562.pdf (Accessed on the 09/09/12) and *Overview of the United States of America's National Security Strategy 2009* (2009). Washington, DC: The White House Press, pp. 1-427. https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/bitstream/handle/1773/4635/TF_SIS495E_2009.pdf?sequence=1 (Accessed on the 09/09/12).

¹⁴⁴ Robert Kagan “End of Dreams, Return of History” in Leffler, M. and Legro, J. (eds) *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 37.

panel to be classified as adhering to the American agenda throughout this time frame. The twelve years under examination will firstly be broken up into three sections, one for each president, to map out the continuities and changes in American foreign policy. Then the agendas of 1) the Rockefeller Foundation and 2) think tanks will be individually examined and the constitutive relationships explored as to further provide a detailed and nuanced account of the American agenda during this period in order to see whether it is indeed being followed by IR scholars throughout the world.

By arguing that there is a notable degree of stability with the American agenda is not to negate that the decade under review did witness a number of 'events' or occurrences that were deemed as significant, and as such shaped the nature of international politics and framed new discussions in International Relations.¹⁴⁵ The importance or assigned significance of exogenous factors is not being overlooked here, but rather the aim is to avoid conflating external events with the supposed adherence to the American agenda. For example, articles or panels discussing the events of September the 11th, or the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq should not be immediately viewed as conforming to the intellectual agenda constructed by the United States, and thus American disciplinary preponderance. These events have also been given significance by those outside of America; they are also the concerns of other governments and populations due to the perceived change in the nature of security threats. Mentioning objects or events of American concern does not warrant an example of American agenda adherence. The perspective and tone of articles and panels was taken into account, signifying words were looked for, as well as examples of critique or articles questioning the American agenda and America's international conduct.¹⁴⁶

The Clinton Administration's Foreign Policy.

Bill Clinton's strategic priorities for his government's foreign policies were laid out in the 1999 *National Security Strategy for a New Century*. The document stated that the foreign policy of the United States aimed to:

“construct new cooperative security arrangements and build peace, contain weapons of mass destruction, fight terrorism and international crime, rid the world of ethnic cleansing and genocide, build a truly global economy, and promote democratic values and economic reform . . . to strengthen international arms

¹⁴⁵ See for example Tim Dunne “Society and Hierarchy in International Relations” *International Relations* 17 (3) (2003), pp. 303-320 and Mat Coleman “The Naming of ‘Terrorism’ and Evil ‘Outlaws’: Geopolitical Place-Making After 11 September” *Geopolitics* 8 (3) (2003), pp. 87-104.

¹⁴⁶ For more on my understanding of critical discourse analysis and the standpoint that is underlying my thesis see footnote 68 in the Introductory chapter and for a more in depth account see Jonathan Joseph and John Michael Roberts (eds) *Realism Discourse and Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 2004).

control and non-proliferation regimes; to protect the environment and the health of our citizens".¹⁴⁷

Looking at this policy statement the key items of concern were; deterring terrorism, preventing the proliferation of dangerous weapons, promoting democracy and human rights, to open markets and create economic prosperity and to protect the environment.¹⁴⁸ These concerns were also echoed in the 2000 National Security Strategy (NSS). Furthermore the 2000 NSS detailed the administration's 'Engagement Strategy'. This initiative comprised three elements: 1) Enhancing security at home and abroad, embodying the administration's responses and policies towards terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and 'outlaw nations'; 2) Promoting economic prosperity and 3) Promoting democracy and human rights.¹⁴⁹ These three aims encapsulate the core of Clinton's foreign policy and his administration's commitment to promoting the Liberal World Order through neo-liberal economics, democratic institutions and multilateralism.¹⁵⁰

The rationale underpinning the administration determined why certain items made the agenda and were warranted to be of international attention, scholarly and otherwise. The Clinton administration has been characterized as 'Liberal',¹⁵¹ 'Liberal Internationalist'¹⁵² or even 'Wilsonian'.¹⁵³ Whilst the label may change from author to author a liberal vision for securing peace and stability in the international system framed and guided the Clinton administration's foreign policy.¹⁵⁴ Consequently policies such as nation building, democracy promotion, and economic liberalization featured prominently. Clinton's preferred means of achieving these goals also reflect the liberal basis of his agenda; he argued, "The new century demands new partnerships for peace and security. The United Nations plays a crucial role, with allies sharing burdens that America might otherwise bear alone".¹⁵⁵ Working multilaterally with other nations,

¹⁴⁷ *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* (Washington, DC: The White House, 1999), pp. 49. www.hsdl.org/?view&did=2959 (Accessed on 09/09/12)

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. iii. For more on Clinton's foreign policy also see John Dumbrell "Was There a Clinton Doctrine? President Clinton's Foreign Policy Reconsidered" *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 13 (2) (2002), pp. 43-56 and Stephen M. Walt "Two Cheers for Clinton's Foreign Policy" *Foreign Affairs* 79 (2) (2000), pp. 63-79.

¹⁴⁹ *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age*.

¹⁵⁰ Roland Paris "Peace-building and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism" *International Security* 22 (2) (1997), pp. 60-61.

¹⁵¹ G. John Ikenberry "America's Imperial Ambition" *Foreign Affairs* 81 (5) (2002), pp. 47.

¹⁵² Nau, *At Home Abroad*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵³ Thomas J. Knock "Playing for a Hundred Years Hence: Woodrow Wilson's Internationalism and His Would-Be Heirs" in Ikenberry, G. J., Knock, T. J., Slaughter, A. M. and Smith, T. (eds) *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 50.

¹⁵⁴ John Dumbrell *Clinton's Foreign Policy Between Bushes, 1992-2000* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 5.

¹⁵⁵ William Jefferson Clinton "State of Union Address" 19th January 1999. Full text available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/states/docs/sou99.htm> (Accessed on 25/09/12)/

organizations and institutions were the cornerstones of realizing his foreign policy aims and exercising America's role as the 'global leader'.¹⁵⁶

The current institutional order and alliance system that the US fostered following World War II works to secure America's interests and its preponderant power position.¹⁵⁷ Although Clinton's foreign policy may have been presented as 'benign'¹⁵⁸ with America as the 'benevolent hegemon'¹⁵⁹ it is key to remember that the current Liberal World Order benefits the US.¹⁶⁰ It allows it to exercise its superpower status, albeit in a manner that appears relatively 'harmless' or 'indispensable'¹⁶¹ for the prosperity and security of international order and other states. For instance G. John Ikenberry stated America

"dominates world politics by providing the language, ideas, and institutional frameworks around which much of the world turns. The extended institutional connections that link the United States to other regions of the world provide a sort of primitive governance system. The United States is a central hub through which the world's important military, political, economic, scientific and cultural connections pass".¹⁶²

Despite the rhetoric Clinton's top priority was to preserve and maintain America's hegemonic position and role as the global policeman.¹⁶³ The adopted role of the 'world's sheriff'¹⁶⁴ led the Clinton administration to pay particular attention to specific regions. Clinton argued that America should be 'peacemakers' where possible,¹⁶⁵ which culminated in the Clinton administration becoming deeply diplomatically involved in the Middle East peace process, and

¹⁵⁶ G. John Ikenberry "Is American Multilateralism in Decline?" *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3) (2003), pp. 543. Also see John G. Ruggie "Third Try at World Order? America and Multilateralism After the Cold War" *Political Science Quarterly* 109 (4) (1994), pp. 553-570.

¹⁵⁷ G. John Ikenberry "Illusions of Empire: Defining the New American Order" *Foreign Affairs* 83 (2) (2004), pp. 145.

¹⁵⁸ G. John Ikenberry repeatedly throughout this period characterized America as a benign hegemon. For more see G. John Ikenberry "American Hegemony and East Asian Order" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 58 (3) (2004), pp. 353-367, and Samuel P. Huntington "The Lonely Superpower" *Foreign Affairs* 78 (2) (1999), pp. 35-49.

¹⁵⁹ Robert Kagan "The Benevolent Empire" *Foreign Policy* 111 (Summer) 1998, pp. 24-35.

¹⁶⁰ G. John Ikenberry "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemma of Liberal World Order" *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (1) (2009), pp. 71-87.

¹⁶¹ The term 'the indispensable nation' was coined by Clinton and expressed in a White House Speech on the 5th of December 1996, and was famously echoed by his Secretary of State Madeline K. Albright at that time. See "Remarks by the President in Announcement of New Cabinet Offices" *White House Press Release*, 5th December 1996. Available at <http://www.hri.org/usa/usia/96-12index.usia.html>

¹⁶² G. John Ikenberry "American Power and the Empire of Capitalist Democracy" *Review of International Studies* 27 (5) (2001), pp. 192.

¹⁶³ Eugene Carrol Jr "Should the U.S. be the World's Policeman?" *Peace Review* 8 (4) (1996), pp. 477-483.

¹⁶⁴ Charles William Maynes "The Perils of (and for) an Imperial America" *Foreign Policy* 111 (Summer) (1998), pp. 36-48.

¹⁶⁵ Douglas Brinkley "Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine" *Foreign Policy* 106 (Spring) (1997), pp. 108.

“building peace in Northern Ireland”¹⁶⁶ amongst other efforts such as “working for peace in East Timor and Africa; promoting reconciliation between Greece and Turkey and in Cyprus; working to defuse these crises between India and Pakistan”.¹⁶⁷ Acting in such capacity enabled the US to cement its ‘special superpower status’ and capitalize on the institutional framework it created, a framework that not only maintains the status quo (benefitting the US), but also attempts to frame America’s rule in positive terms.

Whilst Clinton’s liberal foreign policy placed issues such as the environment, human rights, and nation building firmly on the agenda, Clinton was still primarily occupied with potential security threats to the US. These threats consisted of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and rogue states.¹⁶⁸ These three concerns feature consistently throughout his foreign policy¹⁶⁹ and occupy a vast degree of attention. For example in his 1999 State of Union address Clinton stated “As we work for peace, we must also meet threats to our nation’s security, including increased dangers from outlaw nations and terrorism . . . We must increase our efforts to restrain the spread of nuclear weapons and missiles”.¹⁷⁰ The top agenda items for the Clinton administration were American primacy and security, thus protecting America’s national interests. The primary objective was to protect the United States and it’s role as the world’s (reluctant) sheriff,¹⁷¹ thereby maintaining the status quo ensuring America continues to reap the benefits of being the sole superpower. Clinton viewed the key threats to America as terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and ‘outlaw nations’. These constituted *the* items of concern, whereas strategies of nation-building and diplomacy represented the key *means* of ensuring America’s continued hegemony. Clinton’s liberal ideology meant that the policies put in place to achieve its central objective (protecting America against certain threats defined as terrorism, WMDs and ‘rogue’ states) centered on initiatives facilitating cooperation, economic prosperity and democracy promotion. However, both the means and the objectives were framed in a manner that presented them as the best way of securing peace and stability not just for America but for the international system as a whole.¹⁷²

The Bush Administration’s Foreign Policy.

¹⁶⁶ William Jefferson Clinton “State of Union Address” 27th January 2000. Full transcript available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=58708> (Accessed 25/09/12).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age*, pp. ii.

¹⁶⁹ This is witnessed by looking at Clinton’s various NSS and his other public addresses.

¹⁷⁰ Clinton “State of Union Address”, 1999.

¹⁷¹ Richard N. Haass *The Reluctant Sheriff: The United States After the Cold War* (New York: Brookings Institute Press, 1997).

¹⁷² Michael Mandelbaum “Foreign Policy as Social Work” *Foreign Affairs* 75 (1) (1996), pp. 19. Also see Madeline K. Albright “The Testing of American Foreign Policy” *Foreign Affairs* 77 (6) (1998), pp. 50-64.

During 2000 George W. Bush campaigned for office with a foreign policy that claimed to be a complete contrast to Clinton's.¹⁷³ Bush campaigned for office seeking a return to a realist philosophy, a return to what he termed as the traditional agenda. Bush was henceforth characterized as a conservative candidate,¹⁷⁴ as he placed emphasis on pursuing the national interest and focusing on great power relations.¹⁷⁵ Bush's national security advisor and soon to be Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice argued for a move away from 'nation building' and 'peace-making' activities to focus on what mattered; power. Bush and Rice argued that their foreign policy would "proceed from the firm ground of the national interest, not from the interest of an illusory international community"¹⁷⁶ and furthermore America's troops would be used to fight and win wars, not help build nations.¹⁷⁷ Once in office according to Ikenberry, Bush realized his realist potential; "in the hands of the Bush administration, America was to become a conservative Leviathan. That is, the Bush architects of grand strategy bought a conservative discourse about order to the unipolar moment rather than the traditional liberal discourse".¹⁷⁸

The differences between Bush and Clinton in a certain sense have been exaggerated. Although they operated with different strategies, their primary objective was the same: American security and primacy, with the continuation of America's sole superpower status.¹⁷⁹ The similarities were illustrated by Bush's key foreign policy priorities: US relations with China and Russia and discouraging security and economic competition with both,¹⁸⁰ projecting American power and self-defense, dealing with 'rogue regimes and hostile powers', to promote economic growth and to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Terrorism was also a concern for the Bush administration, however pre September the 11th 2001 it did little to deal with it in terms of concrete policies.¹⁸¹ Regarding the ordering of foreign policy items for Bush, international terrorism was one of the least stressed agenda items,¹⁸² whereas China – the rise of China, containing China and the threat of China - was arguably the top agenda item for the pre-

¹⁷³ Robert Jervis "The Compulsive Empire" *Foreign Policy* 137 (July-August) (2003), pp. 82-87.

¹⁷⁴ G. John Ikenberry "Introduction: Woodrow Wilson, the Bush Administration, and the Future of Liberal Internationalism" in Ikenberry, G. J., Knock, T. J., Slaughter, A. M. and Smith, T. (eds) *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 5.

¹⁷⁵ Condoleezza Rice "Promoting the National Interest" *Foreign Affairs* 79 (1) (2000), pp. 45-62.

¹⁷⁶ Rice "Promoting the National Interest", pp. 62.

¹⁷⁷ George W. Bush "Presidential Debate; George Bush Vs. Al Gore" Wake Forest University, 11 October 2000. For the full transcript see http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-250_162-240442.html (Accessed 25/09/12).

¹⁷⁸ G. John Ikenberry "Liberal Order Building" in Leffler, M. P. and Legro, J. W. (eds) *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 97.

¹⁷⁹ Jervis "The Compulsive Empire", pp. 82.

¹⁸⁰ Joseph S. Nye Jr "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy" *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (2) (2004), pp. 259.

¹⁸¹ Melvyn P. Leffler "9/11 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy" *International Affairs* 79 (5) (2003), pp. 1048.

¹⁸² For an example of the ordering of US foreign policy concerns during this period see Robert Kagan and William Kristol (eds) *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy* (New York: Encounter Books, 2000).

9/11 Bush administration.¹⁸³ All these issues featured on Clinton's agenda, each was an item of concern and demanded America's and the international community's attention.¹⁸⁴

The differences were found in the rhetoric and language used surrounding each item. Certain issues were presented by the Clinton administration in a more 'multilateral' and friendly tone than the Bush administration, thereby making American hegemony easier to 'sell' to other states and appear less problematic.¹⁸⁵ With Clinton, American primacy was firmly linked to the liberal internationalist notion that this was for the good of the international community.¹⁸⁶ For example as Michael Cox notes:

"Believing that the United States had to lead from the front by playing the triple role of progressive policeman, benign economic shepherd, and fatherly umpire in the world's many troubled spots, he [Clinton] made it easier for most states to look upon the United States in a rather favourable way . . . Bush, as we know, had no such vision".¹⁸⁷

Rather than a complete 'change' in the agenda or the emergence of a new foreign policy vision, the difference was found in the language used and the ordering of foreign policies goals, due to the underlying rationales. Therefore if we look beyond the rhetoric we see the continuities between the agendas of Bush and Clinton.¹⁸⁸

Unlike Clinton however, Bush and many of his top advisors were outwardly ideologically hostile to multilateralism and subsequently pushed for a more unilateral foreign policy,¹⁸⁹ which for many represented a move away from the postwar liberal order and the beginning of a new era of American hegemony.¹⁹⁰ Gone was the traditional liberal discourse of the Clinton administration, and in its place stood a staunch unilateral discourse. According to Stephen Walt "During its first months in office, the Bush administration often acted as if the opinions of other countries did not matter very much, an attitude revealed by its uncompromising pursuit of missile defenses, and brusque rejection of several prominent international conventions".¹⁹¹ The Clinton, administration, however, was not immune from unilateral behaviour. Despite its multilateral rhetoric "the Clinton administration compiled a rather dismal record with respect to

¹⁸³ Ikenberry "Liberal Order Building", pp. 90.

¹⁸⁴ Richard A. Melanson *American Foreign Policy Since the Vietnam War: The Search for Consensus From Richard Nixon to George W. Bush: 4th Edition* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005), pp. 26-43.

¹⁸⁵ Felix Ciuta "The American Empire. What are we Debating? IR Theory Between Empire and the 'Responsible' Hegemon" *International Politics* 43 (2) (2006), pp. 173-196.

¹⁸⁶ Kagan, "The Benevolent Empire", pp. 26; 28; 30. Also see Stephen M. Walt "Taming American Power" *Foreign Affairs* 84 (5) (2005), pp. 105-120; Samuel P. Huntington "Why International Primacy Matters" *International Security* 17 (4) (1993), pp. 68-83; and William C. Wohlforth "The Stability of a Unipolar World" *International Security* 24 (1) (1999), pp. 5-41.

¹⁸⁷ Michael Cox "Empire, Imperialism and the Bush Doctrine" *Review of International Studies* 30 (4) (2004), pp. 604.

¹⁸⁸ Kagan, "End of Dreams", pp. 36-59.

¹⁸⁹ David Skidmore "Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in US Foreign Policy" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 1 (2) (2005), pp. 223.

¹⁹⁰ Ikenberry, "Liberal Order Building", pp. 96-97.

¹⁹¹ Walt "Beyond Bin Laden", pp. 63.

US participation in major international treaty initiatives during the 1990s".¹⁹² The administration acted unilaterally on a number of occasions, with the NATO intervention in Kosovo being the most glaring example.¹⁹³ Rather than a preference for Clinton the unilateral actions of his administration seemed to be the result of domestic conditions and structural pressures from both home and abroad.¹⁹⁴ The domestic hostility towards multilateralism was highlighted by Arthur Schlesinger, who remarked that there is no older American tradition in the conduct of foreign affairs than unilateralism.¹⁹⁵ As such there were numerous concerns regarding the concentration of power and Washington's penchant for unilateralism long before Bush came to office.¹⁹⁶ Samuel Huntington in 1999 noted, "in the eyes of many countries it [America] is becoming the rogue superpower",¹⁹⁷ whereas the French Foreign Minister Hubert Védrine coined the term 'hyperpower' to describe America, a term that he felt best described "a country that is dominant or predominant in all categories".¹⁹⁸ Although the emphasis and feelings towards unilateralism differed from Clinton to Bush, this did not result in a fundamental reorientation between the two foreign policies. The differences between the foreign policies of Bush and Clinton are not as pronounced, as many would believe, there is continuity, and even continuity in the use of unilateral strategies. This point is explicitly made by David Skidmore, "The appropriate contrast is not between a multilateralist Clinton and a unilateral Bush, but between two unilateralisms that differ not in kind, but in tone emphasis and degree."¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, just as Clinton engaged in some unilateral action, Bush was not impervious to multilateralism. Immediately following 9/11 Bush embarked on a number of multilateral efforts, which generated hopes that America would abandon its unilateral impulses.²⁰⁰ Overall, domestic and international realities conditioned which strategies were operationalised²⁰¹ meaning that there are inherent continuities in the foreign policies of Clinton and Bush, as well as variations in their personal preferences.

¹⁹² Skidmore, "Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in US Foreign Policy", pp. 223.

¹⁹³ For more see Nicholas J. Wheeler "Reflections on the Legality and Legitimacy of NATO's Intervention in Kosovo" *The International Journal of Human Rights* 4 (3-4) (2000), pp. 144-163; Carl Cavanagh Hodge "Causal War: NATO's Intervention in Kosovo" *Ethics and International Affairs* 14 (1) (2000), pp. 39-54; and David Chandler *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention* (London: Pluto, 2002).

¹⁹⁴ Skidmore, "Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in US Foreign Policy", pp. 223.

¹⁹⁵ Arthur Schlesinger "Unilateralism in Historical Perspective" in Prins, G. (ed) *Understanding Unilateralism in American Foreign Relations* (London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2000), pp. 18.

¹⁹⁶ Walt, "Beyond bin Laden", pp. 63.

¹⁹⁷ Huntington "The Lonely Superpower", pp. 42.

¹⁹⁸ Hubert Vedrine quoted in Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Limits of American Power" *Political Science Quarterly* 117 (4) (2002/2003), pp. 545.

¹⁹⁹ Skidmore, "Understanding the Unilateralist Turn in US Foreign Policy", pp. 224.

²⁰⁰ Steve Smith "The End of the Unipolar Moment? September 11 and the Future World Order" *International Relations* 16 (2) (2002), pp. 175.

²⁰¹ Lisa Martin "Multilateral Organizations after the US - Iraq War of 2003" in Abrams, I. and Gungwu, W. (eds) *The Iraq War and its Consequences: Thoughts of Nobel Peace Laureates and Eminent Scholars* (London: World Scientific Publishing Co, 2003), pp. 373.

Even following the events of September the 11th the basic elements of American foreign policy were unaffected. The United States still wanted “to discourage security competition in Europe and Asia, prevent the emergence of hostile powers, promote a more open world economy, inhibit the spread of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and expand democracy and human rights”.²⁰² However, America’s ‘near-to-medium’ goals altered and as a result the priorities attached to the different foreign policy goals shifted. America’s short-term foreign policy was subsequently comprised of three central priorities and strategic concerns; 1) combating terrorism, 2) preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and 3) dealing with rogue states. As we have seen these items also featured in Bush’s pre-9/11 foreign policy and were central items of concern for the Clinton administration. Rather than a complete ‘change’ as Melvyn Leffler argued occurred or the emergence of a new foreign policy galvanized and shaped by the fear for survival,²⁰³ the American agenda was streamlined in order to deal with ‘international terrorism’ which was perceived to be the gravest and most imminent threat.²⁰⁴ All other issues practically disappeared; relations with other states became morphed by the events of 9/11, and America reorganized itself to become interventionist driven by a missionary zeal to defeat terrorism.²⁰⁵

American primacy remained the chief agenda item, however following 9/11 this had to be achieved, in the short-term, by the elimination of Al Qaeda and ‘terrorism’ writ large.²⁰⁶ The 2002 *National Security Strategy*²⁰⁷, or what has been termed the Bush Doctrine, clearly explicated the aims and focus of American foreign policy elites, however the administration’s agenda emerged prior to this and can be seen taking form in a number of speeches given by Bush.²⁰⁸ From these public addresses it is clear that ‘terrorism’ became the administration’s top foreign policy aim.²⁰⁹ Bush’s focus was not confined to Al Qaeda, but rather the ambiguous category of ‘global terrorism’ or ‘Jihadist terrorism’. The campaign against ‘terrorism’ was the premier

²⁰² Walt, “Beyond Bin Laden”, pp. 64.

²⁰³ Leffler “9/11 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy”, pp. 1045-1063. For another account of how American foreign policy dramatically changed following 9/11 see Charles W. Kegley Jr and Gregory A. Raymond *After Iraq: The Imperiled American Imperium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²⁰⁴ Lee Feinstein and Anne-Marie Slaughter “A Duty to Prevent” *Foreign Affairs* 83 (1) (2004), pp. 136.

²⁰⁵ William Kristol and Robert Kagan “National Interest and Global Responsibility” in Stelzer, I. (ed) *Neo-Conservatism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), pp.68-73.

²⁰⁶ Nye “Soft Power and American Foreign Policy”, pp. 259.

²⁰⁷ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: The White House, 2002).

²⁰⁸ George W. Bush, “Let’s Roll speech”, 8th November 2001, full text available at <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/566943/posts> (Accessed on 25/09/12); George W. Bush commencement address at the United States Military Academy, West Point, 1st June 2002, full text available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/01/international/02PTEX-WEB.html> (Accessed on 25/09/12); and George W. Bush “State of Union Address”, January 29th 2002, full text available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=29644> (Accessed on 25/09/12).

²⁰⁹ Samantha Power “Legitimacy and Competence” in Leffler, M. P. and Legro, J. W. (eds) *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 143.

concern of US foreign, security and defense policy and as Walt noted all other international goals became subordinated to this broad objective.²¹⁰ According to the 9/11 Commission Report; “countering terrorism has become, beyond any doubt, the top national security priority for the United States”.²¹¹

Although terrorism was the number one short-term agenda item, the concerns with weapons of mass destruction and ‘rogue states’ became enmeshed with the ‘war on terror’. The Bush administration’s central fear was that a few states would develop WMD and place these weapons in the hands of terrorists.²¹² Speaking at West Point Military Academy in 2002 Bush claimed “The gravest danger to freedom lies at the perilous crossroads of radicalism and technology”, and as such “we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror”.²¹³ Yet these terror-sponsoring regimes arguably meant and were limited to Bush’s Axis of Evil – Iraq, Iran and North Korea - and each became targets or special states of concern for the Bush administration. In his 2002 State of Union Address Bush argued that America’s goal was to prevent such states from threatening America and her allies with WMD, because “by seeking WMD, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger”.²¹⁴ The Bush administration merged the top three issues of concern in a manner that seemed, as Francis Fukuyama declared, “utterly apocalyptic”.²¹⁵

These security threats when combined in their lethal trinity, warranted intervention according to the Bush administration.²¹⁶ The streamlined short-term foreign policy with its clear identification of what constitutes a threat and the shift in the use of power resulted in a new strategy. American foreign policy following 9/11 employed new means and methods that deviated from the past practices of both Clinton and Bush. The previous policies of containment and deterrence had been abandoned, as had any reliance on collective action. Containment was conceived to be outdated, and deterrence it was argued would not work as it once did.²¹⁷ For example as Melvyn Leffler noted, many in the Bush administration had “grasped the reality that there were terrorist groups that were not likely to be deterred as states had been deterred”.²¹⁸ The crystallized and increased threat of terrorism, it was argued needed a new mode of thinking, which found its coherent form with the Bush Doctrine and its policies of unilateral action and preemptive and perhaps even preventive action:

²¹⁰ Walt “Beyond bin Laden”, pp. 64.

²¹¹ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States* (New York: Norton, 2004), pp. 361.

²¹² Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*, pp. 56.

²¹³ Bush, Commencement address at West Point, 2002.

²¹⁴ Bush, “State of Union Address”, 2002.

²¹⁵ Francis Fukuyama *After the Neocons: America at Crossroads* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2007), pp. 61.

²¹⁶ Kristol and Kagan “National Interest and Global Responsibility”, pp. 68-69.

²¹⁷ Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*, pp. 63; 76; 84.

²¹⁸ Leffler “9/11 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy”, pp. 1054.

“Given the goals of rogue states and terrorists, the United States can no longer rely on a reactive posture as we have in the past. The inability to deter a potential attacker, the immediacy of today’s threats, and the magnitude of potential harm that could be caused by our adversaries’ choice of weapons, do not permit that option. We cannot let our enemies strike first”.²¹⁹

The administration put forth a strategy of preemptive action, incorporating the possibility of a preventive war as the administration now recognized “that our best defense is a good offence”.²²⁰ One of the many problems is that such policies premised on American power and primacy play “havoc with the old international rules of self-defense and United Nations norms about the proper use of force.”²²¹ The Bush Doctrine overturned the norms of sovereignty and non-intervention and instead placed conditions upon respect for sovereignty,²²² the conditions of which were determined by the US, thereby leaving the authority of whether sovereign rights had been forfeited with the Bush administration. The new policies not only interfered with long-standing norms, they also exhibited a clear scorn for international rules, treaties and collective action, which the Bush administration had already displayed before 9/11.²²³

To counter the feelings of vulnerability that followed 9/11 the Bush administration set out to demonstrate America’s power, and to use its power to transform world politics.²²⁴ Charles Kegley and Gregory Raymond argued, “Gone were exhortations on the need to be humble with power”.²²⁵ The grand strategy of the Bush administration, as put forth in the NSS, was arguably linked to a shift in power; America’s was now to use its unrivaled military power to manage global order.²²⁶ Instead of America’s power being muted and disguised through the rule based international order Bush “thrust American power into the light of day”.²²⁷ According to Charles Krauthammer “we now have an administration willing to assert American freedom of action and the primacy of American national interests. Rather than contain power within a vast web of constraining international agreements, the new unilateralism seeks to strengthen American power and unashamedly deploy it on behalf of self-defined global ends”.²²⁸ American power in a sense became unbridled;²²⁹ there was a clear shift in the administration’s willingness to exercise American power. Yet the ideas to adopt a more assertive foreign policy were already in place

²¹⁹ *National Security Strategy*, 2002, pp. 15.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6.

²²¹ Ikenberry “America’s Imperial Ambition”, pp. 51.

²²² Dunne “Society and Hierarchy in International Relations”, pp. 311-312.

²²³ Chalmers Johnson *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic* (New York: Holt Paperbacks, 2006), pp. 251.

²²⁴ Donald Rumsfeld cited in Andrew J. Bacevich *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of US Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 227.

²²⁵ Kegley and Raymond, *After Iraq*, pp. 73-74.

²²⁶ Ikenberry “America’s Imperial Ambitions”, pp. 49.

²²⁷ Ikenberry “Illusions of Empire”, pp. 144-145.

²²⁸ Charles Krauthammer “The New Unilateralism” *The Washington Post*, 8th June 2001, pp. 29.

²²⁹ Barry Eichengreen and Douglas A. Irwin “A Shackled Hegemon” in Leffler, M. P. and Legro, J. W. (eds) *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 182.

long before Bush was in office,²³⁰ but “What September 11 provided was the rationale and the opportunity to carry out his [Bush’s] revolution”.²³¹ 9/11 provided the impetus, means and the justification for America to overtly demonstrate its power rather than using American power indirectly through institutions as Clinton had done. However, the long-term agenda remained the same from Clinton to Bush: to prevent any nation other or bloc of states becoming hegemonic, yet how power was being exercised shifted from consent to coercion.²³²

The promotion of American power and patent American exceptionalism²³³ resulted in the US being frequently characterized as ‘neo-imperial’,²³⁴ or ‘imperial’²³⁵ with the use of the term ‘empire’ becoming prominent in describing the Bush administration’s foreign policy.²³⁶ However, rather than depicting a break from the past the rhetoric of imperialism predates the Bush Doctrine and the presidency of Bush himself.²³⁷ For example Harold Laski invoked the image of empire in 1947 when he argued “America bestrides the world like a colossus; neither Rome at the height of its power nor Great Britain in the period of economic supremacy enjoyed an influence so direct, so profound, or so pervasive”.²³⁸ This characterization and the countless others that followed are arguably due to the fact that the US helped establish the post-World War II international order, and was the principal beneficiary of the order it helped create.²³⁹ It has been argued that American influence is best directed and exercised through institutions,²⁴⁰ and the ‘Liberal World Order’ is the best expression of US dominance, for it helps protect the status quo and America’s hegemonic position.²⁴¹ Jim Glassman argued that the Bush administration did

²³⁰ Cox, “Empire, Imperialism, and the Bush Doctrine”, pp. 596.

²³¹ Ivo H. Daalder and James. M. Lindsay *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2003), pp. 13.

²³² Robert Cox “Beyond Empire and Terror: Critical Reflections on the Political Economy of World Order” *New Political Economy* 9 (3) (2004), pp. 307-323.

²³³ Ikenberry “Introduction”, pp. 8.

²³⁴ Leffler “9/11 and the Past and Future of American Foreign Policy”, pp. 1045-1063, and Ikenberry “America’s Imperial Ambition”, pp. 44-60.

²³⁵ Kegley and Raymond, *After Iraq* and also see Edward Rhodes “The Imperial Logic of Bush’s Liberal Agenda” *Survival* 45 (1) (2003), pp. 131-154.

²³⁶ For instance see Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire*; Chalmers Johnson *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy and the End of the Republic* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004); Niall Ferguson *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005) and Jim Garrison, *America as Empire? Global Leader or Rogue Power?* (San Francisco: Berret-Koehler Publishers, 2004). For more on the theoretical debates surrounding the discourse of American Empire see Jedediah Purdy “Liberal Empire: Assessing the Arguments” *Ethics and International Affairs* 17 (1) (2003), pp. 35-47 and Linda S. Bishai “Liberal Empire” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 7 (1) (2004), pp. 48-72.

²³⁷ For example see Michael Doyle *Empires* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1986) and Gerd Lundestad *The American ‘Empire’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

²³⁸ Harold Laski quoted in Norman Graeber *America as a World Power: A Realist Appraisal from Wilson to Reagan* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1984), pp. 275.

²³⁹ G. John Ikenberry *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

²⁴⁰ Cox, “Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations”, pp. 44-45.

²⁴¹ Mark Beeson and Richard Higgott “Hegemony, Institutionalism and US Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice in Comparative Historical Perspective” *Third World Quarterly* 26 (7) (2005), pp. 1173-1188.

not fundamentally deviate from any past US practices; he argued that the present form of US imperialism was not new rather it was more overt.²⁴²

The focus on the 'War on Terror' resulted in immediate action: the invasion of Afghanistan. The administration's short-term campaign focused itself on Afghanistan, removing the Taliban and in the process state-building. However, as 2001 turned into 2002 the Bush administration's attention shifted to Iraq. As 2002 progressed Iraq became the key state of concern, due to its alleged links with both weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, thus from Bush's perspective the 'nexus' was in place and as such the administration began to make the grounds for invasion.²⁴³ In his speech to the General Assembly of the UN in September 2002 Bush gave his rationale for intervention:

"If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately and unconditionally forswear, disclose, and remove or destroy all weapons of mass destruction, long-range missiles, and all related material. If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it will immediately end all support for terrorism and act to suppress it, as all states are required to do by UN Security Council resolutions."²⁴⁴

By 2003 after the invasion of Iraq was well under way the rhetoric of the administration began to shift, and a new aim began to feature more prominently on the agenda.²⁴⁵ In Bush's 2003 State of Union Address regime change, democracy promotion, nation building and human rights all made a more substantial appearance and were used to justify intervention and the administration's foreign policy more broadly. Once again this shift does not represent a change in the agenda, but rather an alteration in the ordering of foreign policy goals. After the short-term policies, the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, had been put into practice, the administration prioritized its medium-to-long term aims in order to achieve the central agenda aims of American primacy and security. However, according to Bush America's hegemonic position now depended on the spread of democracy.²⁴⁶

Following the invasion of Iraq, and the arrival of Bush's second term in 2004 the spread of democracy became the top agenda item and the guiding principle for Bush's foreign policy. The advent of Bush's second term demonstrates another continuity, albeit a fractured one, between Clinton and Bush. After 9/11 Bush and Condoleezza Rice no longer vigorously opposed state-building strategies.²⁴⁷ Like Clinton, Bush began to adopt the view that the spread of democracy was central to securing international peace and stability, and more importantly American

²⁴² Jim Glassman "The New Imperialism? On Continuity and Change in US Foreign Policy" *Environment and Planning* 37 (9) (2005), pp. 1527-1544.

²⁴³ Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*, pp. 57-58.

²⁴⁴ George W. Bush, Address to the UN General Assembly, 12th September 2002, full text available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html> (Accessed on 25/09/12).

²⁴⁵ Irwin Stelzer "Preface to the Paperback Edition" in Stelzer, I. (ed) *Neoconservatism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), pp. xvi.

²⁴⁶ James Kurth "Boss of Bosses" in Leffler, M. P. and Legro, J. W. (eds) *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 109-132.

²⁴⁷ Robert Jervis *American Foreign Policy in a New Era* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 79-102.

security.²⁴⁸ Niall Ferguson argued that Bush and Clinton's efforts to promote the liberal ideals of democracy and human dignity were remarkably similar.²⁴⁹ The Bush administration's newfound focus on democracy promotion and fostering regime change bought with it a host of new characterizations. Walter Mead coined the term 'revival Wilsonianism' to describe the administration and he referred to the new foreign policy as 'Wilsonianism on steroids'.²⁵⁰ The various prefixes to 'Wilsonianism' that were used accounted for the continued unilateral preference of the Bush foreign policy. The disdain for multilateral endeavours (a central element of Wilsonianism) questions the extent to which Bush's foreign policy is actually Wilsonian.²⁵¹ Despite the lack of support for multilateral institutions the Bush administration acquired the various Wilsonian labels due to championing liberal internationalism and pledging to use American power to create a "universal dominion of rights".²⁵² However, what can be seen today as the essence of neo-conservatism - "The expansive, interventionist, democracy-promoting position"²⁵³ of the Bush administration - to some has conversely been labeled as 'hard Wilsonianism'.²⁵⁴

Bush's Second Inaugural Address illustrated the primacy attached to democracy promotion. In his address Bush said very little about security and terrorism and instead spoke about the universality of democratic values and the pursuit of freedom.²⁵⁵ Bush argued that only the force of human freedom could combat terrorism, tyrants and the proliferation of dangerous weapons.²⁵⁶ The implications were, as Ikenberry noted, that "the United States would not just need to use military force to destroy terrorists but to engage in a long-term transformation agenda aimed at overturning tyranny and spreading freedom and democracy".²⁵⁷ The promotion of democracy and American security were now one of the same thing, Bush wanted to "make the world democratic so that the US could be safe".²⁵⁸ In other words democracy promotion was the main priority of the Bush administration after 2004 because America's security now depended on the promotion of freedom around the world. According to Bush:

"The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of

²⁴⁸ Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*, pp. 80-83.

²⁴⁹ Ferguson, *Colossus*, pp. 173.

²⁵⁰ Walter Russell Mead *Power, Terror, Peace and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World At Risk* (New York: Knopf, 2004). For more also see Max Boot "Myths About Neoconservatism" in Stelzer, I. (ed) *Neoconservatism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2005), pp. 49.

²⁵¹ For more on this debate see G. John Ikenberry et. al. *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

²⁵² Fareed Zakaria "Our Way: The Trouble with Being the World's Only Superpower" *New Yorker*, 14th of October 2002.

²⁵³ Fukuyama *After the Neocons*, pp. 40.

²⁵⁴ Max Boot "What the Heck is a Neocon?" *Wall Street Journal*, Opinion Journal, 30th December 2002.

²⁵⁵ George W. Bush, Second Inaugural Address, 20th January 2005. Full text available at <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres67.html> (Accessed on 25/09/12).

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ Ikenberry "Introduction", pp. 9.

²⁵⁸ Robert Jervis "The Remaking of a Unipolar World" *Washington Quarterly* 29 (3) (2006), pp. x.

freedom in all the world. America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one . . . So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world."²⁵⁹

The three previous central concerns – terrorism, WMD, and rogue states – had not disappeared from the agenda. Rather these three issues remained key, however they all now became tied to and dependent on the spread of democracy. Democracy, it seemed, now presented the solution to the problem of terrorism, the proliferation of dangerous weapons, and 'outlaw nations'.²⁶⁰ The 2006 *National Security Strategy* highlights how all other concerns revolved around the medium-long term goal of the spread of democracy:

"Because democracies are the most responsible members of the international system, promoting democracy is the most effective long-term measure for strengthening international stability, reducing regional conflicts, countering terrorism and terror-supporting extremism, and extending peace and prosperity".²⁶¹

At first glance, America's post-2004 strategy appears to be a complete contrast to the realist one that Bush originally bought to office. From his initial disdain for nation-building endeavours, the administration ended up embarking on one of the most ambitious democracy promoting strategies. Bush seemed to have done a complete foreign policy u-turn, and ended up reviving liberal internationalism à la Clinton, in order to justify the war in Iraq and his administration's expansive global agenda. The liberal democratic peace thesis seemed to influence and guide the Bush administration's foreign policy in this period.²⁶² However, liberalism only facilitated the formation of one half of Bush's grand strategy.²⁶³ For instance G. John Ikenberry argued that both liberal and imperial logics were both at play in Bush's foreign policy,²⁶⁴ The administration's blueprint for fostering American security, prosperity and international stability based on liberal principles "was the necessary complement of the military pillar".²⁶⁵ In other words the other component part of the vision structuring American foreign policy was still very much realist.²⁶⁶ Instead of a different rationale underpinning Bush's foreign policy the rhetoric of democracy

²⁵⁹ Bush, Second Inaugural Address, 20th January 2005.

²⁶⁰ Michael J. Mazarr "George W. Bush, Idealist" *International Affairs* 79 (3) (2003), pp. 503-522.

²⁶¹ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington DC: The White House, 2006), pp. 3. www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/nss2006.pdf

²⁶² Piki Ish-Shalom "Theory as a Hermeneutical Mechanism: The Democratic Peace Thesis and the Politics of Democratization" *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (4) (2006), pp. 565-566. Also see Bruce Russett "Bushwacking the Democratic Peace" *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) (2005), pp. 395-408.

²⁶³ Tony Smith "Wilsonianism After Iraq: The End of Liberal Internationalism?" in Ikenberry, G. J., Knock, T. J., Slaughter, A. M. and Smith, T. (eds) *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 56.

²⁶⁴ G. John Ikenberry "Liberalism and Empire: Logics of Order in the American Unipolar Age" *Review of International Studies* 30 (4) (2004), pp. 611.

²⁶⁵ Smith "Wilsonianism After Iraq", pp. 56.

²⁶⁶ Steven Hurst "Myths of Neoconservatism: George W. Bush's 'Neo-Conservative' Foreign Policy Revisited" *International Politics* 42 (1) (2005), pp. 75-96.

promotion had been utilized as a justification for the Bush Doctrine, and its use of force and unilateral action.²⁶⁷ According to Ikenberry the realist Bush administration wrapped itself in liberal clothing.²⁶⁸ America had not, argued Francis Fukuyama “really altered its basic foreign policy instincts, which was military threats and possible action, all in all a display of American unilateral might”.²⁶⁹ The realist/neoconservative rationale, that underpinned the 2000-2004 foreign policy was still the guiding premise, and American primacy was still the main aim, yet the neoconservatives had now found their moral imperative,²⁷⁰ thus returning the focus of American foreign policy and its agenda back to democracy promotion, ‘nation-building’ and an internationalist stance.

Despite the changes in the priorities awarded to each agenda item, resulting in issues morphing on the agenda, if we look at the situation in the reverse the continuities are more apparent. There was a continued disregard for a number of issues; global warming or environmental issues more broadly conceived for instance did not feature as a high priority foreign policy concern during the presidency of George Bush.²⁷¹ Although the Bush administration was determined to reduce America’s addiction to oil, this policy objective was tied to security rather than environmental concerns. Promoting international agreements, supporting international institutions and organizations also did not feature prominently on the Bush agenda, either as a foreign policy goal or approach.²⁷² The mechanisms of and the deepening of global governance was steadily shunned and overlooked by the Bush administration.²⁷³ Furthermore, although the Bush administration was committed to combating AIDS, poverty and providing assistance to Third World Countries,²⁷⁴ all these issues were constantly placed at the bottom of the American agenda.²⁷⁵ Even though such issues featured in both the 2002 and 2006 National Security Strategies the amount of attention that they each received were substantially less than China for example, or terrorism or democracy promotion. The lack of attention and primacy awarded to the environment, global socio-economic problems etc was due to the fact that other issues took precedence, and according to the Bush

²⁶⁷ Beeson and Higgott “Hegemony, Institutionalism and US Foreign Policy”, pp. 1180.

²⁶⁸ Ikenberry, “Liberalism and Empire”, pp. 619.

²⁶⁹ Fukuyama *After the Neocons*, pp. xviii.

²⁷⁰ Mazarr, “George W. Bush, Idealist”, pp. 508-509.

²⁷¹ Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound*, pp. 116-128. Also see Hermann E. Ott “Climate Change: An Important Foreign Policy Issue” *International Affairs* 77 (2) (2001), pp. 277-296 and Kathryn Harrison “The Road Not Taken: Climate Change Policy in Canada and the United States” *Global Environmental Politics* 7 (4) (2007), pp. 92-111.

²⁷² Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound*, pp. 117 and Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth “Reshaping the World Order: How Washington Should Reform International Institutions” *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2) (2009), pp. 49-51.

²⁷³ David Lake “American Hegemony and the Future of East-West Relations” *International Studies Perspectives* 7 (1) (2006), pp. 23-30 and Daniel Drezner “The New New World Order” *Foreign Affairs* 86 (2) (2007), pp. 34-35.

²⁷⁴ Stephen Radelet “Bush and Foreign Aid” *Foreign Affairs* 82 (5) (2003), pp. 104-117.

²⁷⁵ William G. Martin “Beyond Bush: The Future of Popular Movements and US Africa Policy” *Review of African Political Economy* 31 (102) (2004), pp. 585-597.

administration such concerns warranted more international attention and status as the most relevant and in demand subjects of focus for academics and the discipline of IR.

The Obama Administration's Foreign Policy.

Barack Obama in a number of addresses during his campaign ardently stated that his foreign policy agenda and strategies would be a move away from the foreign policies put forth by Bush.²⁷⁶ Obama ran for office presenting himself as a stark contrast to Bush, therefore a dramatic shift in America's foreign policy could have been expected. The central element of Obama's foreign policy was and is predicated on rebuilding America's global leadership through regaining the international legitimacy that the US lost due to the Bush administrations controversial and widely unpopular foreign policy.²⁷⁷ Just like Clinton and Bush, Obama's agenda is centered around retaining (or in this case rebuilding) American primacy and status as a global hegemon, thereby ensuring the maintenance of the current Liberal World Order that benefits America.²⁷⁸ Once again the rhetoric of difference masks the deeper continuities that exist.

The language of change,²⁷⁹ and the different persuasions, rationales and composition of the Obama administration led, almost inevitably, to a different characterization. Primarily the Obama administration's foreign policy has been depicted as 'pragmatic', which denotes a blend of realism, 'community-organizer idealism' and charismatic leadership.²⁸⁰ The administration's foreign policy is practical and more conservative with regards to the issue of intervention and relations with other states, and it adopts elements from both the realist and liberal foreign policy approaches.²⁸¹ Gone is the 'Wilsonian Idealism', or rather Bush's aggressive democratization and aim to remake the global order through democracy promotion,²⁸² and instead it has been replaced with a worldview that argues that "pragmatism should trump idealism".²⁸³

²⁷⁶ For example see his campaign speeches "Remarks at the Clinton Global Initiative" New York, 25th September 2008 and "The Case for Change" Elko, Nevada, 17th September, 2008. Available at <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2008/index.html> (Accessed on 12/09/12)

²⁷⁷ Barry Buzan "A Leader Without Followers? The United States in World Politics After Bush" *International Politics* 45 (5) (2005), pp. 554-570.

²⁷⁸ Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism", pp. 71-87.

²⁷⁹ 'Change' was the motto of Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. See <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2008/09/obamas-change-s/> (Accessed on 12/09/12).

²⁸⁰ Micheal Scherer "The Five Pillars of Obama's Foreign Policy" *Time*, Washington, 13th July 2009. Available at www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1910057,00.html. (Accessed on the 31/10/12). For more see Martin S. Indyk, Kenneth G. Lieberthal and Michael E. O'Hanlon "Scoring Obama's Foreign Policy: A Progressive Pragmatist Tries to Bend History" *Foreign Affairs* 91 (3) (2012), pp. 29-43.

²⁸¹ Inderjeet Parmar "Foreign Policy Fusion: Liberal Internationalism, Conservative Nationalists and Neoconservatism – the New Alliance Dominating the US Foreign Policy Establishment" *International Politics* 46 (2-3) (2009), pp. 177-209.

²⁸² Michael C. Desch "America's Liberal Illiberalism: The Ideological Origins of Overreaction in U.S. Foreign Policy" *International Security* 32 (3) (2008), pp. 7-43 and Jonathan Monten "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism and Democracy Promotion in U.S. Strategy" *International Security* 29 (4) (2005), pp. 112-156.

²⁸³ Scherer, "The Five Pillars of Obama's Foreign Policy".

This pragmatic vision of international politics broadened the administration's agenda and introduced new items of concern. Yet terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and rogue states continue to be the key areas of concern. Despite the fact that these three issues remain central, the strategies towards each are different from those employed by the Bush administration. Regarding counterterrorism the *Overview of the United States of America's National Security Strategy 2009* stated:

“democratic reforms ought not to be mandated as a necessity for receiving US counterterrorism aid. In a departure from previous national counterterrorism strategies, we reject as false notion that democratic reforms are essential to counterterrorism efforts”.²⁸⁴

Rather than preventing 'Global Terrorism' through the spread of democracy, the Obama administration reverted America's focus back to specific terrorist organizations (primarily Al Qaeda), specific geographical settings (Afghanistan and Pakistan)²⁸⁵ and pledged to combat the socio-economic conditions that facilitate terrorism.²⁸⁶ The focus on Afghanistan and Pakistan was illustrated by Obama's 2011 State of Union address, he declared “we have sent a message from the Afghan border to the Arabian peninsula to all parts of the globe; we will not relent, we will not waver, and we will defeat you”.²⁸⁷ Concerning WMDS, the primary objective remained preventing states from obtaining fissile material, however the means in doing so took a more multilateral direction. The Obama administration aimed to strengthen the Non Proliferation Treaty and the International Atomic Energy Agency. Furthermore, in April 2010 Obama led the Nuclear Security Summit putting forth the multilateral goal of “securing all vulnerable nuclear material around the world in 4 years, so that they never fall into the hands of terrorists”.²⁸⁸ With regard to the threat of 'rogue regimes' Obama has advocated a non-interventionist stance. In an article he wrote for *Foreign Affairs* in 2007 he argued that his administration would reorient America's foreign policy and its role in the world to become internationalist not interventionist.²⁸⁹ This stance was operationalised in 2011 when the US initially took a 'back seat' in the invasion of Libya, handing over the operational mantle instead to Britain and France.²⁹⁰ According to Fareed Zakaria Obama's actions in Libya were depicted as a “model of limited intervention”.²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ *Overview of the United States of America's National Security Strategy 2009*, pp. 48.

²⁸⁵ Barack Obama “Renewing American Leadership” *Foreign Affairs* 86 (4) (2007), pp. 9.

²⁸⁶ Colleen Bell and Brad Evans “Terrorism to Insurgency: Mapping the Post-Intervention Security Terrain” *Journal of Intervention and State Building* 4 (4) (2010), pp. 374.

²⁸⁷ Barack Obama “State of Union Address” 25th January 2011. Full text available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/25/remarks-president-state-union-address> (Accessed on 25/09/12).

²⁸⁸ Barack Obama “State of Union Address” 27th January 2010. Full text available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-state-union-address> (Accessed on 25/09/12).

²⁸⁹ Obama “Renewing American Leadership”, pp. 11-12.

²⁹⁰ Tim Dunne and Jess Gifkins “Libya and the State of Intervention” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 65 (5) (2011), pp. 515-529. For more see James Pattinson et. al.,

Obama's foreign policy strategy has two central pillars: "multilateralism and reinvigorated diplomacy to advance US interests."²⁹² In 2007 Obama argued that through increased multilateral and diplomatic endeavours he would renew American leadership.²⁹³ In 2009 he again stressed the importance of an American foreign policy that behaved multilaterally, and how diplomacy was central to protecting America.²⁹⁴ However, Obama's liberal strategies were advocated in order to rebuild America's international image and thereby the legitimacy of American primacy rather than a commitment to a Wilsonian inspired foreign policy.²⁹⁵ Obama's early focus on diplomacy and multilateralism was a pragmatic maneuver to bring about Obama's main foreign policy goal: the restoration of American leadership.²⁹⁶

Despite the main aim of the Obama administration being the renewal of America's legitimacy thereby securing its role as the world's leader, the scope of American policy has considerably broadened since 2008. This has resulted in a host of other items making the foreign policy agenda. The general aims of the administration according to the White House in 2009 was to; refocus on the threat from Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan; responsibly end the war in Iraq; to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of terrorists; promote peace and security to Israel and the Middle East; re-energize America's alliances; end the crisis in Darfur; restore American leadership in Latin America; and to ensure energy security and to fight climate change.²⁹⁷ Human rights and the environment are two concerns that feature fairly prominently in the Obama agenda. In both his Inaugural and State of Union addresses in 2009 Obama made his government's aims and commitments clear:

"To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow, to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume

"Roundtable: Libya, RtoP and Humanitarian Intervention" *Ethics and International Affairs* 25 (3) (2011), pp. 271-277; Dana H. Allin and Erik Jones "As Good as it Gets?" *Survival* 53 (3) (2011), pp. 205-211; and Jon Western and Joshua S. Goldstein "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age: Lessons From Somalia to Libya" *Foreign Affairs* 90 (6) (2011), pp. 48-59.

²⁹¹ Fareed Zakaria "A New Era in US Foreign Policy" *Global Public Square*, August 23rd 2011. Available at <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/08/23/a-new-era-in-u-s-foreign-policy/> (Accessed on the 17/09/11).

²⁹² Joanna Klonsky, Council on Foreign Relations "Obama's Brain Trust: Campaign 2008" *Newsweek*, 3rd June 2008. Available at www.newsweek.com/id/139894 (Accessed on the 27/10/09).

²⁹³ Barack Obama, foreign policy speech at De Paul University, Chicago, 2nd October 2007. Available at www.cfr.org/publication/14356. (Accessed on the 27/10/09). Also see Obama "Renewing American Leadership", pp. 11.

²⁹⁴ Barack Obama, address to Joint Session of Congress, 24th February 2009. Full text available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-barack-obama-address-joint-session-congress> (Accessed on the 25/09/12).

²⁹⁵ Indyl, Lieberthal and O'Hanlon, "Scoring Obama's Foreign Policy", pp. 32.

²⁹⁶ Michael Cox and Doug Stokes "Introduction: US Foreign Policy – Past, Present and Future" in Cox, M. and Stokes, D. (eds) *US Foreign Policy: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford, 2012), pp. 2.

²⁹⁷ The White House, "Foreign Policy". Available at www.whitehouse.gov (Accessed on the 27/10/09).

the world's resources without regard to effect. The world has changed, and we must change with it".²⁹⁸

The Obama administration has spoken of how human rights abuses and climate change are not only pressing global problems that require immediate action, but how both may also be future sources of instability and conflict.²⁹⁹ Clinton and Bush also focused on humanitarian issues at times, yet security issues continued to take priority, as did maintaining America's superpower status. Only time will tell if Obama truly focuses on these concerns, and puts them at the top of his agenda, thus warranting them with the status of the primary concerns of both academics and government. As Obama's presidency enters into his second term one struggles to see his rhetoric in action. Atrocities still continue in Darfur, Uganda, Yemen and so on.³⁰⁰ Therefore one must question how high such items have actually been on Obama's foreign policy agenda.

Rather than 'change' if we look at the period under review what we see is that the American agenda and concerns have remarkably stayed the same.³⁰¹ Instead of drastic changes as Robert Jervis,³⁰² John Lewis Gaddis,³⁰³ Robert Litwark³⁰⁴ and Melvyn Leffler³⁰⁵ argued occurred in American foreign policy, the American agenda has and remains committed to protecting and enhancing America's position as the world's leader/hegemon/sole superpower.³⁰⁶ Because, according to Ikenberry the "US insists that it will not accept the rise of a 'peer competitor'".³⁰⁷ As such certain concerns have consistently been identified as posing a 'threat' to both America's security and primacy. Clinton, Bush and Obama all focused on terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and 'rogue' states. These issues have all been constructed by each administration as 'imminent' threats, not only to the US but also to the present international order and society, thereby giving such concerns status as the primacy dangers of the Twenty-First Century following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.³⁰⁸ Meaning, these issue areas were then presented by the US administration as the most pressing

²⁹⁸ Barack Obama, Inaugural Address, 21st January 2009. Full transcript available at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/20/us/politics/20text-obama.html?pagewanted=all&_r=1 (Accessed on 25/09/12).

²⁹⁹ Barack Obama "The Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan" Speech at United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, 1st December 2009. Available at http://rci.rutgers.edu/~tripmcc/phil/obama-the_way_forward.pdf (Accessed on 12/09/12).

³⁰⁰ See for example the edited volume by Clifford Bob (ed) *The International Struggle for New Human Rights* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

³⁰¹ David P. Forsythe "US Foreign Policy and Human Rights: Situating Obama" *Human Rights Quarterly* 33 (3) (2011), pp. 767.

³⁰² Jervis, "An Interim Assessment of September 11", pp. 37-54, and Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in New Era*, pp. 52.

³⁰³ John Lewis Gaddis "A Grand Strategy Transformation" *Foreign Policy* 133 (November-December) (2002), pp. 50-57.

³⁰⁴ Robert S. Litwark "The Imperial Republic After 9/11" *The Wilson Quarterly* 20 (3) (2002), pp. 76-82.

³⁰⁵ Melvyn Leffler "9/11 and American Foreign Policy" *Diplomatic History* 29 (3) (2005), pp. 395-413.

³⁰⁶ Cox and Stokes "Introduction", pp. 1-4.

³⁰⁷ Ikenberry, "Liberalism and Empire", pp. 618.

³⁰⁸ Jervis, *American Foreign Policy in a New Era*, pp. 55-58.

issues in international politics.³⁰⁹ The American foreign policy agenda thereby facilitated terrorism, WMDs, and 'outlaw' nations to become the appropriate subject matter of IR, as these issues were what policy makers were requiring information and advice on.³¹⁰ Therefore, if the US is exercising its hegemonic influence over the discipline of IR then we would expect the content of the discipline's journals and conferences to reflect the American policy-makers concerns with terrorism, WMDs and rogue states.

Due to the way the agenda has been presented and threats constituted by Clinton, Bush and Obama any article and panel focusing on 'the threat' of terrorism, WMD, and rogue states will be counted as adhering to the American agenda. Furthermore, any article or panel looking at the democratic peace thesis, and the benefits of nation building will also be categorized as conforming to the needs of US policy makers. Because the liberal means of achieving peace and security, through democracy promotion and regime change featured prominently in the foreign policies of Clinton and Bush. The core of all three President's foreign policies has been securing America's national interests. Therefore research that focuses on American primary, security, supporting American hegemony or unipolarity will also be classed as adhering to the American agenda. Finally, each President also argued that neo-liberal economic policies and furthering international trade would generate international and American economic prosperity and thereby further stabilize the international system.³¹¹ Due to the continued focus on economic neo-liberalism by Clinton, Bush and Obama manuscripts and panels that promote such policies will be designated as acting in accordance with the interests of each US administration. Through unpacking the American agenda and each President's foreign policy this section has aimed to explicitly highlight what 'counts as IR' from an American foreign policy perspective, thereby delineating the key issues that are deemed to be of concern to America and her interests.

Overall, each respective foreign policy has been rather traditional in its outlook, placing US interests at the core and revolving around issues of cooperation and conflict. Even though the environment, human rights, poverty and AIDS have featured in the various foreign policy statements and National Security Strategies of all three presidents these issues have consistently featured lower down the agenda, and were virtually non-existent during the Bush administration.³¹² Resultantly this has meant that American policy elites have principally demanded and required advice on the threats of terrorism, WMD, rogue states³¹³ as opposed to issues relating to poverty, refugees, gender or migration for example. The emphasis has consistently been on presenting the above threats as the most pressing matters in world politics

³⁰⁹ Bacevich, *American Empire*, pp. 119-125.

³¹⁰ Pinar Bilgin and Adam Morton "From 'Rogue' to 'Failed' States: The Fallacy of Short-termism" *Politics* 24 (3) (2004), pp. 169-180.

³¹¹ Jerry Harris and Carl Davidson "Obama: The New Contours of Power" *Race and Class* 50 (4) (2009), pp. 1-19. For an in-depth account of the continuities between Clinton and Bush's economic policies see Emma Mawdsley "The Millennium Challenge Account: *Neoliberalism, Poverty and Security*" *Review of International Political Economy* 14 (3) (2007), pp. 487-509.

³¹² Daalder and Lindsay, *America Unbound*, pp. 185-202.

³¹³ Bilgin and Morton, "From 'Rogue' to 'Failed' States", pp. 169-180. Also see Ivo H. Daalder "The End of Atlanticism" *Survival* 45 (2) (2003), pp. 147-166.

and therefore what the discipline should be focusing on if it is to be deemed policy relevant. The American agenda has remained state-centric, revolving around issues of conflict defined by America and generating means of cooperation, all of which seek to maintain the present Liberal World Order that benefits America.³¹⁴

The question that we now need to reflect upon is; 'how did this American agenda emerge?' Whilst the official discourse may present *the* American agenda, this succinct expression needs to be unpacked in light of the influential role of certain corporations, foundations and think tanks. The interplay between these bodies and the US government is crucial as it partially dictates the construction of American foreign policy. This chapter has elaborated upon *the* American foreign policy agenda, yet we need to briefly pay a closer look at the agendas of a specific set of actors. Unfortunately there is not the room to review all the actors involved, hence the section will focus on a few, beginning with the Rockefeller Foundation, to show how it is the agenda setting capabilities of members of 'epistemic communities' that influence US foreign policy.

Foundations.

According to Inderjeet Parmar "the major American foundations promote Americanism in a variety of ways, principally through supporting the research and activities of academics, think tanks and other intellectuals"³¹⁵. The following brief account of the Rockefeller Foundation shows its commitment to promoting an American-led liberal world order through funding specific research programmes that ensure the advancement of its aims and mission.

The Rockefeller Foundation: The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913 by John D. Rockefeller and aimed to promote the well being of humanity with its wide-ranging philanthropic mission. The foundation represented what came to be known as 'scientific philanthropy'. Barbara Howe defines scientific philanthropy as a rational activity that seeks to "maximize its effects on the social and other problems of order and stability in an industrializing and urbanizing American at the turn of the twentieth century".³¹⁶ The Rockefeller Foundation (and also the Carnegie Corporation) advanced a theory of 'human capital development'³¹⁷ in order to "explain

³¹⁴ Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations", pp. 44-45.

³¹⁵ Inderjeet Parmar "Foreign Policy Fusion: Liberal Interventionists, Conservative Nationalists and Neoconservatives – the New Alliance Dominating the US Foreign Policy Establishment" *International Politics* 46 (2/3) (2009), pp. 190-191.

³¹⁶ Barbara Howe "The Emergence of Scientific Philanthropy" in Arnove, R. F. (ed) *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundation at Home and Abroad* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 30.

³¹⁷ Donald Fisher "The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony: Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Sciences" *Sociology* 17 (2) (1983), pp. 206-233.

and justify their activities, especially in funding higher education and advanced research, but also in attempts to alleviate poverty and disease control”.³¹⁸

From 1999-2009 the Rockefeller Foundation has focused on issues such as redeveloping inner city neighbourhoods in the US, aiding and funding the reconstruction efforts following hurricane Katrina, and working to prevent the transmission of HIV in developing countries. Despite its philanthropic commitment the foundation is founded upon promoting neo-liberal economic values. In the Rockefeller Foundation’s 2009 annual report the President Judith Rodin noted that the foundation “strives to achieve and enable by promoting smart globalization”.³¹⁹ Resultantly, the Rockefeller Foundation favours “particular kinds of economic development”³²⁰ and sponsors research programmes that advocate and focus on its economic preferences.³²¹

Whilst the Rockefeller foundation has no direct links to the creation of US foreign policy, it crucially funds the think tanks and academic research that does influence and advise US foreign policy. For instance, The Rockefeller foundation gives generous funds to the Council of Foreign Affairs, which exerts a large amount of influence over US foreign policy (see next section). Furthermore, each year the foundation awards millions of dollars in grants to different research projects. According to its 2009 annual report it spent \$43 million that year in payable grants.³²² The grants are awarded to research projects that adhere to and promote its agenda.³²³ Such projects and policy recommendations have in the past provided policy recommendations to the US administration. In 2009, for example, the Rockefeller Foundation announced that President Obama adopted initiatives that emerged from one of the Rockefeller’s supported grantees which suggested tool for helping American workers save more and become better able to withstand periods of economic uncertainty.³²⁴ Through an indirect causal relationship, the Rockefeller Foundation is therefore able to promote its agenda through funding specific research, which often goes on to the shape American policy decisions.

Think Tanks.

³¹⁸ Inderjeet Parmar “American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks” *Global Networks* 2 (1) (2002), pp. 16.

³¹⁹ Judith Rodin “President’s Address” *The Rockefeller Foundation 2009 Annual Report*, p. 2. Available at [http://2009annualreport.rockefellerfoundation.org/RockefellerFoundation AnnualReport 2009.pdf](http://2009annualreport.rockefellerfoundation.org/RockefellerFoundation%20AnnualReport%202009.pdf) (Date accessed 28/08/2013).

³²⁰ Parmar “American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks”, pp. 14.

³²¹ For more see Fisher “The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony”, pp. 206-233.

³²² *Rockefeller Foundation 2009 Annual Report*, pp. 19.

³²³ Fisher, “The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony”, pp. 217.

³²⁴ See the Rockefeller Foundation’s website for it’s announcements: <http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/about-us/our-history/2000-present> (Date accessed 28/08/2013)

Think tanks are defined as independent permanent bodies that in theory have “neither a dependent nor derivative policy position”.³²⁵ They are “non-profit organizations that produce and principally rely on expertise and ideas to obtain support and to influence the policymaking process”.³²⁶ Think tanks have a strong desire to inform the policy process through their research and analysis which is often complemented by “informal strategic advisory ties to government, business or the public”.³²⁷ The role of think tanks is also inherently political, as governments can use them as legitimating devices in order to harness support for certain policies, due to their independent and ‘expert status’. During the period under review (1999-2009) it is clear that certain think tanks achieved a considerable degree of influence over the direction and agenda of US foreign policy.

The Project for the New American Century (PNAC): During the Bush Administration the think tank driving American foreign policy was the Project for the New American Century. PNAC was established in 1997 and is an extremely well connected and funded think tank. The founding members of PNAC formed a combination of neo-conservative, and conservative-realist politicians, academics, businessmen, and ideological activists³²⁸ with links to energy giants such as Enron and Halliburton. Regarding PNAC’s aims, according to Parmar “As early as 1998 PNAC leaders argued that the policy of ‘containment’ was inadequate and dangerous; they urged President Clinton to attack Iraq and seize its alleged arsenal of weapons of mass destruction”.³²⁹ 9/11 functioned as the permissive cause in the realization of PNAC’s agenda.³³⁰ PNAC’s advice to Bush was to destroy the Al-Qaeda network through pre-emptive action against ‘rogue states’.³³¹ Not only did PNAC guide the formation of Bush’s post-9/11 foreign policy it also used its influence to shape the agendas of other think tanks and research institutes. The Middle Eastern Forum, the Hudson Institute, and the Middle East Research Institute for example all began to argue for “a new dynamic US foreign policy to eliminate terrorist organizations and networks, ‘rogue states’ and the holders and proliferators of WMD, including of course, Iraq, Iran, Syria North Korea”.³³²

³²⁵ Richard Higgott and Diane Stone “The Limits of Influence: Foreign Policy Think Tanks in Britain and the USA” *Review of International Studies* 20 (1) (1994), pp. 17.

³²⁶ Andrew Rich *Think Tanks, Public Policy and the Politics of Expertise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 11

³²⁷ Higgott and Stone “The Limits of Influence”, pp. 17. For more see J. Smith *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the Rise of the New Policy Elite* (New York: The Free Press, 1991).

³²⁸ Julie Kosterlitz “Empire Strikes Back” *National Journal*, 14th December 2002.

³²⁹ Inderjeet Parmar “Catalysing Events, Think Tanks and American Foreign Policy Shifts: A Comparative Analysis of the Impacts of Pearl Harbor 1941 and 11 September 2001” *Government and Opposition* 40 (1) (2005), pp. 10.

³³⁰ For more on PNAC’s agenda see Ronald W. Cox “The Military-Industrial Complex and US Foreign Policy: Institutionalizing the New Right Agenda in the Post-Cold War Period” in Ansell, A. E. (ed) *Unraveling the Right* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998).

³³¹ Maria Ryan *Neoconservatism and the New American Century* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 78.

³³² Parmar “Catalysing Events, Think Tanks and American Foreign Policy Shifts”, pp. 14).

The implementation/adoption of PNAC's agenda was in part due to its bipartisan support. As the above section highlights, there are a series of continuities between the foreign policies of Clinton and Bush, especially with regard to their policies towards Iraq and 'nation-building'. Senior Democrats such as John Kerry and Joseph Lieberman supported the interventions and regime change missions in Afghanistan and Iraq.³³³ As such there was a great degree of agreement and support for PNAC's aims from both parties. For instance, in 2003 Joseph Lieberman stated "we must reinvigorate US military for the new century through an aggressive transformation that makes it lighter, more lethal, and more readily equipped to win unconventional wars. What American foreign policy needs is to place 'muscle behind our morality' if it is to build the basis of the next American century".³³⁴

It is clear that this think tank dramatically influenced the agenda of US foreign policy following 9/11. The amount of influence it was able to exert was in a large part due to the close links between its members and the US administration at the time. Donald Rumsfeld (Bush's Secretary of Defense), Richard Cheney (Vice-President of the US during the Bush administration) and Paul Wolfowitz (assistant Secretary of Defense) were founding members of PNAC. Their placement within Bush's inner circle ensured that the policy advice PNAC generated was directly delivered to the Bush administration and its adoption encouraged. Further, the financial ties of PNAC to Enron and Halliburton and the funding given by these corporations to the Bush administration also aided the adoption of its foreign policy agenda, which also incorporated the preferences of such corporations. The fact that the aims and policy suggestions put forth by PNAC captured the political sentiments and wishes of the American government (including most Democrats) and population resulting from the vulnerabilities and insecurities generated by 9/11 further ensured the transposition of ideas from PNAC to US foreign policy.

The Council of Foreign Relations (CFR): The CFR emerged after the Versailles Peace Conference, and the outcomes of its economic research agenda influenced US foreign policy during WWII and especially afterwards during the post-war reconstruction period.³³⁵ The CFR was instrumental in the creation of post-WWII economic institutions and the UN.³³⁶ Over the last ten years, the research agenda of the CFR has centered on reforming the multilateral trade system, specifically "the management of the international financial system and the significance and dangers of US-Japanese conflict over trade and competitiveness".³³⁷ Its recent policy initiative "Renewing America" is focused on generating "policy recommendations for revitalizing economic strengths

³³³ See issues of *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* from late 2002.

³³⁴ Joseph Lieberman "If I Were President" *Foreign Policy* 135 (March/April) (2003), pp. 60-61.

³³⁵ G. John Ikenberry "A World Economy Restored: Expert Consensus and the Anglo-American Post War Settlement" *International Organization* 46 (3) (1992), pp. 289-321.

³³⁶ William G. Domhoff *Who Rules America? Challenges to Corporate and Class Dominance: Sixth Edition* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2009), pp. 128.

³³⁷ Higgott and Stone, "The Limits of Influence", pp. 27.

at home and bolstering US competitiveness”.³³⁸ Furthermore, the CFR current Task Forces are all oriented around strengthening American economic relations and ties.³³⁹

The CFR is described by Parmar as the “traditional liberal think tank at the very heart of the US foreign policy establishment”.³⁴⁰ The CFR supported Obama’s presidential campaign and once in office members of the CFR (such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Lawrence Korb and Susan Rice) became Obama’s foreign policy advisors. The CFR’s agenda and policy recommendations (which can also be seen in the articles its journal *Foreign Affairs* publishes) have influenced Obama’s foreign policy in terms of its economic dimension. Obama has focused on reforming the global economic system and its key institutions in line with CFR’s initiatives alongside integrating China in the economic system (another chief aim of the CFR).³⁴¹

The influence on the Obama administration’s foreign policy that the CFR has had is due to the fact it is a well connected and legitimate centre for the study of international affairs. Its current President is Richard Haas (former special assistant to George H. Bush, former Treasury Undersecretary for the Clinton administration and was a close advisor to Secretary of State Colin Powell), and its current directors include Joseph Nye, Madeline Albright, Colin Powell and Fareed Zaharia. The influence that well established think tanks, such as the CFR, are able to exert on US foreign policy is because many policy institutes in the US “act as a revolving door for individuals to come and go from administrative agency to think tank to agency, to media, back for a sabbatical (at a think tank) and finally into a high level policy making position in a sympathetic administration”.³⁴² If a think tanks lacks ‘clout’ in terms of its links to political parties, governmental bureaucracies, foundations, and interest groups then it is unlikely that such a think tank will be able to operationalise its ideas.³⁴³

The RAND Corporation: The RAND corporation is a “non-profit institution that helps promote policy and decision-making through research and analysis”. Founded in 1948 the institution currently focuses on a wide array of issues, from healthcare to business, with the aims of developing effective and enduring solutions. Despite its wide remit “about one half of RAND’s research involves national security issues”.³⁴⁴ During the Cold War RAND was incredibly influential in the formulation of US security policy. According to Richard Higgott and Diane Stone “RAND scholars, as civilian security intellectuals, played a central part in the formulation of US

³³⁸ Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin “Letters from the Co-Chairs” *Council of Foreign Affairs 2012 Annual Report*, p. 6. Available at

http://i.cfr.org/content/about/annual_report/ar_2012/AR2012_for_Web.pdf (Date accessed 28/08/2013).

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11.

³⁴⁰ Parmar, “Catalysing Events, Think Tanks and American Foreign Policy Shifts”, pp. 179.

³⁴¹ See the CFR’s previous annual reports for further information.

³⁴² Edwin J. Feulner “Ideas, Think Tanks and Government” *Quadrant* 29 (11) (1985), pp. 24.

³⁴³ Higgott and Stone, “The Limits of Influence”, pp. 30.

³⁴⁴ *Credibility Amidst Controversy: 2005 RAND Annual Report*, pp. 5. Available at http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/corporate_pubs/2010/RAND_CP1-2005.pdf (Date accessed 27/08/2013).

security orthodoxy of the 1950s and 1960s".³⁴⁵ RAND personnel advised the government to implement its defense management and counter insurgent strategies; in the 1960s RAND's intellectual dominance over US defense and security policy was nearly absolute.³⁴⁶

Whilst RAND's recent/current influence is not quite so hegemonic it does still wield a large degree of influence over US national security policies, in that it is able to ensure that some of its preferences are met and its policies adopted. One prominent example of the adoption of RAND's policy recommendations was Donald Rumsfeld's 'revolution in military affairs'.³⁴⁷ RAND championed the defensive capabilities of America's airpower, which was then institutionalized by Rumsfeld (a board member of RAND) during the Bush administration. Another pertinent example is the use of unmanned aerial vehicles by the Obama administration as apart of its national security policy.³⁴⁸ Not only was this policy suggestion promoted by RAND, RAND researchers have also been instrumental in pioneering this field of weapons development.³⁴⁹

A large number of RAND's recent research briefs focus on American military defense with a particular emphasis on airpower, counter-terrorism and counter-insurgencies strategies, bioterrorism and nuclear weapons. These research briefs help highlight RAND's agenda and its impact of US policy. The corporations continuing close ties to the Pentagon have ensured that its policy suggestions and thus agenda are adopted and implemented.

This brief section has sought to show that American foreign policy is the amalgamation of different agendas and policy recommendations produced by a variety of different actors. Corporations, think tanks, elite individuals and so on are able to ensure their preferences are realized through the networks of patronage and expertise. Whilst each agency/body may have its own agenda and notion of what issues should be being researched and what 'international problems' the community of scholars should be addressing and devising policy recommendations for, we need to examine whether this has translated into the IR community. Are IR scholars adhering to *the* American foreign policy agenda? Has the influence of think tanks such as RAND and the CFR transferred over into the discipline of IR to dictate the focus of scholarly research?

The Diverse Discipline.

³⁴⁵ Higgott and Stone, "The Limits of Influence", pp. 25.

³⁴⁶ Colin S. Gray "What RAND Hath Wrought" *Foreign Policy* 4 (Autumn) (1971), pp. 119.

³⁴⁷ Paul K. Davis "Military Transformation? Which Transformation and What Lies Ahead?" in Cimbala, S. J. (ed) *Policy, Strategy and War: The George W. Bush Defense Program* (Virginia: Potomac Books, 2010), pp. 13.

³⁴⁸ For more see Christine Gray "President Obama's 2010 National Security Strategy and International Law on the Use of Force" *Chinese Journal of International Law* 10 (1) (2011), pp. 35-53; Joseba Zulaika "Drones, Witches and Other Flying Objects: the Force of Fantasy in US Counter-Terrorism" *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 5 (1) (2012), pp. 51-68 and Ryan J. Vogel "Drone Warfare and the Laws of Armed Conflict" *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy* 39 (1) (2010), pp. 101-139.

³⁴⁹ Jeffrey A. Drezner and Robert S. Leonard *Global Hawk and Darkstar: Flight Test in the HAV UEV ACTD Programme* (New York: RAND Corporation, 2002).

The claims that America is intellectually hegemonic in the discipline of IR due to its ability to set the intellectual agenda are challenged by the results of the journal and conference investigation conducted. Only 21.9% of articles under review focused on items designated to be of concern to the United States (see figure 1.1), and only 15.9% of panels at the discipline's international conferences examined addressed issues pertaining to the US agenda (see figure 1.2). This means that out of all the articles that were investigated from 1999-2009 only 661 made their ontological foci synonymous with the foreign policy concerns of the United States, and out of the conferences examined from 2005-2011 only 901 panels did the same. Combining both sets of results only 18% of research in these different academic outputs adhered to the American agenda. The results suggest that majority of intellectual output under inspection in the specified time frame was focusing on other issues.

Whilst the United States may have identified specific items of concern it has not been able to influence the research interests of IR scholars to follow this agenda. Subsequently, one cannot argue à la Stanley Hoffmann and Steve Smith that to study international relations is to study the role of the United States in the international system.³⁵⁰ Presently the field's academics are writing about and placing their attention on a whole spectrum of issues, concerns, topics and events, and not just those that have been demarcated as 'important' by the United States foreign policy elites and think tanks.

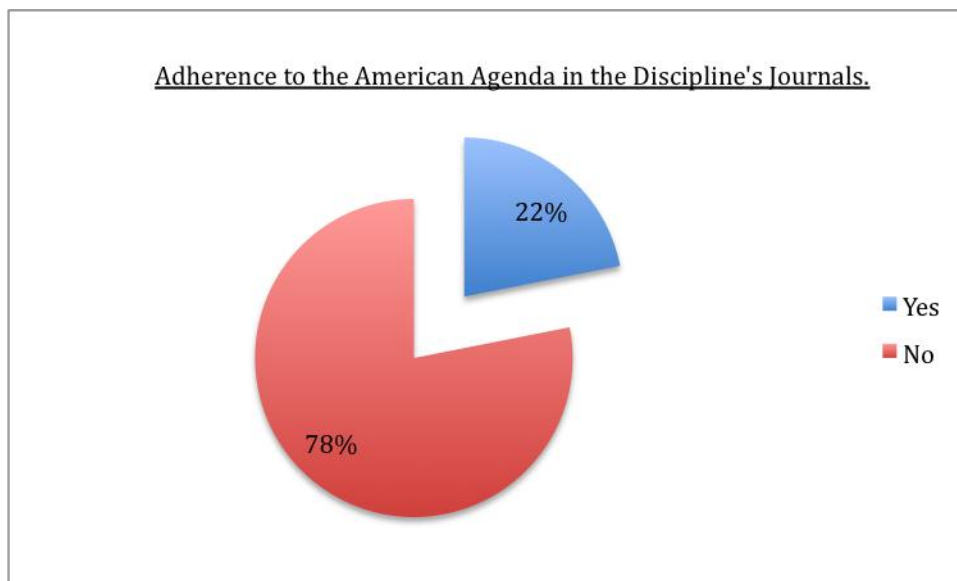


Figure 1.1: Percentage of articles adhering to the American agenda in 12 of the discipline's international Journals from 1999-2009.

³⁵⁰ Hoffmann "An American Social Science" pp. 47; Smith "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations" pp. 189.

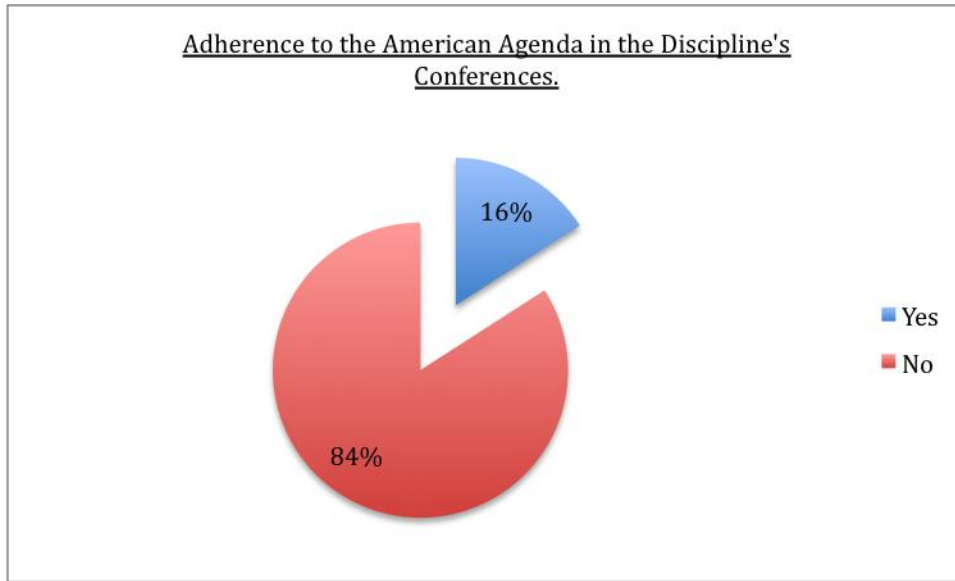


Figure 1.2: Percentage of panels adhering to the American agenda in 4 groupings of international conferences from 2005-2011.

Breaking down the overall percentage of 21.9% of articles adhering to the American agenda to gain a more nuanced insight into the focus of the discipline and examine the percentage for each journal respectively, a divergence in orientation between the American journals, the European ones and the Pacific publications illustrates itself (see table 1.1).

| Adherence to the American Agenda %: | IO | IS | ISQ | ISP | WP | EJIR | CC | JIRD | IR | RIS | AJIA | IRAP |
|-------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Yes | 32.3 | 48.5 | 6.8 | 28.5 | 37.7 | 8.3 | 7.8 | 5 | 22.1 | 14.2 | 34.8 | 22.4 |
| No | 67.7 | 51.5 | 93.2 | 71.5 | 62.3 | 91.7 | 92.2 | 95 | 77.9 | 85.8 | 65.2 | 77.6 |

IO = International Organization; IS = International Security; ISQ = International Studies Quarterly; ISP = International Studies Perspectives; WP = World Politics; EJIR = European Journal of International Relations; CC = Cooperation and Conflict; JIRD = Journal of International Relations and Development; IR = International Relations; RIS = Review of International Studies; AJIA = Australian Journal of International Affairs; IRAP = International Relations of the Asia Pacific.

Table 1.1: Distribution of articles adhering to the American agenda in 12 international journals from 1999-2009.

The American journals published more articles concerning themselves with the policy interests of the United States than the European and Asia Pacific journals. Almost half of the content in *International Security* turned its attention towards 9/11, Iraq, China, North Korea and nuclear proliferation for instance. The degree of correlation between American foreign policymakers and American academics was also captured by the 2012 TRIP survey of IR scholars and policy

practitioners.³⁵¹ However, whilst the survey showed some points similarity (regarding global debt crisis and failed states) it also highlighted the vast differences in focus between the two sets of actors. For instance, according to the 2012 TRIP survey 28% of policy makers were concerned with international terrorism compared to the 12% of academics; 0% of policymakers were addressing the eurozone crisis compared to the 20% of American academics; and 27% of policymakers were focused on WMD proliferation compared to only 11% of academics.³⁵² This survey supports the finding of this investigation, that instead of exhibiting a full-scale emulation of the US foreign policy agenda, IR academics, including American scholars, are exercising their critical distance from US foreign policy elites.

It is somewhat unsurprising scholarship in America revolves around America's role in world affairs more so than in Europe and the Asia Pacific, so that the scope and subject matter of the field in the US becomes intertwined with what its administration and foreign policy elites decides its greatest foreign policy concerns are. This departure and the minimal engagement with the American agenda, especially by the European journals, questions the claims in the literature that the US exercises its hegemonic influence through its agenda setting capabilities. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the test of dominance is emulation (either through consent or coercion). Yet the non-American journals did not emulate the American agenda and consequently construct a discipline with an American centric subject matter. For example only 7.8% of scholars who published in *Cooperation and Conflict* from 1999-2009 produced pieces of research that focused on American foreign policy concerns. Instead of concerning themselves with the threat of terrorism, nuclear weapons, or rogue states, and encouraging democracy promotion the majority of scholars published in *Cooperation and Conflict* looked at Nordic/Scandinavian foreign policy, and Securitization Theory. A large percentage of articles focused on issues pertaining to the EU and Scandinavia with little reference to areas outside of this perspective. The journal and the academics who were published instead of adhering to the American agenda operated within their own parameters, independently constructing the subject matter of IR without it revolving around the US and its role in the international system. The authors of the published content paid little attention to the American agenda as defined by certain US think tanks and US foreign policy elites, and often when scholars did it was largely for the purpose of critique. *Cooperation and Conflict*, like the other European journals chose to 'go its own way' and aid the construction of the discipline of IR in their respective communities in detachment from the United States.³⁵³ Instead of adhering to the demands of American policy elites, and demonstrating their subservience to the American IR community these journals choose to publish research and promote the study of international relations on their own terms and not ones preferred by the United States.

³⁵¹ Paul C. Avery et. al., "The Ivory Tower Survey: How IR Scholars See the World" *Foreign Policy* 191 (Jan/Feb) (2012), pp. 32.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

³⁵³ Brian C. Schmidt "Epilogue" in Jørgensen, K. E. and Knudsen, T. B. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 264-266.

There is, however, one seeming anomaly: the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*. 34.8% of the articles published from 1999-2009 in the *AJIA* researched issues of concern to the United States administration. Here one could then potentially make the case for the operation of American dominance due to the fairly high percentage of alignment with the American agenda. Yet, considering the symbiosis between Australian foreign policy concerns and those of the US this figure is not that unexpected. It is difficult for one to separate cases of American agenda compliance from those articles operating with an Australian agenda. There were clear links between the John Howard and Bush governments, with the Australian government broadcasting its support for US foreign policy initiatives for its own strategic interests.³⁵⁴ As such it is not astonishing that the outlook of the *AJIA* was seemingly American in part due to the similar security concerns of both America and Australia. Taking into account Australia's regional security concerns and its relationship with the United States it makes sense that this journal would be more aligned with the American agenda than the European ones.³⁵⁵ But the number of articles focusing on 'international terrorism' WMDs, and rogue states for example still only accounts for just over a third of articles published. The remaining 65.2% focused on a wide array of concerns, especially those relating to Australia's foreign relations with other states.³⁵⁶

It seems that each journal is strategically focused and has its own regional lens as well as a global one. Considering each publication has its own mission statement and orientation it makes sense that the substantive direction also maps on to a regional outlook due to strategic interests and target audiences. The fact that the American journals focus more heavily on the American agenda and the non-American ones do not is a natural consequence of 1) the politics of publication³⁵⁷ and 2) the existence of different IR communities, both of which prompt an element of parochialism in order to appeal to an intended audience.³⁵⁸ These factors entrench the regional outlooks of each publication, and ensure their defined identities. In order to first secure and then maintain readerships journals need to maintain a separate identity in order to attract and satisfy their target audiences. This need and the pressures placed upon editors by publishers to acquire readers and retain subscriptions explains the space each journal tries to negotiate and

³⁵⁴ For more see Brendon O'Connor "Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy, 2003" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 58 (2) (2004), pp. 207-220; Maryanne Kelton "Perspectives on Australian Foreign Policy, 2005" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 60 (2) (2006), pp. 229-246; and Tarcisius Tara Kasutaulaka "Australian Foreign Policy and the RAMSCI Intervention in Solomon Islands" *The Contemporary Pacific* 17 (2) (2005), pp. 283-308.

³⁵⁵ For more on the state of the discipline in Australia see James Cotton "Celebrating 75 Years: The Australian Institute of International Affairs and Australian International Relations" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62 (4) (2008), pp. 541-557 and James Cotton "Realism, Rationalism, Race: On the Early International Relations Discipline in Australia" *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (3) (2009), pp. 627-647.

³⁵⁶ For more on the Australian IR Community's 'outlook' see Michael Wesley "The Rich Tradition of Australian Realism" *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 55 (2) (2009), pp. 324-334.

³⁵⁷ Such political practices are explored in more depth in the chapter on Dominance as Gate-Keeping.

³⁵⁸ The parochial tendencies of the global discipline are examined in the chapter on Institutional Dominance.

why it may prefer certain types of scholarship, which may include articles that focus on regional issues for example.³⁵⁹

For instance, each of the American publications investigated (except *International Studies Quarterly*) tended to orientate around a different aspect of the American agenda. *International Organization* primarily looked at issues relating to the American economy and American economic relations, and *World Politics* contained many articles paying attention to democratic transitions and putting forth arguments about the alleged benefits of democratization and democracy promotion. Whereas *ISQ* was quite detached from America's position and role in the international system. Rather than seeing international relations through an American lens the published manuscripts were more 'disciplinary' than 'commentary'. In other words instead of focusing on 'external' events or 'occurrences' in international politics a large amount of articles were geared towards testing earlier works or other theories/methodologies/data sets/and or models. If one was to gain an insight into 'events' that have occurred around and during the period under review *ISQ* would prove to be a poor guide, as the articles largely did not relate to or focus on timely or contemporary issues. The focus was rather on disciplinary debates especially methodological ones rather than providing analysis on the situation in Sudan, or the recent British terrorist attacks or the global recession, or exogenous foreign policy concerns more generally, American or otherwise.

Each journal (non-American and American) has carved out its own niche, due to the aims of the editorial teams and the broader mission of each journal in terms of providing a space for certain forms of scholarship and creating specific conversations and dialogue.³⁶⁰ Therefore it makes sense for each journal to be slightly parochial in terms of establishing and promoting a certain geographical outlook or issue preference. Furthermore the international reputation that each journal amasses then influences academics in terms of deciding where to send their work. Academics have to make strategic choices regarding where their work will best be received.³⁶¹ This in turn reinforces the identity and orientation of each journal. Because other structural forces (journal rankings and concerns with subscriptions for instance) and forms of dominance (for example editorial decisions may be used in a gate-keeping sense) may be conditioning journal content and therefore effecting the degree to which a given journal adheres to the American agenda it was vital to look at a different realm of academic production to see if the same trends were occurring. However, the research presented at the conferences investigated adhered in an even more marginal degree to the U.S agenda.

Looking at the composition of the overall figure of 15.9% of panels adhering to the American agenda we can see that the conferences that contained the most number of panels concerning themselves with items of interest to the United States were the ones organized by the

³⁵⁹ Again this point is expanded upon in the chapter on Dominance as Gate-Keeping.

³⁶⁰ Gunther Hellmann and Harald Müller "Editing (I)nternational (R)elations: A Changing World" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 6 (4) (2003), pp. 372-389.

³⁶¹ Anssi Paasi "Globalization, Academic Capitalism and the Uneven Geographies of International Journal Publishing Space" *Environment and Planning* 35 (5) (2005), pp. 772-774.

British International Studies Association. Once again this is perhaps not surprising given the UK's 'special relationship' with the US, yet as table 1.2 shows still only 28.5% of research presented at BISA from 2007-2011 adhered to the American agenda, meaning there is no evidence of complete mirroring of the US agenda.

| Adherence to the American Agenda from 2005-2011 % | BISA | CEEISA | ISA | ISA-JC | Overall |
|---|------|--------|------|--------|---------|
| Yes: | 28.5 | 9.7 | 14.4 | 20.1 | 15.9 |
| No: | 71.5 | 90.3 | 85.6 | 79.9 | 84.1 |

CEEISA = the Central and Eastern European International Studies Association, BISA = the British International Studies Association, ISA = the International Studies Association, ISA-JC = the joint ISA and regional conventions.

Table 1.2: Percentage of panels adhering to the American agenda in the specified international conferences from 2005-2011.

Those panels that focused on issues marked as America's top foreign policy aims looked mainly at counter-terrorism and intelligence initiatives, as well as reflecting on past and present practices in Afghanistan and Iraq. Considering Britain's involvement in both operations and the terrorist threats and attacks that have occurred in the UK recently this academic attention is not unexpected. One could claim that such adherence is to the British rather than American agenda given their similarities. Articles that adhered to the American agenda were however, in the minority of intellectual outputs showcased at BISA, meaning one can infer that academic endeavours taking place in the British discipline of IR remain largely independent from policy-making elites. The 'ivory tower' it seems is keeping its crucial distance in order to perform the crucial task of 'speaking truth to power'³⁶² and academic critique.

What was interesting is that the percentage of panels concerning themselves with issues such as rogue states and nuclear weapons for instance, at BISA was higher than the British journals reviewed, and this trend was also found with the European conferences that were investigated as part of the joint conventions. Looking at table 1.3 we can see that a higher percentage of research presented at the European conferences adhered to the American agenda than was the case when compared to the substantive focus of the European journals. This suggests, or rather supports, the notion that some research that is presented at conferences often does not end up in the discipline's journals. Either the work is abandoned, modified or finds alternative future avenues of academic expression. This was also found in the reverse, in terms

³⁶² Hans J. Morgenthau *Truth and Power: Essays of a Decade 1960-1970* (London: Pall Mall, 1970), pp. 15. For more see Murielle Cozette "Reclaiming the Critical Dimension of Realism: Hans J Morgenthau and the Ethics of Scholarship" *Review of International Studies* 34 (1) (2008), pp. 5-27 and Robert J. Meyers "Hans J. Morgenthau: On Speaking Truth to Power" *Society* 29 (2) (1992), pp. 65-71.

of what was present at the conferences investigated and what was absent in the journals reviewed. For example there were numerous panels on feminist scholarship in all the conferences, yet there was a notable silence of feminist research published.³⁶³ The meta-theoretical debates taking place were also substantially higher in the conferences than the in journals.

| Adherence to the American Agenda % | WISC 2005 (European) | WISC 2008 (European) | ABRI-ISA 2009 (Latin America) | Asia-Pacific-ISA 2011 (Asia-Pacific) |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Yes | 17.84 | 23.07 | 19.56 | 21.53 |
| No | 82.16 | 76.93 | 80.44 | 78.47 |

Table 1.3: Percentage of panels adhering to the American agenda for the four conferences reviewed as part of the joint conventions category.

The dynamics explaining these trends and the potential forms of dominance that may be affecting content will be explored in more depth in later chapters. But this brief insight aims to highlight the fact that research exhibited at conferences is more encompassing in terms of substantive issues, theoretical diversity and the American agenda in certain cases. In other words the conferences investigated seemed more inclusive and representative of global scholarship than the journals examined.

The higher rate of research adhering to the American agenda in the non-American conferences and the more inclusive nature when compared to the journals is also in part probably due to the purpose behind these academic events. Conferences are designed as platforms to showcase and celebrate each respective IR community, which naturally would create a leaning towards demonstrating the breadth and depth of scholarship being undertaken which would include 'American issues'. Furthermore as conferences present a unique opportunity for an academic community to physically get together and debate in person it makes sense to include a broad range of research in order to receive optimum feedback and for participants to benefit from the knowledge of others. Bar the ISA³⁶⁴ each of the conferences displayed a tendency to include slightly more 'American' research. It must be stressed, however, that none of the conferences and by association regional academic communities showed any sign of wholesaley replicating the American agenda, which one would expect if America were exercising it's dominance through its agenda setting capacity. Whilst the conferences did contain a slightly higher percentage of research focusing on issues of concern to the American administration this is not to be confused with American disciplinary dominance operationalised in this manner. Rather it is explained by the nature of conferences and the fact they are a forum

³⁶³ This point is explored and explained in much more depth in the chapter on dominance as gate-keeping.

³⁶⁴ The ISA was the only exception to this general rule. Only 14.4% of panels focused on items designated as pressing issues by the US, yet the American journals showed a much higher degree of adherence. This is most likely explained by the organizations aim to be a hub for global scholarship rather than representative of the American IR community.

for ideas that may not end up in journals. Overall, looking at the results from both the journal and conference investigations it is clear that research in our discipline is largely independent from the policy-making elites in America. The majority of recent research has not focused on American foreign policy concerns and instead has concerned itself with a myriad of differing issues and foci. The subject matter of the contemporary discipline is as a result of this critical distance incredibly inclusive and plural.

Conclusion.

Despite the many assertions in the literature that claim America's hegemonic position in the international system has enabled it to set the intellectual agenda in the discipline of IR thereby making IR an American dominated field,³⁶⁵ the results of this investigation have indicated otherwise. Looking at the results produced by the journal and conference investigations it seems America has not been able to translate its power preponderance into an intellectual hegemony, and therefore it has failed to orient the discipline of IR around the foreign policy concerns of the US as defined by US think tanks and foreign policy elites. The results presented here suggest that America has not been able to exercise its power to influence the research interests of IR academics to meet its policy needs.

Measuring dominance in terms of adherence to the US agenda, if there was a US intellectual condominium in action exercised in this specific way we would expect to see the discipline's intellectual outputs and research conforming to the needs of the United States administration, and its preferred think tanks. In other words research would be focused around being policy relevant and addressing the items of concerns that are designated by American policy elites. Yet the field's researchers are not overwhelmingly aligning their research with the foreign policy concerns of America and its elite foreign policy institutions. There is little evidence of emulation and replication by the field's scholars. As Higgott and Stone argue "Research carried out by Royal Institute of International Affairs, Centre for Economic Policy Research, Brookings, American Enterprise Institute, CFR, and RAND is not analogous to that undertaken in universities".³⁶⁶ Looking at the data produced here we can say with a fair degree of certainty that the global discipline of IR does not adhere to the American agenda as the overall outlook of the global discipline is not American, the substantive focus of global IR is *not* viewed through an American lens. Rather than having an Americo-centric subject matter the focus of the discipline is international and concerns itself with a multitude of issues, concerns, events and topics. Meaning that to study IR is not only to study America and its role in the international system but also a vast host of other issues. The concerns expressed by Steve Smith³⁶⁷ and others³⁶⁸ that American

³⁶⁵ For example see Chan, *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations* and Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations", pp. 67-85.

³⁶⁶ Higgott and Stone, "The Limits of Influence", pp. 29.

³⁶⁷ Smith, "Singing Our World into Existence", pp. 499-515.

³⁶⁸ For example see Pasha and Murphy, "Knowledge/Power/Inequality", pp. 1-6.

dominance leads to a narrow discipline that ignores many international realities are not warranted, for the discipline is more diverse and in a much healthier state than either Stanley Hoffmann or Smith claimed, a point that will continue to be demonstrated as this thesis progresses.

In 1977 Hoffmann called for a 'triple distance' as he argued that IR was "too close to the fire" and the discipline needed to create some independence from the demands of policy elites in order to focus on "the weak and the revolutionary".³⁶⁹ It seems that Hoffmann's disciplinary aspiration came true. In the years since he wrote his article the discipline has moved away from being primarily focused on America's role in the world and with American foreign policy concerns. Whilst the discipline may have been dominated by America through its ability to determine the intellectual agenda in the 1970s this is no longer the case. The discipline has undergone a substantial shift and has broadened its academic horizons. An ever-growing body of literature and research is devoted to a sweeping range of issues, including those addressing the various forms of inequality in today's world. The concerns surrounding the 'failure' of the discipline³⁷⁰ and its inability to deal with international realities due to the perceived narrow purview are slightly unfounded. Whilst the discipline may still be critiqued for being Eurocentric in outlook due to the formation of the international system itself and the language and state-centricity of some theories³⁷¹ it has developed and maintained a critical distance from American policy making elites.³⁷² The discipline displayed this independence through its eclectic range of topics, especially those that are critical in orientation.

The broadening of the discipline's ontological scope and critical distance from policy-making elites has not been seen as a positive development by all in the field. Kal Holsti, for instance has argued that the range of topics and issues addressed by the discipline and therefore what comes under the rubric of international relations has expanded to such an extent as leave the discipline without a core.³⁷³ Whereas according to William Wallace the discipline of IR has become too distant from the policy-making sphere and as a result is in danger of becoming irrelevant.³⁷⁴ According to Christian Büger and Frank Gadinger an increasing number of scholars have begun to question how useful our knowledge is,³⁷⁵ as such they have begun to question whether the gap between the worlds of policy makers and academics needs to be bridged.³⁷⁶ This

³⁶⁹ Hoffmann "An American Social Science", pp. 59.

³⁷⁰ Barry Buzan and Richard Little "Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to do About It" *Millennium* 30 (1) (2001), pp. 19-39.

³⁷¹ Branwen Gruffydd Jones *Decolonizing International Relations* (Maryland: Rowman & Little, 2006).

³⁷² Wallace, "Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats", pp. 305.

³⁷³ Kal J. Holsti quoted in Adam Jones "Interview with Kal Holsti" *Review of International Studies* 28 (3) (2002), pp. 621.

³⁷⁴ Wallace, "Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats", pp. 307.

³⁷⁵ Christian Büger and Frank Gadinger "Reassembling and Dissecting: International Relations From a Science Studies Perspective" *International Studies Perspectives* 8 (1) (2007), pp. 93.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

concern has been reflected in the themes of a number of recent conferences and publications.³⁷⁷ For instance, the 2012 BISA Conference asked participants to reflect on the policy relevance and impact of their research and to question whether they have a responsibility to address policy concerns.

Whether one sees this as a positive or negative state of affairs for the discipline, this should not detract from the disciplinary reality that the discipline of IR is diverse in its focus as its intellectual agenda is not determined by the United States. Meaning the United States is not able to exercise its disciplinary dominance in this manner. By demonstrating the discipline's diverse subject matter the results of the this investigation challenge one prominent self-image of the discipline and therefore a number of state of the discipline accounts, hence we can argue that such disciplinary depictions do not capture the full range of disciplinary dynamics in action.

³⁷⁷ See for example George Lawson "For a Public International Relations" *International Political Sociology* 2 (1) (2008), pp. 17-37; Stephen Walt "The Relationship Between Theory and Policy in International Relations" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005), pp. 23-48; and Stephen Walt "International Affairs and the Public Sphere" *Social Science Research Council*, 21st July 2011. Available at <http://publicsphere.ssrc.org/walt-international-affairs-and-the-public-sphere/> (date accessed 25/08/2013).

3.

American Theoretical Dominance?

The previous chapter looked at the claims surrounding American disciplinary dominance in its agenda setting form. This chapter, however, will look at the arguments concerning American preponderance in the discipline of International Relations through its ability to allegedly dominate the discipline theoretically. Whilst the claims are multifarious in terms of which theoretical perspective is said to dominate, the overarching assumption in the literature is that American intellectual hegemony operates through being able to set a theoretical precedent, and through commanding adherence to this predefined orthodoxy, whereby the alternative to such observance is marginalization and academic exile to the periphery.³⁷⁸

There is no agreement within IR about which theory(ies) supposedly dominates and therefore indicates America's disciplinary dominance. There are three main arguments that have emerged from the literature regarding the preponderance of certain theories. It is claimed that the US is intellectually hegemonic because 1) Realism (as a school of thought which includes both its classical and structural variants) is the dominant theory in the discipline;³⁷⁹ 2) Neo-realism and neo-liberalism are the mainstream's preferred theoretical model and therefore the discipline's theoretical orthodoxy;³⁸⁰ and 3) Constructivism is the dominant theoretical approach, as this approach is claimed to be 'American', IR is arguably an American dominated discipline.³⁸¹ Furthermore, each of these assertions supports another related claim of American theoretical dominance; it is argued America dominates the discipline not only because its theories do, but also because it produces the greatest volume of theoretical research.³⁸² This has resulted in other IR communities becoming dependent on American intellectual productions, meaning American theories, thinkers and texts.³⁸³ American dominance is apparently exercised and entrenched through structural dependence, which results in further replication of the desired

³⁷⁸ J. Ann Tickner "On the Frontlines or Sidelines of Knowledge and Power? Feminist Practices of Responsible Scholarship" *International Studies Review* 8 (3) (2006), pp. 383-395

³⁷⁹ Fred Halliday "International Relations in a Post-Hegemonic Age" *International Affairs* 85 (1) (2009), pp. 39.

³⁸⁰ Thomas Bierkstekker "The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Tickner, A. B. and Waever, O. (eds) *International Relations Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Routledge: London, 2009), pp. 308-328.

³⁸¹ Steve Smith "The Discipline of International Relations: An American Social Science?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (3) (2000), pp. 374-402. Also see Paul C. Avery et. al "The Foreign Policy Survey: Inside the Ivory Tower" *Foreign Policy* 191 (Jan/Feb) 2012, pp. 93.

³⁸² Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory? An Introduction" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 294.

³⁸³ Kal, J. Holsti *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985).

orthodoxy as other IR communities through their reliance on American literature adopt and emulate the mainstream's preferences.³⁸⁴

In order to examine whether IR can be depicted as an American dominated discipline through addressing the issue theoretically this chapter will firstly explore each of the above claims in turn and look at the narrative behind American theoretical preponderance. This chapter will address how this alleged theoretical hegemony came about and how it supposedly operates before examining the professed implications. Secondly, this chapter will assess the validity of these claims in light of the results produced from the 1999-2009 journal investigation.³⁸⁵ Drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci, a dominant actor becomes the 'model' for others to follow and emulate, such replication 'may enhance the prestige and hence the power of the dominant' actor or in this case IR community.³⁸⁶ Therefore if America were disciplinary dominant in this manner one would expect to see the American mainstream's theoretical preferences emulated and subscribed to by the majority of IR scholars.³⁸⁷ Measuring dominance as replication this chapter will look to see if the majority of research in the twelve journals investigated are using certain 'American' theoretical approaches. As with conceptions surrounding adherence to the American agenda, this chapter challenges the prevalent assumptions in the literature, for it does not provide corroborative evidence of an alleged theoretical orthodoxy in operation. Despite the many accounts in the field lamenting the presence of either a realist, neo-realist/neo-liberalist or constructivist mainstream that polices the discipline; the present academic trend illustrated by the results was for theoretical pluralism. As such this chapter will explore the debates surrounding theoretical pluralism and argue that this current disciplinary reality has benefitted IR. Despite the plural theoretical environment America does dominate the discipline in a certain respect because it produces the majority of theoretical output.³⁸⁸ In order to explore such claims, finally, this chapter will examine what it means for a theory to be classed as 'American' and question the 'Americanness' of certain theories and how they have been received and understood in other IR communities. In doing so we will be able to explore not only the identities of certain theories, and the movement of ideas, but also show how the issue of American theoretical dominance is much more complicated than is often presented in the literature.

Overall, this chapter aims to challenge a number of prominent assumptions about the theoretical orientation of the global discipline of IR. Primarily, it attempts to illustrate that rather than a discipline that operates with an American mainstream rigorously policing and maintaining the discipline's borders, the discipline is in a state of plurality which challenges a number of

³⁸⁴ Arlene Tickner "Hearing Latin American Voices in International Relations Studies" *International Studies Perspectives* 4 (4) (2003), pp. 326.

³⁸⁵ For the methodology see the relevant section in the introductory chapter.

³⁸⁶ Antonio Gramsci quoted in David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 36.

³⁸⁷ Pinar Bilgin "Thinking Past 'Western' IR?" *Third World Quarterly* 29 (1) (2008), pp. 5-23.

³⁸⁸ Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline*, and Acharya and Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory?", pp. 287-312.

entrenched notions regarding IR's American self-image. Furthermore, it also raises a number of questions about the formation of theories and attempts to problematise how academics unquestioningly reproduce certain notions and self-discipline themselves in the process.

Dominance and Dependence: The Claims of American Theoretical Preponderance.

This first section aims to reproduce the popular historiographical narrative of the theoretical developments within IR. In doing so this section will highlight how the three claims regarding which theories allegedly dominate the contemporary discipline emerged in the literature, what they are founded upon and how they have been reproduced. Furthermore, as previously mentioned these arguments support and demonstrate the notion that the American IR community produces the greatest volume of theoretical literature, which the rest of global IR community consumes. The arguments surrounding the production and consumption of IR theory and global dependence on the American IR will also be explored in order to unpack and assess this form and means of American dominance.

Forms of Theoretical Dominance.

According to Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan America displays its intellectual hegemony through the fact that its theories dominate.³⁸⁹ During the period from 1945 to around the late 1970s the American theory that was claimed to dominate the global discipline of International Relations was realism. Despite the European origins and inception of the theory, Stanley Hoffmann stated that its theoretical home became the United States as the theory developed and drew on US experiences, and became institutionalized in American universities.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, the theory became associated with the American administration's foreign policy during the Cold War; not only did this cement realism's 'American' status, it also aided realism's rise to disciplinary dominance.³⁹¹ A typical history of the discipline as told through the discourse of the Great Debates depicts the tale of realism's continued disciplinary preponderance.³⁹² Despite the

³⁸⁹ Acharya and Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory?", pp. 294.

³⁹⁰ Stanley Hoffmann "An American Social Science: International Relations" *Daedalus* 106 (3) (1977), pp. 44.

³⁹¹ Steve Smith "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science" *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 198.

³⁹² It is important to note that this narrative itself helps aid the image of realism's dominance. The accounts often serve to legitimize certain perceptions of realism's disciplinary centrality. For more on the Great Debates and how they present an image of Realism's seeming continued dominance see Yosef Lapid "The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era" *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (3) (1989), pp. 235-254; Arend Lijphart "International Relations Theory: Great Debates and Lesser Debates" *International Social Science Journal* 26 (2) (1974), pp. 11-21, Richard Mansbach and John Vasquez *In Search of Theory: A New Paradigm for Global Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); William Olson and A. J. R. Groom *International Relations Then and Now: Origins and Trends in Interpretation* (London: HarperCollins, 1991); and Ole Wæver "Still a Discipline After All These Debates?" in Dunne, T.,

challenges from competing schools of thought - Idealism in the First Debate, Behaviouralism in the Second, and Liberalism and Marxism in the third or as it is commonly known the Inter-Paradigm debate – many such as Barry Buzan and Stefano Guzzini have claimed that Realism has been the dominant orthodoxy in IR since World War II.³⁹³ In *The Power of Power Politics* John Vasquez empirically captured realism's dominance, through illustrating how realism in its classical variant has guided and informed more than 90% of research published in a number of the discipline's journals from 1945-1970.³⁹⁴

Realism's dominance is still very much a contemporary disciplinary reality according to Daniel Philpott, and despite recent challenges it "persists formidably".³⁹⁵ Whilst realism faced a barrage of criticism due to its failure to predict the end of the Cold War³⁹⁶ - which looked set to threaten its hegemonic position – it has allegedly experienced a resurgence due to recent American foreign policies concerning the invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003.³⁹⁷ This resurgence has apparently secured realism's dominant position within IR. For example, Brian Schmidt writes, "realism is considered by many to be the leading paradigm in the field"³⁹⁸ whereas Jack Donnelly claims "political realism, *Realpolitik*, 'power politics', is the most oldest and most frequently adopted theory of international relations".³⁹⁹ Realism has remained central, it is argued, is due to its success in defending itself.⁴⁰⁰ This is seen for instance by the various responses from prominent realists, such as William Wohlforth, with regards to the criticisms

Kurki, M., and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 288-308.

³⁹³ Barry Buzan "The Timeless Wisdom of Realism?" in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 47- 65 and Stefano Guzzini *Realism in International Relations and International Political Economy: The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold* (London: Routledge, 1998).

³⁹⁴ John Vasquez *The Power of Power Politics: From Classical Realism to Neo-traditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998),

³⁹⁵ Daniel Philpott *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 5.

³⁹⁶ For example see Michael Cox "Why did we get the End of the Cold War Wrong?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 11 (2) (2009), pp. 161-176; John Lewis Gaddis "International relations Theory and the End of the Cold War" *International Security* 17 (3) (1992/1993), pp. 5-58; and Friedrich Kratochwil "The Embarrassment of Changes: Neorealism as the Science of Realpolitik without Politics" *Review of International Studies* 19 (1) (1993), pp. 63-80.

³⁹⁷ Colin Gray "World Politics as Usual After 9/11: Realism Vindicated" in Booth, K. and Dunne, T. (eds) *Worlds in Collision: Terror and the Future of Global Order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 226-234 and Richard Ned Lebow "Classical Realism" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 66-68.

³⁹⁸ Brian C. Schmidt "On the History and Historiography of International Relations" in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2002), pp. 9.

³⁹⁹ Jack Donnelly "Realism" in Burchill, S. et al., (ed) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 29.

⁴⁰⁰ Buzan, "The Timeless Wisdom of Realism", pp. 56.

realism faced at end of the Cold War.⁴⁰¹ Furthermore, such critiques and others have helped keep realism dominant in another way, as Barry Buzan notes realism “has been, and remains, the favoured target of dissenters and radicals within the discourse of the discipline”.⁴⁰² The irony is, that realism’s dominant position is partially constructed by those who seek to critique it. Because in doing so they reify realism’s disciplinary centrality through treating it as *the* object of critique.⁴⁰³ By making realism the primary point of criticism scholars have actually entrenched and enacted its perceived authoritative position.

Not all academics in IR agree that realism is still dominant. Scholars such as Stanley Hoffmann and Steve Smith used the dominance of realism to argue that IR was an American dominated discipline in the 1970s/1980s⁴⁰⁴, however according to Smith this is no longer the current disciplinary situation. It is frequently cited that realism was superseded by the neo-realism and neo-liberalism in the early 1980s.⁴⁰⁵ The alleged change in the theoretical orthodoxy is arguably due to a number of factors, both internal and external. There is much debate about which factors facilitated and caused the change in theoretical direction and the associated emphasis to be placed,⁴⁰⁶ however despite the disagreements there is nonetheless a relative consensus that a new orthodoxy was ushered in,⁴⁰⁷ an orthodoxy that allegedly continues to dominate the discipline today and gives the field its American self-image.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰¹ William Wohlforth “Realism and the End of the Cold War” *International Security* 19 (3) (1994/1995), pp. 391-425. Also see for example Kenneth Waltz “Structural Realism After the Cold War” *International Security* 25 (1) (2000), pp. 5-41.

⁴⁰² Buzan, “The Timeless Wisdom of Realism”, pp. 55.

⁴⁰³ See for instance Jim George *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994); J. Ann Tickner “Hans Morgenthau’s Principles of Political Realism: A Feminist Reformulation” *Millennium* 17 (3) (1988), pp. 429-440; and R.B. J. Walker *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). For or some more contemporary examples see Barry Buzan and Richard Little “International System in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations” in Hobden, S. and Hobson, J. M. (eds) *Historical Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 200-220; Katherine Lee Koo “Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, War and Rape in the International Politics of Security” *Australian Journal of Political Science* 37 (3) (2002), pp. 525-536; and Christine Sylvester “War Experiences/War Practices/War Theory” *Millennium* 40 (3) (2012), pp. 483-503.

⁴⁰⁴ Hoffmann “An American Social Science”, pp. 41-60 and Smith “Paradigm Dominance in International Relations”, pp. 189-206.

⁴⁰⁵ Schmidt “On the History and Historiography of IR”, pp. 12.

⁴⁰⁶ See for example Stephen M. Walt “International Relations: One World, Many Theories” *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring) (1998), pp. 29-35; Richard Ned Lebow and Thomas Risse-Kappen (eds) *International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1995); George Lawson, Chris Armbruster and Michael Cox *The Global 1989: Continuity and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Thomas Risse “Ideas, Discourse and Power and the End of the Cold War” *International Politics* 48 (4/5) (2011), pp. 591-606.

⁴⁰⁷ Stephen Hobden “Historical Sociology: back to the Future of International Relations?” in Hobden, S. and Hobson, J. M. (eds) *Historical Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 55.

⁴⁰⁸ Ole Wæver, O. (1998) “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations” *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 688.

Following the challenges to realism during the Inter-Paradigm debate⁴⁰⁹ Kenneth Waltz responded with his reformation of realism; structural/neo realism, and thus some academics claimed a new orthodoxy was formed.⁴¹⁰ Waltz's 1979 *Theory of International Politics* was a straight up defense of realism, but it was formulated into a self-identified 'scientific theory'.⁴¹¹ Waltz's felt that Hans Morgenthau's rejection of the scientific method meant that no matter how well founded his premises were "there were grave limitations to the utility of his approach".⁴¹² Waltz's shared many of Morgenthau's basic premises but he proceeded with, what he argued Morgenthau lacked, scientific rigour. The inception of neo-realism into the discipline of IR sparked the neo-neo debate that took place in the 1980s. Publishing his book *After Hegemony* in 1984, Robert Keohane sought to build on Waltz's neo-realism as well as challenge it.⁴¹³ For Keohane there was a huge hole in Waltz's theory, it was good at explaining conflict yet it could not explain institutional cooperation.⁴¹⁴ The anomaly of the growing number of institutions and institutionalised cooperation was the problem field for Keohane that he sought to explain, thus his Liberal Institutionalism or rather neo-liberalism was his theoretical response to the perceived inconsistencies of neo-realism.

The neo-neo debate that followed has occupied a lot of academic attention in the United States⁴¹⁵ and elsewhere. The debates between the two theories raged in the discipline's journals during the 1980s and early 1990s. The neo-neo debate however, also laid the foundations for the fourth debate⁴¹⁶ and cemented the neo-neo perspectives as the alleged theoretical orthodoxy.

⁴⁰⁹ Michael Banks "The Inter-Paradigm Debate" in Light, M. and Groom, A. J. R. (eds) *International Relations: A Handbook of Current Theory* (London: Pinter, 1985), pp. 7-26.

⁴¹⁰ Steve Smith "Historical Sociology and International Relations Theory" in Hobden, S. and Hobson, J. M. (eds) *Historical Sociology of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 224.

⁴¹¹ Kenneth Waltz *Theory of International Politics* (London: McGraw Hill, 1979).

⁴¹² Robert Jervis "Hans Morgenthau, Realism and the Scientific Study of International Politics" *Social Research* 61 (4) (1994), pp. 858.

⁴¹³ Robert Keohane *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁴¹⁴ Robert Axelrod and Robert Keohane "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions" *World Politics* 38 (1) (1985), pp. 226-254 and Robert Keohane "International Institutions: Can Interdependence Work?" *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring) (1998), pp. 82-96.

⁴¹⁵ For some prominent examples see David Baldwin (ed) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); John Grieco "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism" *International Organization* 42 (3) (1988), pp. 484-507; Robert Keohane (ed) *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); John Mearsheimer "The False Promise of International Institutions" *International Security* 19 (3) (1994/1995), pp. 5-49; Joseph Nye "Neo-Realism and Neo-Liberalism" *World Politics* 40 (2) (1988), pp. 235-251 and Robert Powell "Anarchy in International Relations: The Neoliberal - Neorealist Debate" *International Organization* 48 (2) (1994), pp. 313-334.

⁴¹⁶ For more on the fourth debate see James Der Derian "Introducing Philosophical Traditions in International Relations" *Millennium* 17 (2) (1988), pp. 189-193; Jim George "International Relations and the Search for Thinking Space: Another View of the Third Debate" *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (3) (1989), pp. 269-279; Steve Smith "Positivism and Beyond" in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zaleski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 11-44 and Alexander Wendt "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations" *Review of International Studies* 24 (5) (1998), pp. 101-118.

The 1990s saw the emergence of theoretical innovations that challenged the traditional boundaries of thinking and research in the discipline, stimulating a “theoretical and epistemological ferment”.⁴¹⁷ Viewed as the dominant theoretical approaches, neo-realism and neo-liberalism were subjected to vigorous critique from a range of ‘new’ theoretical approaches that entered the discipline in the early 1990s with the aim of broadening the discipline.⁴¹⁸ Keohane himself arguably drew up the terms of the debate and in doing so bifurcated the discipline. In his 1988 Presidential Address to the ISA he referred to ‘two approaches to international institutions’.⁴¹⁹ On the one side was the rationalist approach that referred to the merged neo-realist and neo-liberal research programmes, and on the other side were the approaches that Keohane united (or rather conflated) together under the label ‘reflectivists’. This label was “to cover those inspired by French post-modernists, and German hermeneutics as well as late Wittgensteinian rules-perspectives and social constructivism”⁴²⁰ and to stretch to incorporate feminist approaches to IR, post-colonial theory, anthropological approaches as well as historical sociology.

Most accounts of the fourth debate argue how neo-realism and neo-liberalism used this debate to cement their dominant disciplinary position through the marginalisation of ‘reflectivist’ works.⁴²¹ It is argued that the neo-neo mainstream framed the debate, placing themselves in a position of authority with the power to decide what counted as acceptable IR scholarship. Following the fourth debate ‘radical’ voices were either regarded as illegitimate or co-opted into the mainstream’s agenda.⁴²² Resultantly, the contemporary discipline, according to such accounts, is dominated by a neo-neo mainstream that controls the discipline’s borders and polices the content of IR’s journals.⁴²³ As a result of the perceived neo-neo theoretical dominance ‘reflectivist’ work has allegedly been sent to the margins of the discipline and has been denied entrance into the global IR debate.

⁴¹⁷ Lapid “The Third Debate”, pp. 250.

⁴¹⁸ Milja Kurki and Colin Wight “International Relations as a Social Science” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M., and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 23 and Colin Wight “Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 33-34.

⁴¹⁹ Robert Keohane “International Institutions: Two Approaches” *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (4) (1988), pp. 379-396.

⁴²⁰ Ole Wæver “Figures of Thought: Introducing Persons Instead of Paradigms” in Neumann, I. B. and Wæver, O. (eds) *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making?* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 19-20.

⁴²¹ Steve Smith “The Resurgence of Normative Theory in International Relations: the Forty Years Detour” *Millennium* 21 (3) (1992), pp. 489-506.

⁴²² Steve Smith “The Self-Images of a Discipline: A Genealogy of International Relations” in Booth, K. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), pp. 20 and Robert M. A. Crawford “Where Have all the Theorists Gone – Gone to Britain, Every One? A Story of Two Parochialisms in International Relations” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 226.

⁴²³ Roger Tooze, and Craig Murphy “Getting Beyond the “Common Sense” in the IPE Orthodoxy” in Tooze, R. and Murphy, C. (eds) *The New International Political Economy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991) and Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 374-402.

Darryl Jarvis argues that this situation is seen from a quick perusal of the discipline's leading journals as their content, from his perspective, demonstrates the discipline's commitment to the 'neo-neo synthesis'.⁴²⁴ Similarly Ole Wæver stated that these American theories dominate research being conducted:

"If one reads the pages of any major IR journal or even more strikingly the papers of an ISA conference, one gets the impression that 80 per cent of the discipline is neo-realist - therefore most papers are prefaced with a critique of this dominant paradigm - and the rest neo-liberal institutionalist, leaving postmodernists and the like marginalized, questioned as to whether they are to be counted as legitimate members at all".⁴²⁵

The professed dominance of neo-realism and neo-liberalism has become ingrained in the minds of a large number of academics. Many scholars operate with the assumption that neo-realism and neo-liberalism dominate, which is seen through the adoption of the term 'mainstream' when one speaks about such theories.⁴²⁶ According to Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes "Theoretically, mainstream IR has largely been defined by the debate between, or synthesis of - depending on one's theoretical and political viewpoint - neo-realism and neo-liberalism or neo-liberal institutionalism".⁴²⁷

Once again through employing the term 'mainstream' and through the process of situating one's self within a debate academics often self-identify in a relational manner and refer to the perceived dominant body of thought as that which one is defined against. In constructing such disciplinary space, and the contours of debate, the neo-neo approaches are often placed in a central position, like realism, and reaffirmed as the dogmatic school of thought that needs critiquing, problematising and ultimately surpassing. This discourse highlights the position of presumed authority and disciplinary control that has been awarded to neo-realism and neo-liberalism. However, recently another school of thought has also been the subject of such treatment. Conventional constructivism⁴²⁸ - which is "compatible with the basic rational

⁴²⁴ Darryl Jarvis "International Relations: An International Discipline?" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 372-373.

⁴²⁵ Wæver "Figures of International Thought", pp. 26.

⁴²⁶ For example see the way the term is used by the following authors; Caroline Kennedy-Pipe "International History and International Relations Theory: A Dialogue Beyond the Cold War" *International Affairs* 76 (4) (2000), pp. 741-754; Jill Steans "Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the 'Mainstream' of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5 (3) (2003), pp. 428-454 and Ole Wæver "The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate" in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 149-185.

⁴²⁷ Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes "Beyond Being Marginal: Gender and International Relations in Britain" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9 (2) (2007), pp. 188.

⁴²⁸ The term 'conventional constructivism' was coined by Ted Hopf and refers to "a collection of principles distilled from critical social theory but without the latter's more consistent theoretical or epistemological follow-through" Ted Hopf "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory" *International Security* 23 (1) (1998), pp. 181. Also see John Ruggie "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge" *International Relations* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 855-885.

assumptions of the neo-neo schools"⁴²⁹ - has also been referred to as the mainstream approach or rather dominant theory in contemporary IR.

The inroads made by constructivism has been noted by Stefano Guzzini:

“What a success story! Hardly known a decade ago, constructivism has risen as the officially accredited contender to the established core of the discipline. ‘The social construction of . . .’ is littering the title pages of our books, articles and student assignments as did ‘the political economy of . . .’ in the 1980s”.⁴³⁰

In 1998 Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane and Stephen Krasner declared that the rationalist-constructivist debate had taken centre stage in the discipline, and that constructivism was becoming increasingly popular.⁴³¹ Throughout the last decade more and more research, according to Jeffrey Checkel is characterizing itself as constructivist and “constructivism has increasingly acquired buzzword status”,⁴³² it is as Checkel terms “trendy”.⁴³³ What was initially presented as a challenger to the dominance of neo-realism and neo-liberalism⁴³⁴ has now apparently become the predominant theoretical approach in the global discipline. The dominance of conventional constructivism is often linked to the perceived demise of realism by some and its failure to predict the end of the Cold War, this has according to William Wohlforth “helped make Constructivism into far more popular theoretical approach (measured by number of professed adherents) than realism is or ever was”.⁴³⁵ The alleged dominance of constructivism not only takes the form of scholars identifying as constructivists but also due to the way other scholars “situate their arguments *vis à vis* those of constructivists”.⁴³⁶ By defining themselves in relation to or opposition to constructivism certain academics are implicitly treating constructivism as the dominant body of thought. Similarly to the way realism and the neo-neo approaches have been referred to, certain academics in effect discipline themselves through their performances of feeling dominated. Which in turn leads academics to repeatedly critique these bodies of thought, thereby increasing their centrality, alleged dominance, and one’s own feelings

⁴²⁹ Squires and Weldes “Beyond Being Marginal”, pp. 188. It is important to note that not all agree with this characterization. For more see James Fearon and Alexander Wendt “Rationalism V. Constructivism: A Skeptical View” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 52-72.

⁴³⁰ Stefano Guzzini “A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations” *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (2) (2000), pp. 147.

⁴³¹ Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane, and Stephen Krasner “International Organization and the Study of World Politics” *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 674-678.

⁴³² Jeffrey T. Checkel “Social Constructivisms in Global and European Politics: A Review Essay” *Review of International Studies* 30 (2) (2004), pp. 229.

⁴³³ *Ibid., op cit.* For more on the developments and growth of constructivist research see Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink “Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics” *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001), pp. 391-416.

⁴³⁴ Hopf “The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory”, pp. 171. Also see Jennifer Sterling-Folker “Competing Paradigms or Birds of a Feather? Constructivism and Neoliberal Institutionalism Compared” *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (1) (2000), pp. 97-119.

⁴³⁵ William C. Wohlforth “No One Loves a Realist Explanation” *International Politics* 48 (4/5) (2011), pp. 449.

⁴³⁶ Checkel “Social Constructivisms in Global and European Politics”, pp. 229.

of marginalization. This brief account of the development and debates in IR theory has shown that there are three popular claims regarding the theoretical orientation of the discipline in the literature. Moreover, each has been used as grounds to argue that IR is an American dominated discipline.⁴³⁷ Yet what does it mean for a theory to be 'American'? And if we can designate certain theories as being American is the dominance of a certain theoretical approach an empirical disciplinary reality? Presently even though numerous academics unquestionably speak of a realist, neo-neo, or constructivist mainstream, there is however, little evidence to support these claims. According to the literature America's intellectual hegemony is exercised through the ability of the American mainstream to command a theoretical orthodoxy and exclude research that does not adhere to this canon of thought (be it realist, neo-realist, neo-liberal or constructivist). Resultantly the discipline's journals should reflect the mainstream's preferences and their power of exclusion,⁴³⁸ meaning that the results of the journal investigation undertaken here should reveal a Gramscian style hegemony through a large majority of articles declaring themselves, using or advocating realism, neo-realism and neo-liberalism or constructivism.

Even if these theories are not found to dominate one can still make the claim that IR is an American dominated discipline because it produces the majority of theoretical output.⁴³⁹ Two mutually constitutive factors have been used to explain America's supposed overall theoretical dominance; 1) the 'big-head' start that the American IR community had in theory production in comparison to other academic enclaves,⁴⁴⁰ which resulted in 2) other academic communities becoming and remaining supposedly dependent on theoretical knowledge produced in US.⁴⁴¹ These conditions, according to the literature professing the disciplinary dominance of America, enabled the production of an American theoretical mainstream that disciplines the discipline thereby reproducing America's hegemonic position in the discipline.

American Production and 'Peripheral' Consumption.

When explaining the alleged US disciplinary dominance many academics point to the asymmetrical relationship between the 'core' (America) and the 'periphery' (all other academic communities) in terms of theory production. According to Ersel Adylini and Julie Mathews, "It was pointed out more than 20 years ago that the spread of ideas in IR was moving exclusively

⁴³⁷ For example see Chris Brown "The Development of International Relations Theory in the UK: Traditions, Contemporary Perspectives and Trajectories" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (2) (2011), pp. 221.

⁴³⁸ See for example Ekkehart Krippendorf "The Dominance of American Approaches in International Relations" *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 207-215; Steve Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline" *International Studies Review* 4 (2) (2002), pp. 67-85; Arlene Tickner "Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World" *Millennium* 32 (2) (2003), pp. 295-324; and Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 687-727.

⁴³⁹ Amitav Acharya "Dialogue and Discovery: In Search of International Relations Theories Beyond the West" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 620.

⁴⁴⁰ Acharya and Buzan "Why is There no Non-Western International Relations Theory", pp. 299.

⁴⁴¹ Holsti, *The Dividing Discipline*.

from the core to periphery, and little seems to have changed since then".⁴⁴² It has been argued that the US IR community was able to take the lead in IR scholarship, producing a vast body of theoretical knowledge and literature before other IR communities.⁴⁴³ As the discipline began to develop in other countries the various nascent IR communities relied upon American theories and American developments.⁴⁴⁴ What subsequently occurred was a dependent dynamic, a distinction between an ill-defined 'core' and 'periphery', all the while supposedly stabilizing and cementing American theoretical dominance over the discipline. Furthermore, it is claimed that the dependent relationship inhibits the production of non-American IR and stifles the growth of indigenous⁴⁴⁵ or 'homegrown' theory,⁴⁴⁶ thus perpetuating America's theoretical hegemony.⁴⁴⁷

The United States is often referred to as the theoretical centre of IR due to the sheer volume of theoretical output that has emerged from the United States.⁴⁴⁸ This 'head start' in terms of theoretical knowledge is a result of the relatively early development of the discipline in the United States. In the 1920s the discipline had begun to institutionalize itself with the emergence of IR as a field of study within American universities.⁴⁴⁹ This process of institutionalization continued with a rapid rate of expansion in the following decades. Combined with the arrival of many European scholars in the 1930s,⁴⁵⁰ theoretical knowledge in the US continued to grow, and as the typical disciplinary historical narrative goes this expansion culminated in the 'First Debate'.⁴⁵¹ By the end of World War II the US IR community had produced numerous theoretical works before the discipline had even emerged in some countries.⁴⁵² This body of theoretical knowledge has been continuously added to over the years;

⁴⁴² Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews "Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline: Spinning IR Theory Out of Anatolia" *Review of International Studies* 34 (4) (2008), pp. 694.

⁴⁴³ Acharya and Buzan "Why is There no Non-Western International Relations Theory?", pp. 299-301.

⁴⁴⁴ Arlene Tickner "Latin American IR and the Primacy of *lo práctico*" *International Studies Review* 10 (4), (2008), pp. 735.

⁴⁴⁵ Gerald Chan *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations: A Framework for Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 180.

⁴⁴⁶ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews "Turkey: Towards Homegrown Theorizing and Building a Disciplinary Community" in Tickner, A. B. and Waever, O. (eds) *International Relations Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Routledge: London, 2009), pp. 214.

⁴⁴⁷ Chan *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations*, pp. 180.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁴⁴⁹ Brian Schmidt *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998) and Robert Vitalis "Birth of a Discipline" in Long, D. and Schmidt, B. (eds) *Imperialism and Internationalism in the Discipline of International Relations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), pp. 159-182.

⁴⁵⁰ Norman Palmer "The Study of International Relations in the United States: Perspectives of Half a Century" *International Studies Quarterly* 24 (3) (1980), pp. 347.

⁴⁵¹ For more on the 'First Debate' see Lucian M. Ashworth "Did the Realist-Idealist Great Debate Really Happen? A Revisionist History of International Relations" *International Relations* 16 (1) (2002), pp. 33-57 and Cameron Thies "Progress, History and Identity in International Relations Theory: The Case of the Idealist-Realist Debate" *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (2) (2002), pp. 147-185.

⁴⁵² How the 'big head start' came about and the institutionalization of IR in America and elsewhere is explored in much more depth in chapter four. However, at this juncture it is important to note that certain structural factors resulted in the American IR community being

as such other IR communities have struggled to 'catch up' with American developments; as Ole Wæver puts it "All other national IR communities are running huge balance of trade deficits against the United States".⁴⁵³ This head start in terms of theory production has meant that other IR communities in their quest to 'catch up' have absorbed certain American texts and arguably become dependent on them. Consequently an asymmetrical relationship between the US and other IR communities has emerged, in which it is argued that non-American IR academics are 'consumers' rather than 'producers' of IR theory.

In his review of the discipline in 1985 Kal Holsti explicitly investigated Stanley Hoffmann's claims to see if the discipline could still be depicted as an American discipline 8 years on, through defining dominance as theoretical preponderance.⁴⁵⁴ Holsti aimed to assess the development of IR theory in the US and in seven other countries (Australia, Canada, France, India, Japan, Korea, and the UK) to see whether the field had become an international community of scholars. Through analyzing the reference sections in a diverse sample of textbooks and the patterns of theoretical recognition, theoretical production and exchange Holsti discovered that the United States dominated the field's literature. Scholars in other countries, he argued, relied on US theoretical literature in their teaching and research, and that US scholarship dominated the discipline to such an extent that the evidence suggests, "that international theory barely exists outside the Anglophone countries".⁴⁵⁵ Holsti was not claiming that theoretical research was not taking place outside of the US, but rather he was arguing that it was not being spread and disseminated throughout the globe: "while the works of scholars in other countries are acknowledged primarily in the writer's own country or geographical region. It is not so much asymmetry of production as of consumption".⁴⁵⁶ According to Holsti there were clearly few global producers and many consumers of IR theory with knowledge flowing outwards from the centre to the periphery.⁴⁵⁷ Rather than representing an international community of scholars the asymmetric pattern of scholarly communications rendered the field closer to the model of a hierarchical discipline. The consequence of such a relationship was allegedly that the 'periphery' (defined as non-American IR communities) became dependent on the core (defined loosely as America).⁴⁵⁸ Whilst this may have been the case in the 1970s/1980s is the contemporary discipline still reliant upon American theories?

able to produce theory before other IR communities. The result of which is the alleged dependent relationship between other IR communities (the consumers) and the United States (the producer).

⁴⁵³ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not so International Discipline", pp. 689.

⁴⁵⁴ Holsti *The Dividing Discipline*.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 127.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 103.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 145.

⁴⁵⁸ Kal Holsti is ambiguous with his definition of the core, he speaks of an Anglo-American condominium, which alludes the reader to perceive the core as consisting of both the US and the UK. Yet Holsti clearly differentiates between the two IR academic communities and notes that the US is the more dominant and influential of the two communities as it produces more theoretical work, which is then adopted and accepted by more countries. Further he demonstrates that the UK consumes American theories, yet the reverse is not to be found to the same degree. Holsti

It has been over twenty years since Holsti conducted his investigation, yet according to Chris Brown little seems to have changed. In 2001 Brown wrote:

“IR is an American discipline in the sense in which Coca Cola is an American drink and MacDonal’s hamburgers are American beef-patties; although lots of people in the rest of the world ‘do’ IR, it is American, that for the most part, they are doing, just as MacDonal’s are American burgers, even when ingredients, cooks and consumers are all drawn from another continent”.⁴⁵⁹

Although other countries are ‘doing’ IR they are, as Brown states, doing IR as defined by America. Despite the theoretical efforts of the English School and the Copenhagen, Welsh and Paris schools of security theory, it is argued that generally other national IR communities are emulating and replicating American theoretical trends. The dependent relationship continues, it is argued, because there is now a structural bias firmly in place. Using Johan Galtung’s theory of structural imperialism⁴⁶⁰ Jörg Friedrichs argues that we should continue to see Holsti’s asymmetrical pattern of theoretical communications in operation for the foreseeable future.⁴⁶¹ Friedrichs noted that the intellectual hegemony of America relies upon how scholarship in the periphery is “oriented according to the image of the dominant mainstream in the centre”.⁴⁶² Allegedly American theoretical standards are produced and purposely embedded throughout the different national IR communities making the periphery even more dependent on American theoretical literature and developments. Peripheral scholars have little choice, it is argued, but to conform to and work within the defined theoretical boundaries or face further marginalization. According to Arlene Tickner “International relations studies in the periphery have frequently been described in terms of their adherence to US models”⁴⁶³ and their inherent dependence on American theoretical literature. Through investigating the state of the discipline in Latin America Tickner discovered that the process of assimilation of imported IR knowledge from the US does indeed take place, especially at the level of teaching. Kim Nossal also claimed that in the contemporary discipline the dissemination of theories across national settings is unidirectional; international

concludes that there is a “reliance solely on Americans to produce the new insights, theoretical formulations, paradigms, and data sets of our fields” (*The Dividing Discipline*, pp. 128). Hence, Holsti arguably when referring to the core is solely referring to America, and perceives the discipline to be dominated by the US.

⁴⁵⁹ Chris Brown “Fog in the Channel: Continental International Relations Theory Isolated (or an essay on the paradoxes of diversity and parochialism in IR theory)” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 203.

⁴⁶⁰ J. Galtung “A Structural Theory of Imperialism” *Journal of Peace Research* 8 (2) (1971), pp. 81-117.

⁴⁶¹ Jörg Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 6.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 10.

⁴⁶³ Tickner “Hearing Latin American Voices in International Relations Studies”, pp. 326; Tickner “Latin American IR and the Primacy of *lo práctico*”, pp. 735-748 and also see Lucy Taylor “Decolonizing International Relations: Perspectives From Latin America” *International Studies Review* 14 (3) (2012), pp. 386-400.

theory is produced in the US and 'the rest' "tend to either 'consume' that theory, implicitly or explicitly, in their writing, or simply to ignore the theoretical produce altogether".⁴⁶⁴

As previously mentioned the alleged asymmetry arguably makes it difficult for national IR communities to develop under their own terms and produce their own theories.⁴⁶⁵ A number of recent studies investigating the relationship between American IR and IR scholarship in certain countries have shown that peripheral scholarly communities continue to be, as Gerald Holden claims, "importers rather than exporters of IR concepts" and theories.⁴⁶⁶ For instance, in Marina Lebedeva's review of contemporary IR scholarship in Russia she demonstrates how Russian scholars "remain influenced by the American IR literature".⁴⁶⁷ Whereas Song Xinning, despite being fairly optimistic about the Chinese IR communities' future trajectory, concludes that at present Chinese IR remains dependent on American theoretical literature, thereby severely impeding the immediate development of an IR theory with Chinese characteristics.⁴⁶⁸ Looking at the Turkish case Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews concluded that the Turkish discipline is characterized by power competitions at the local level as such theoretical developments have been minimal.⁴⁶⁹ The little advancement that has been made and the fledgling production of 'homegrown' theory has not brought about a shift in circumstances for "Turkish IR scholars currently complain that their attempts to have their voices heard in core IR theoretical discussions go unheard".⁴⁷⁰ Similarly Tickner's investigation into Latin American IR shows evidence of an ever-growing body of Latin American scholarship being produced that differs from the theoretical 'mainstream' as defined by America, but she also acknowledges that

⁴⁶⁴ Kim Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell: Ethnocentricity and Diversity in American . Introductions to International Relations" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 167.

⁴⁶⁵ For example see Ching-Chang Chen "The Absence of Non-Western International Relations Theory in Asia Reconsidered" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (1) (2011), pp. 1-23; Takashi Inoguchi "Are There Any Theories of International Relations in Japan?" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 369-390 and Qin Yaqing "Development of International Relations Theory in China" *International Studies* 46 (1-2) (2009), pp. 185-201

⁴⁶⁶ Gerald Holden "The Intellectual Geohistory of IR: What It Is, Why It Matters, and What We Can Learn From It" Paper presented at the 2008 *British International Studies Association Conference*, Exeter, UK, December 2008, pp. 4.

⁴⁶⁷ Marina Lebedeva "International Relations Studies in the USSR/Russia: Is there a Russian national School of IR Studies?" *Global Society* 18 (3) (2004), pp. 276. For more also see Andrei P. Tsygankov "Self and Other in International Relations Theory: Learning from Russian Civilizational Debates" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 762-775.

⁴⁶⁸ Song Xinning "Building International Relations Theory with Chinese Characteristics" *Journal of Contemporary China* 10 (26) (2001), pp. 61-74. For more about China's emulation of American theoretical trends see also see Yiwei Wang "China: Between Copying and Constructing" in Tickner, A. B., and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 103-119; William A. Callahan "Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-Hegemonic or a New Hegemony?" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 749-769 and Qin Yaqing "Development of International Relations Theory in China: Progress Through Debates" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (2) (2011), pp. 231-257.

⁴⁶⁹ Aydinli and Mathews "Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline", pp. 693-712.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 711.

the structural bias will inevitably prevent such theoretical scholarship being consumed by the core.⁴⁷¹

The asymmetrical scholarly exchange and reliance upon American theories has arguably not escaped Europe. Even though IR as a discipline has been organized, institutionalized and professionalized in Europe more so than in the other countries mentioned above the recognized theoretical contributions to the discipline have been, according to Miles Kahler, marginal.⁴⁷² Kahler argues that most of the theoretical innovations in IR have emerged from the US and it is “Only in peace research (which is less a body of theory than a particular methodological viewpoint) and in international economics can Europe be said to hold its own or to take the lead”.⁴⁷³ Measuring dominance through theoretical output Kahler states that the US dominates the discipline in this respect. However, Knud Erik Jørgensen has argued that there is a large body of European IR theory and research in existence, and states that it is only ‘marginal’ in the sense of its alleged impact on the American IR community.⁴⁷⁴

Despite the numerous theoretical works that do exist within Europe, Jørgensen acknowledges the lack of dissemination from Europe to the US.⁴⁷⁵ As long as America continues to produce the vast majority of IR theories the periphery will remain, according to Aydinli and Mathews, “a weak, subservient partner in the discipline, and this imbalance will continue to limit the extent to which the discipline can achieve its goal of understanding global politics”.⁴⁷⁶ The alleged American theoretical dominance has a number of negative implications for the discipline. The professed theoretical dogmatism is claimed to create a narrow discipline that reproduces the status quo and in doing so remains blind to certain inequalities and international realities.⁴⁷⁷

Implications for the Discipline.

There are a number of other profound implications that would arise from the preponderance of either realism, the neo-neo perspectives or constructivism, which explains the concern and attention surrounding this issue. For instance, according to critics of the aforementioned theories this situation is regarded to be problematic due to 1) the epistemological fallacies produced; 2) the fact that realism, and especially neo-realism and neo-liberalism uphold the status quo; 3) each theory is regarded as ahistorical; and 4) they are often conceived to be too narrow,

⁴⁷¹ Tickner “Hearing Latin American Voices in International Relations Studies”, pp. ???

⁴⁷² Miles Kahler “International Relations: Still an American Social Science?” in Miller, L. B. and Smith, M. J. (eds) *Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honour of Stanley Hoffmann* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), pp. 402.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁴⁷⁴ Knud Jørgensen “Continental IR Theory: The Best Kept Secret” *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (9) (2000), pp. 9-42.

⁴⁷⁵ The exception is the impact that the English School as had in the U.S. For more see Andrew Linklater and Hidemi Suganami *The English School of International Relations: A Contemporary Reassessment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴⁷⁶ Aydinli and Mathews ““Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline”, pp. 694.

⁴⁷⁷ See for example Koo “Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness”, pp. 525-536 and Sylvester “War Experiences/War Practices/War Theory”, pp. 483-503.

Eurocentric and state-centric meaning they each overlook many international inequalities, and problematically actually entrench many of the world's inequalities through their blindness to the Third World.⁴⁷⁸ As such, claims are made that realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism cannot effectively analyze many of today's international concerns and events in contemporary world politics. This next section will briefly focus on the central criticisms of realism, the neo-neo approaches, and conventional constructivism to highlight a number of problems associated with a potential theoretical orthodoxy in the discipline.⁴⁷⁹ This section will briefly explore the four most cited (detailed above) in order to show some of the 'real world' implications of a given theoretical orthodoxy and why this suspected preponderance is of much disciplinary concern.

Firstly, realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism are often critiqued on philosophical grounds due to their positivistic foundations. According to some, such as David Dessler, this has resulted in not only the generation of inaccurate accounts of world politics but also the production of problematic epistemological assumptions.⁴⁸⁰ This critique has taken on numerous forms. For instance, Mark Neufeld criticizes the neo-neo approaches adherence to positivism arguing that such a commitment results in 1) the supposed separation of theory from the real world, producing truth as correspondence; 2) naturalism, in other words the assumption that there is no difference between the social world and the natural world; and 3) the production of 'objective' value free knowledge.⁴⁸¹ All of which is problematic for Neufeld as it mistakes the theoretical process and results in a lack of social critique along with the generation of foundational epistemic claims. Alexander Wendt however, criticizes realism and the neo-neo theories from the point of the agent-structure debate. Wendt claims that neo-realism in particular misunderstands the concept of 'structure' (a point which is also articulated by Richard Ashley⁴⁸²) and consequently the neo-neo approaches are unable "to explain the properties and causal powers of their primary units of analysis, a weakness which seriously undermines their

⁴⁷⁸ Kal Holsti "International Relations Theory and Domestic war in the Third World: The Limits of Relevance" in Neumann, S. G. (ed) *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (New York: St Martins Press, 1998), pp. 103-132 also see Caroline Thomas and Peter Wilkin "Still Waiting After All These Years: 'The Third World' on the Periphery of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6 (2) (2004), pp. 241-258.

⁴⁷⁹ Although there has been much debate between advocates of neo-realism and proponents of neo-liberalism (debate that has preoccupied certain sections of the discipline) the two theories crucially share the same ontological and epistemological terrain, thereby mitigating any serious variations when viewed in terms of the suspected disciplinary implications. According to Ole Wæver the two theories share the same view of the world and the same theory of knowledge therefore they are largely the same, making the debate between them reductive. See Ole Wæver "Figures in International Thought", pp. 19-22.

⁴⁸⁰ For example see David Dessler "Constructivism within a Positivist Social Science" *Review of International Studies* 25 (1) (1999), pp. 123-137.

⁴⁸¹ Mark Neufeld *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 24-38.

⁴⁸² Richard Ashley "The Poverty of Neorealism" *International Organization* 38 (2) (1994), pp. 225-286.

potential explanations of state action”.⁴⁸³ Using the philosophy of social science that is Critical Realism Heikki Patomaki specifically problematises neo-realism and neo-liberalism’s prioritization of epistemological and the epistemic fallacy that both theories commit due to their conflation of the epistemological with the ontological.⁴⁸⁴ Using the arguments of Roy Bhaskar⁴⁸⁵ Patomaki shows how both theories are guilty of incorrectly reducing the ontological or rather statements about being to statements about knowledge. It is argued that by transposing ontological questions into epistemological ones both neo-realism and neo-liberalism effectively marginalize and subvert the ontological realm.

Secondly, using the work of Robert Cox we can see how realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism can be conceived to be upholding the status quo and therefore entrenching current global inequalities.⁴⁸⁶ For instance, realism, the neo-neo theories and arguably even conventional constructivism fall into Cox’s problem-solving category. According to Cox problem solving theories take the world as they find it and in doing so implicitly accept “the prevailing social and power relationships and the institutions into which they [problem solving theories] are organized”.⁴⁸⁷ In taking the world as a given and seeking to explain it as it is, rather than questioning the foundations and construction of the international system, such theories preserve the present order and in doing so reduce the scope for emancipatory potential. As such realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism are often critiqued for being conservative, instead of suggesting change each attempts to “smooth the functioning of the whole”⁴⁸⁸ and in doing so supports the present structure and those that benefit from this state of affairs. What this means is that realism, the neo-neo approaches and conventional constructivism are deemed to embed current power inequalities, ensuring the continued dominance of America in the international system, the preponderance of certain multinational corporations and institutions and therefore the subjugation and marginalization of many, especially those in the Third World.⁴⁸⁹ According to Mustapha Pasha and Craig Murphy the aforementioned theories “work overtime to erase traces of some forms of human suffering – of tired and famished children, of overworked girls in

⁴⁸³ Alexander Wendt “The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory” *International Organization* 41 (3) (1987), pp. 337.

⁴⁸⁴ Heikki Patomaki *After International Relations: Critical Realism and the (re)Construction of World Politics* (London: Routledge, 2002). Also see Heikki Patomaki and Colin Wight “After Postpositivism? The Promises of Critical Realism” *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (2) (2000), pp. 213-237.

⁴⁸⁵ Roy Bhaskar *A Realist Theory of Science* (Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1978).

⁴⁸⁶ Robert Cox “Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory” *Millennium* 10 (2) (1981), pp. 126-155

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 128.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 129.

⁴⁸⁹ For more see Robbie Shilliam (ed) *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations in Global Modernity* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011).

crowded sweatshops, all the instances of discrimination, poverty and hopelessness – relegating them to side-shows and careless expressions of normative excess”.⁴⁹⁰

The penchant to uphold the status quo is linked to another prominent criticism of the theories. By taking the present order as given and ensuring the continuation of the present, problem-solving theories (neo-realism and neo-liberalism in particular) are non-historical.⁴⁹¹ Richard Little and Barry Buzan have been vocal in their criticisms of realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism’s ahistorical nature and how this has led to the reproduction of what they term ‘the Westphalian straightjacket’ thereby perpetually limiting the scope of analysis.⁴⁹² Furthermore Buzan and Little have argued that the theories lack of historical perspective makes them “unable to answer, in many instances address, the most important questions about the modern international system”.⁴⁹³ The fact that each theory is contextually blind and ignores the constitutive role of history is somewhat ironic given that each of the theories are framed and dependent upon European concepts, foundations and Western experiences⁴⁹⁴, which leads to the final critique.

Realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism have been critiqued due to their inability to theorise the Third World, which is largely due to the Eurocentric nature of each theory.⁴⁹⁵ According to Micheal Desch “The role of the Third World in international politics remains a ‘theoretical puzzle’, presenting us with observable outcomes for which existing explanations seem insufficient or erroneous”.⁴⁹⁶ For instance, it is argued that neo-realism and neo-liberalism’s focus on interstate war and economic institutional cooperation is far removed from the empirical reality of the Third World. Mohammed Ayoob argues that both neo-realism and neo-liberalism fail to provide an adequate explanation for the cause of most sources of conflict and disorder.⁴⁹⁷ In failing to adequately describe and explain the realities of

⁴⁹⁰ Mustapha Kamal Pasha and Craig N. Murphy “Knowledge/Power/Inequality” in Pasha, M. K. and Murphy, C. N. (eds) *International Relations and the New Inequality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), pp. 1.

⁴⁹¹ Cox, “Social Forces, States and World Orders”, pp. 129.

⁴⁹² Barry Buzan and Richard Little “Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to do About It” *Millennium* 30 (1) (2001), pp. 19-39.

⁴⁹³ Barry Buzan and Richard Little *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 3.

⁴⁹⁴ For more see Andrew Linklater “Neo-Realism in Theory and In Practice” in Booth, K. and Smith, S. (ed) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 241-262 and Holsti “International Relations Theory and Domestic War in the Third World”, pp. 103-132.

⁴⁹⁵ The criticism of Eurocentricism is not the sole property of the rationalist theories. Many reflectivist theories have also been accused of latent Eurocentricism for more see Giorgio Shani “Toward a Post-Western IR: The Umma, *Khalsa Panth* and Critical International Relations Theory” *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 722-734 and John M. Hobson “Is Critical Theory Always for the White West and for Western Imperialism: Beyond Westphalian to a Post-Racist Critical IR” *Review of International Studies* 33 (1) (2007), pp. 91-116.

⁴⁹⁶ Micheal C. Desch “Why Realists Disagree about the Third World (and Why They Shouldn’t)” *Security Studies* 5 (3) (1996), pp. 359.

⁴⁹⁷ Mohammed Ayoob “Subaltern Realism: International Relations Theory Meets the Third World” in Neumann, S. G. (ed) *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (New York: St Martins Press, 1998), pp. 32-34.

contemporary political life for those outside of the Western state framework the world beyond the West is neglected and marginalized.⁴⁹⁸ Furthermore it has been argued that not only are the core concepts of each theory are of relatively little analytical purchase in the Third World, and instead act as colonial reminders and ensure further subjugation.⁴⁹⁹

The theoretical irrelevance of realism, the neo-neo theories, and conventional constructivism for the Third World,⁵⁰⁰ not only has detrimental consequences for the discipline of IR, but also grave 'real world' implications attached to the blindness of the each theory to the Third World.⁵⁰¹ For example, by focusing on the 'great powers' and military inequalities and economic relations realism, the neo-neo approaches and conventional constructivism exclude the Third World from their analytical purview and reproduce certain inequalities.⁵⁰² If it is accepted that a theoretical orthodoxy reinforces, reproduces and perpetuates images of 'reality' upon which policy-makers and academics base their decisions, prescriptions and policies,⁵⁰³ the resultant situation is one in which policy-makers and other academics will follow suit and overlook the Third World, thereby leading to the 'real world' marginalization of the Third World, and a lack of attention being paid to many issues of concern and human suffering.⁵⁰⁴ The Third World and the experiences of many have the potential to be neglected due to not only the neo-neo theories state-centrism and Western framing, but also realism and conventional constructivism's, and therefore further subjugated due to the Eurocentric discourse in operation.⁵⁰⁵

The situation is potentially worryingly cyclical and the dominance of either realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism or conventional constructivism as a disciplinary reality poses numerous detrimental implications. Many as we have seen have lamented the dominance of realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism due to the above consequences. The reality of such theoretical dominance would indeed be alarming. However, the results of the journal investigation conducted present a very different image of IR. Rather than a discipline policed by a certain theoretical orthodoxy the present inclination in the field, as indicated by the discipline's journals, is for theoretical pluralism. Instead of a discipline unable to deal with many

⁴⁹⁸ Acharya "Dialogue and Discovery", pp. 620-623.

⁴⁹⁹ Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair (eds) *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: reading Race, Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 2002) and Robert H. Jackson *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Branwen Gruffydd Jones "Introduction: International Relations, Eurocentricism and Imperialism" in Gruffydd Jones, B. (ed) *Decolonizing International Relations* (Maryland: Rowman & Little, 2006), pp. 1-19.

⁵⁰⁰ For a defense of the relevance of neo-realism and other IR theories for the Third World see William Brown "Africa and International Relations: a Comment on International Relations Theory, Anarchy and Statehood" *Review of International Studies* 32 (1) (2001), pp. 119-143.

⁵⁰¹ Stephanie Neumann "International Relations and the Third World: An Oxymoron?" in Neumann, S. G. (ed) *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (New York: St Martins Press, 1998), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰² Kevin C. Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).

⁵⁰³ Ayoob "Subaltern Realism", pp. 31.

⁵⁰⁴ Pasha and Murphy "Knowledge/Power/Inequality", pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰⁵ Thomas and Wilkin "Still Waiting After All These Years", pp. 241-258.

contemporary problems and realities, the discipline is in a much healthier state and many of the above concerns are not a disciplinary reality. According to Rosa Vasilaki theoretical pluralism works:

“to democratize IR by opening up space where parallel stories can be told without being thought as mutually exclusive and without making absolute normative or ethical claims, but by simply sharing the terrain of IR and looking at ‘what kind of configuration the combination of all of them produces’”.⁵⁰⁶

The results will show the reality is very different from the popular discourse. Whilst some sentiments may have achieved the status of ‘common knowledge’ within the discipline we must bear in mind that the empirical actuality may be different due to the discipline’s reticence to systematically investigate its past and present inclinations.⁵⁰⁷ As previously mentioned, IR has a tendency to adopt notions about its self-image and reproduce these without empirically assessing the validity of such claims. As a result, claims such as the dominance of realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and constructivism become embedded within the discipline’s global conversation and treated as a given, resulting in the production of unquestioned assumptions and self-disciplining behaviour.

Overall, the remainder of this chapter will attempt to show how situation concerning the discipline’s theoretical orientation is very complex. There are numerous claims operating in the discipline, and various explanations given as to how and in what ways the US exercises its theoretical preponderance. Whilst the results of the journal investigation might not reveal any evidence of a theoretical orthodoxy, America can still be claimed to dominate the discipline theoretically because it produces the greatest volume of theoretical works. This complexity is further compounded by the issue of whether a theory can be classed as American and if so what warrants such a designation? Such questions and the empirical reality of theoretical pluralism (that will be demonstrated next in the results section) highlight how it is not simply a case of whether the US is theoretically dominant, it is also about exploring and revealing the different dynamics and patterns of interaction in the discipline that shape its contours.

The Plural Discipline.

Looking at one means of theoretical dominance; if America were intellectually hegemonic we would expect to see in the contemporary field the discipline’s journals filled with articles writing from either a realist, neo-realist, neo-liberal or constructivist perspective. However, neither theory was found to be theoretically preponderant. Despite the numerous claims made that IR is an American enterprise due to the ability of the American IR community to instill a theoretical

⁵⁰⁶ Rosa Vasilaki “Provincialising IR? Deadlocks and Prospects in Post-Western IR Theory” *Millennium* 41 (3) (2012), pp. 6.

⁵⁰⁷ Wæver “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline”, pp. 692.

orthodoxy across the global discipline,⁵⁰⁸ this exploration found no evidence of this, not even in the American journals. The American mainstream may still be advocating and singing the praises of realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism or constructivism but this has not been converted into a theoretical orthodoxy to which the global discipline adheres. Further, the plurality of theoretical perspectives encountered also challenges the claim the mainstream are marginalizing those writing from different theoretical perspectives.

In order to ascertain the theoretical composition of the field each article in each of the 12 journals under review from 1999-2009 was analysed in order to determine the theoretical orientation of the article. The categories used for this analysis emerged from the body of literature being examined (see appendix for definitions). As noted in the introductory chapter instead of coding for theory the investigation was based on the way author's defined/identified their research. Through using the approaches of interpretivism (see appendix) and critical discourse analysis⁵⁰⁹ I was able to note the theories used and the categories of analysis emerged from this process. This accounts for why the categories 'rationalism' and 'reflectivism' exist (see appendix for definitions). Authors labeling their work as 'rationalist' could upon further examination been designated as either 'neo-realism' or 'neo-liberalism'. However, this analysis was centred around illustrating how academics position themselves and what is actually occurring in the discipline, rather than collapsing research into a predetermined finite number of categories. It was important to capture the labels actually being used by scholars in the discipline to see how academics understand their own intellectual products. Most articles explicitly stated their theoretical framework and their theoretical position, however if the author did not self-identify then I made an interpretative judgement based on the claims being made after a thorough critical reading of the text.

Looking at the theory that most populated in each journal under review we see that instead of realism, either neo-neo approach, or constructivism it was classical liberalism that actually was the approach that was most employed by academics in the field, as we can see from table 2.1, six out of the twelve journals investigated showed a prevalence of articles written from this school of thought. If we accept that a discipline's journals act as a mirror of current trends, and give us a reflection of inclinations and positions in a given academic field, then we can argue that classical liberalism appears to be the theory under which the majority of academics are conducting their research, not realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism or constructivism as claimed by those stating that IR is an American enterprise. Yet, whilst classical liberalism is awarded the

⁵⁰⁸ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 374-402 and Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 687-727.

⁵⁰⁹ Critical discourse analysis is the Critical Realist understanding of discourse analysis. It rejects the anti-realism of poststructuralist understandings and looks at how discourse is an important part of reality, and how it interacts with non-discursive causal mechanisms and social structures. Critical discourse analysis encourages us to ask how ideas and discourse are related to the 'unobservable' level and how discursive practices distort this ontologically real level. For more see Jonathan Joseph and John Michael Roberts (eds) *Realism Discourse and Deconstruction* (London: Routledge, 2004). Especially the chapter by Martin Jones "Critical Realism, Critical Discourse Analysis, Concrete Research", pp. 43-67.

label of the ‘most popular theory’, constructivism was found to be rather prominent in the discipline, especially in the European journals. What was surprising was the actual paucity of academics in IR writing from a neo-neo perspective (see figure 2.1); for example in the *European Journal of International Relations* only 5.8% of articles used either approach to frame their work, whereas only 2.9% of articles in the *Review of International Studies* could be classed as either neo-realist or neo-liberal. As table 2.1 shows even though realism, and constructivism were not dominant they still managed to command a fairly significant place in the discipline, the same however, cannot be said for either neo-realism or neo-liberalism.

| Journal | Dominant Theory | Percentage % |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| International Organization | Neo-Liberalism | 27.2 |
| International Security | Classical Realism | 39.6 |
| International Studies Quarterly | Classical Liberalism | 26.8 |
| Int. Studies Perspectives | Classical Liberalism | 25.4 |
| World Politics | Classical Liberalism | 30.3 |
| European Journal of IR | Constructivism | 27 |
| Cooperation and Conflict | Constructivism | 20.6 |
| Journal of IR and Development | Constructivism | 18.8 |
| International Relations | Classical Liberalism | 16.9 |
| Review of International Studies | Classical Liberalism | 18 |
| Australian Journal of Int. Affairs | Classical Liberalism | 23.4 |
| IR of the Asia Pacific | Classical Realism | 22.4 |

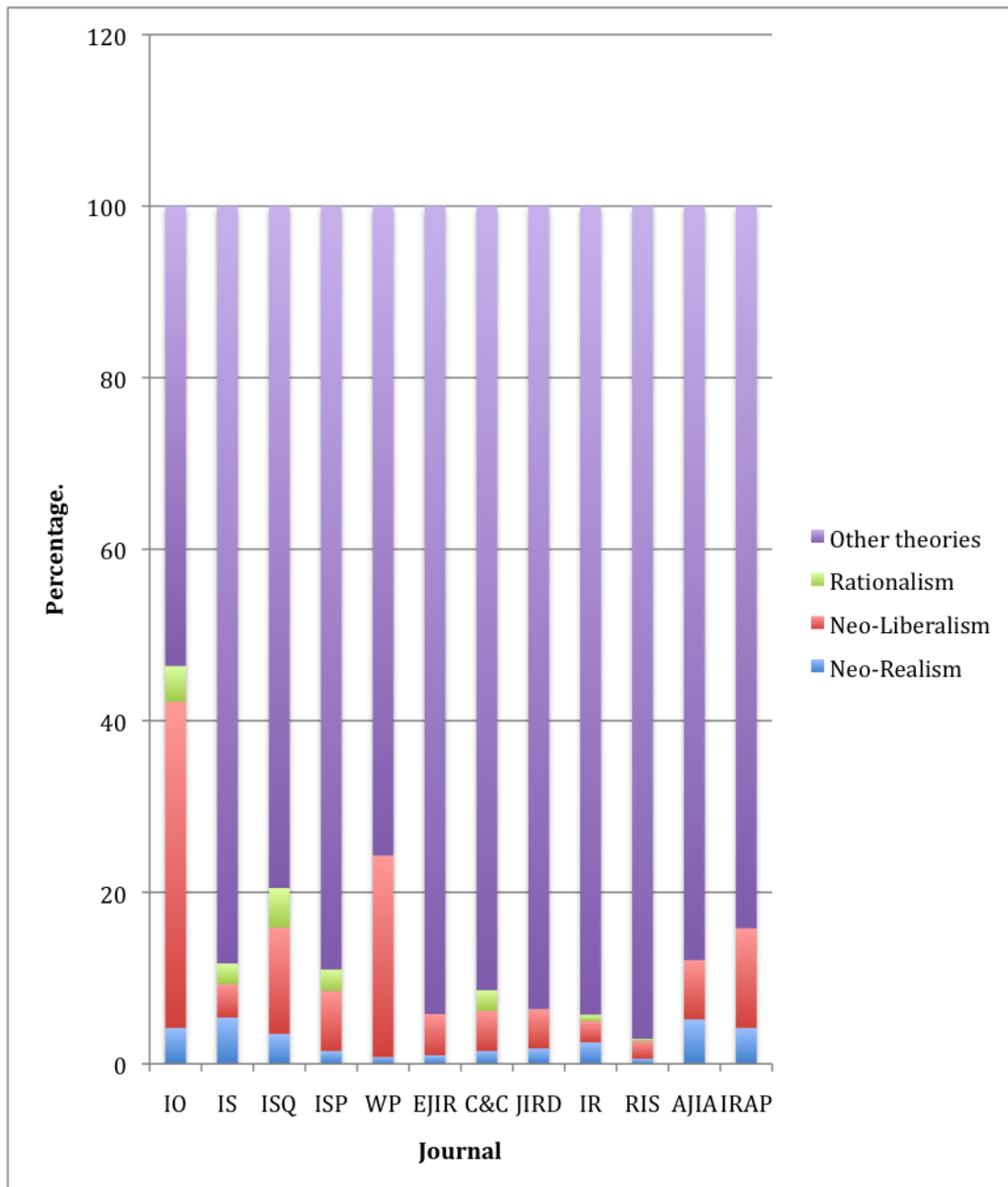
Table 2.1 The dominant theory in each journal under review from 1999-2009.

Apart from the dominance of neo-liberalism in *International Organization* even the other American journals exhibited a lack of neo-neo research being published. For instance only 11.7% of articles in *International Security*, 11% in *International Studies Perspectives*, 20.5% in *International Studies Quarterly*, 24.3% in *World Politics*, were neo-realist, neo-liberal or self-identified using Keohane’s ‘rationalist’ label to denote their neo-realist or neo-liberal perspective. Excluding *IO* the American journals demonstrated an inclination towards classical realism and classical liberalism, as these were the theories that the majority of academics were working with or praising the theoretical merit of. The claims in the literature surrounding the dominance of neo-realism and neo-liberalism in the discipline, put forth by Darryl Jarvis⁵¹⁰ and Thomas Biersteker for example,⁵¹¹ are questioned and challenged by the data here. The assertions of a dominant ‘neo-neo mainstream’ for instance policing the boundaries of the discipline and marginalizing research that does not adhere to the preferred theoretical framework seem slightly mythical, as the empirical reality demonstrates the relatively small amount of research using either a neo-realist or neo-liberal perspective (see figure 2.1). The results suggest that

⁵¹⁰ Jarvis, “International Relations: An International Discipline?”, pp. 375.

⁵¹¹ Biersteker, “The Parochialism of Hegemony”, pp. 309.

American theoretical dominance is not exercised through the dominance of the neo-neo approaches.



IO = International Organization; IS = International Security; ISQ = International Studies Quarterly; ISP = International Studies Perspectives; WP = World Politics; EJIR = European Journal of International Relations; CC = Cooperation and Conflict; JIRD = Journal of International Relations and Development; IR = International Relations; RIS = Review of International Studies; AJIA = Australian Journal of International Affairs; IRAP = International Relations of the Asia Pacific.

Figure 2.1: Articles written from either a neo-realist, neo-liberal or 'rationalist' theoretical perspective in 12 international journals from 1999-2009.

Furthermore, the results also refute the claims of American theoretical hegemony due to the dominance of realism.⁵¹² Scholars such as Barry Buzan,⁵¹³ Michael Doyle⁵¹⁴ and Kenneth

⁵¹² It is important to note that not all within the discipline share this sentiment. Some scholars such as John Measheimer, William Wohlforth, Jeffrey Legro and Andrew Moravcsik have begun to question the accuracy of this popular disciplinary notion, and argue that there is in fact a paucity

Waltz⁵¹⁵ still argue that ‘realism’ writ large is the dominant theory in IR with most international relations scholars being “either self-identified or readily identifiable realists”.⁵¹⁶ Due to realism’s American status, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this can also be used to support the claims of American disciplinary preponderance. However, from 1999-2009 in the journals under review 15.2% of research was identified as classical realist, 2.6% was neo-realist, meaning that 17.8% of all research published in the ten year time frame was ‘realist writ large’. These findings are very similar to those of Thomas Walker and Jeffrey Morton in their 2005 study.⁵¹⁷ They investigated 515 data-based articles from 1970-2000 and noted the steady decline of realism, especially since the 1990s. From 1995-2000 their results showed that “realism accounted for less than 22% of the data-based studies in world politics”.⁵¹⁸ Rather than a discipline dominated by realism, or even neo-realism and neo-liberalism, as many have depicted, Walker and Morton also discovered a discipline “characterized by theoretical diversity with a leaning towards liberalism”.⁵¹⁹ My results indicate the continuation of the trend noted by Walker and Morton, that of the persistent decline of realism and ascendancy of liberalism. The results are very similar and both work to refute the prevalent notions of 1) the preponderance of realism and 2) the existence of a neo-neo theoretical orthodoxy. Both sets of results can be seen to function as myth-breaking exercises, over turning widely held assumptions in the discipline that are the product of the lack of rigorous empirical work previously done to address such issues.

Regarding the claims about the dominance of constructivism, the content of the journals investigated has reflected the assumptions of Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane and Stephen Krasner that constructivism is making vast inroads into the discipline and becoming part of the ‘mainstream’ (see figure 2.2).⁵²⁰ Whilst the dominance of realism, and the neo-neo perspectives has been challenged through looking at the inclinations in the global discipline the growing popularity of constructivism has been demonstrated (see figure 2.3). 13.52% of research published in the 12 journals examined was identified as Constructivist. Whilst this category unfortunately does not account for the differences in this approach to IR - in terms of specifying what percentage was actually ‘conventional constructivism’ and which was ‘critical constructivism’ - it still highlights that this approach has had a significant impact on the global

of realist scholars within the field, especially in certain national IR communities. For more see Jeffrey Legro and Andrew Moravcsik “Is Anybody Still a Realist?” *International Security* 24 (2) (1999), pp. 5-55; John Mearsheimer “E. H. Carr Vs. Idealism: The Battle Rages On” *International Relations* 19 (2), (2005), pp. 241-262 and William Wohlforth “No One Loves a Realist Explanation”, pp. 441-459.

⁵¹³ Buzan “The Timeless Wisdom of Realism?”, pp. 47.

⁵¹⁴ Michael Doyle *Ways of War and Peace* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).

⁵¹⁵ Kenneth Waltz “Interview with Ken Waltz: Conducted by Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg” *Review of International Studies* 24 (3) (1998), pp. 371-386.

⁵¹⁶ Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 41

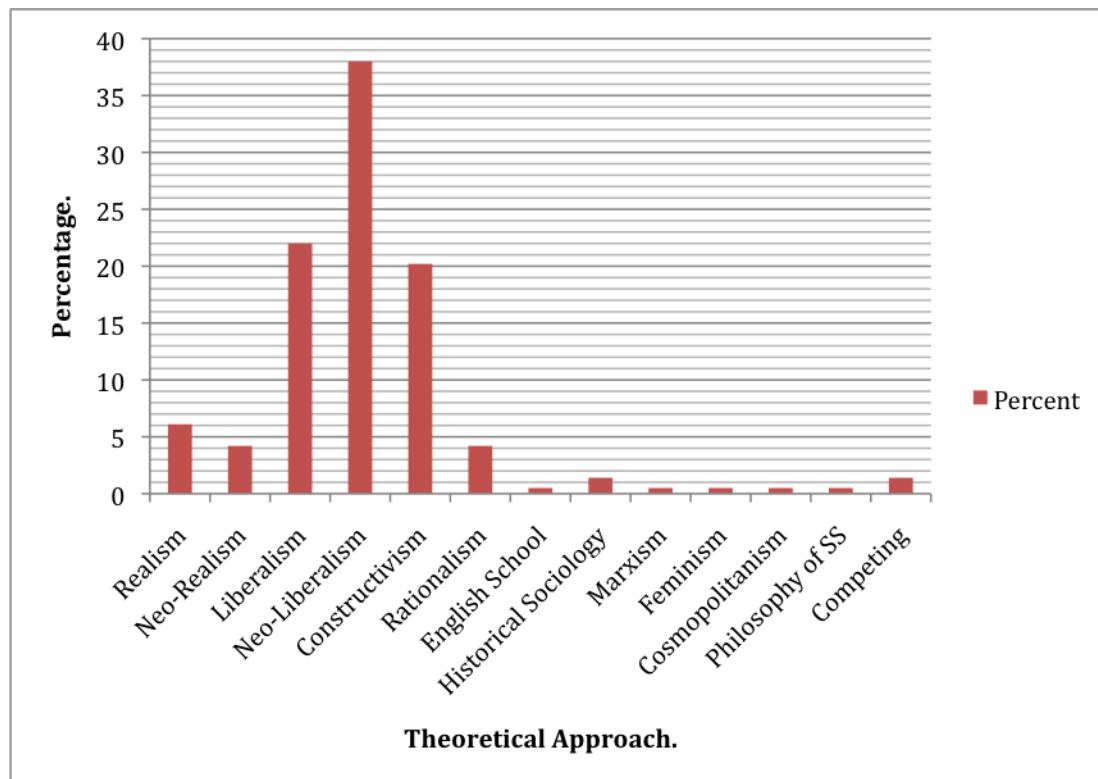
⁵¹⁷ Thomas C. Walker and Jeffrey S. Morton “Re-Assessing the ‘Power of Power Politics’ Thesis: Is Realism Still Dominant” *International Studies Review* 7 (2) (2005), pp. 341-356.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 350.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 353.

⁵²⁰ Katzenstein, Keohane, and Krasner, “*International Organization and the Study of World Politics*”. pp. 674.

discipline. However, it is not dominant as William Wohlforth⁵²¹ and others⁵²² have claimed. Although this investigation demonstrates the growing popularity of constructivism, this approach to international relations is not disciplinary preponderant in this investigation.



Philosophy of SS= Philosophy of Social Science. Competing= Competing theoretical perspectives.

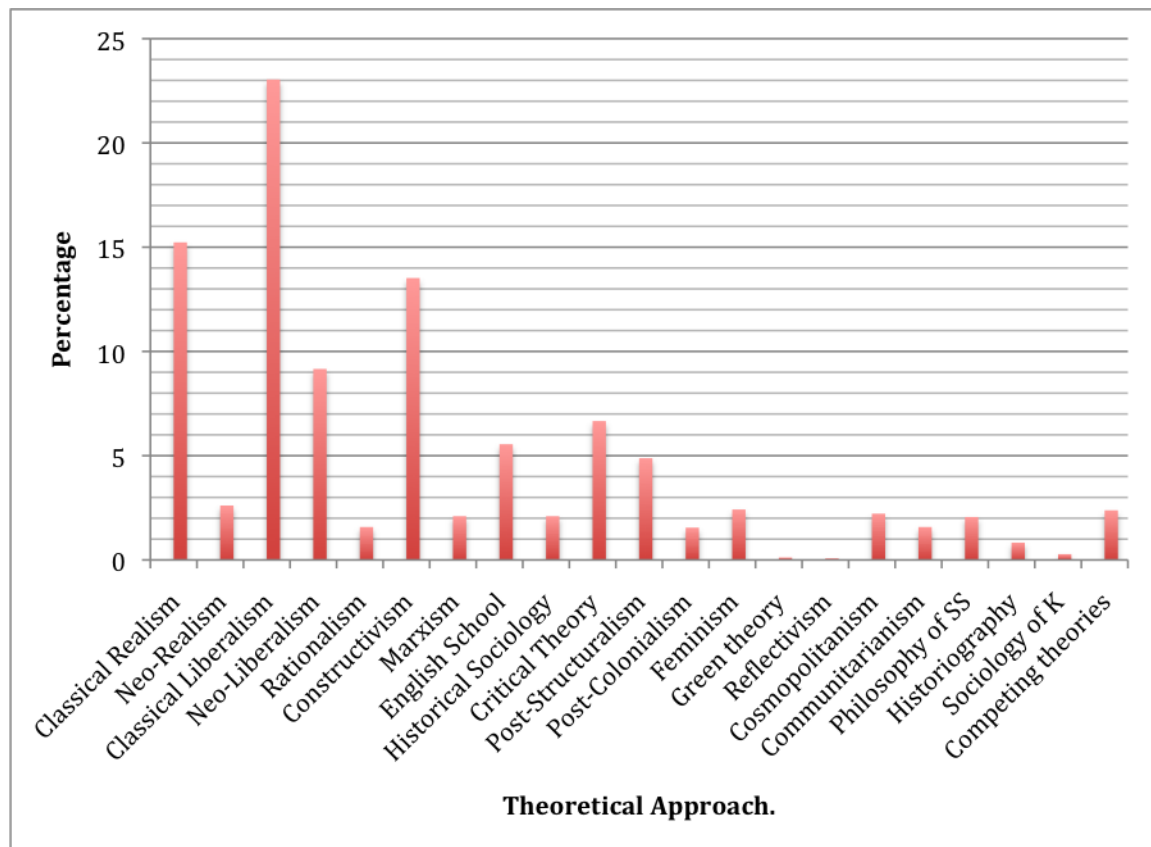
Figure 2.2: Theoretical perspectives of articles published in *International Organization* from 1999-2009.

Returning to the theory that was found to be the most employed and embodied theory, classical liberal research accounted for 23.04% of scholarship, meaning that 76.96% of scholarship argued from an alternative theoretical approach. In this study classical liberal works sit alongside scholarship written from a vast and broad array of different theoretical perspectives, as figure 2.3 shows. Earlier the claim was made that classical liberalism is the theory most adopted by academics, which it is according to this investigation; however, this is not to be confused with a claim for overall preponderance and dogmatism. Classical liberalism ‘dominates’ but is certainly not *dominating* the field; rather this theoretical school has the status of the most employed theory as opposed to theoretical orthodoxy in the contemporary discipline. If International Relations cannot claim a theoretical paradigm (in the true sense of the term, meaning a broad school of thought that all adhere to and work with and therefore adopt this

⁵²¹ William Wohlforth “No One Loves a Realist Explanation”, pp. 449.

⁵²² For example see example Checkel, “Social Constructivisms in Global and European Politics”, pp. 229.

worldview) then the discipline must be in Kuhnian terms in revolution,⁵²³ or in other terms a state of plurality.



Philosophy of SS = Philosophy of social science; Sociology of K = Sociology of knowledge.

Figure 2.3: Distribution of theoretical perspectives in 12 international journals from 1999-2009.

The diversity of theoretical perspectives populating the discipline is evident if one looks at figure 2.3. The range of theories in the pages of the discipline’s journals challenges the assertions made by Steve Smith⁵²⁴ and others⁵²⁵ that non-mainstream works have been and are being marginalized. Looking at the overall percentages, more poststructuralist articles (4.8%) were published than neo-realist ones (2.6%). The number of poststructuralist works published – especially when compared to the one of the ‘mainstream’ theories – questions the claims of a mainstream that polices the discipline’s boundaries through excluding works that it declares as ‘not doing’ IR. If one was to lay all of the IR theories on a spectrum it has been argued that poststructuralism is arguably the most left-wing or critical of the theories housed under the ‘reflectivist’ label. Therefore one would imagine it would be the prime target of the mainstream and recipient of the status of the most marginalized approach. Instead we find a healthy number

⁵²³ Thomas Kuhn *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1962).

⁵²⁴ Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 374-402.

⁵²⁵ J. A. Tickner “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists” *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (4) (1997), pp. 611-632.

of poststructuralist works in the journals under review. The array of theories found, especially the 'critical' theories, was incredibly diverse and suggest the contemporary discipline is inclined towards plurality and openness as opposed to dogmatism and exclusion.

One finds this theoretical plurality even in the American journals, where if there were to be exclusions made on theoretical grounds, this would arguably be the principal arena. Once again instead of a realist, neo-neo, or constructivist dominance we find openness and diversity. For example in the American journal *International Studies Perspectives* research employing a wide variety of different theoretical approaches was published (see figure 2.4). Although the number of classical liberal approaches was preponderant in *ISP*— accounting for 32% of articles – there still was a relatively high number of articles endorsing/employing Critical Theory, postcolonialism and even English School theory. Although *International Organization* was rather theoretically narrow in comparison, its fellow American publications were quite the opposite, and suggested that the discipline is not only diverse but also inclusive. Similarly in their recent investigation into the American IR academy Daniel Maliniak et al also discovered “considerable theoretical diversity within the American IR community and that diversity has grown over time”.⁵²⁶ Looking at faculty surveys and IR journal articles Maliniak et al noted the decline of realism and the growing theoretical plurality within the US IR community.⁵²⁷ Likewise, Walker and Morton concluded that their investigation also “shows a field with a plurality of theoretical concerns. Rather than a Kuhnian paradigm, recent research suggests theoretical diversity”.⁵²⁸ The diversity of theoretical approaches was not confined to the American journals, but was a global scholarly trend; all the journals investigated demonstrated a proclivity for pluralism (see figures 2.5 and 2.6).

⁵²⁶ Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson and Michael J. Tierney “International Relations in the US Academy” *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2) (2011), pp. 439.

⁵²⁷ For more on the methodology and the time spans used see *Ibid.*, pp. 440-441.

⁵²⁸ Walker and Morton “Re-Assessing the ‘Power of Power Politics’ Thesis”, pp. 353.

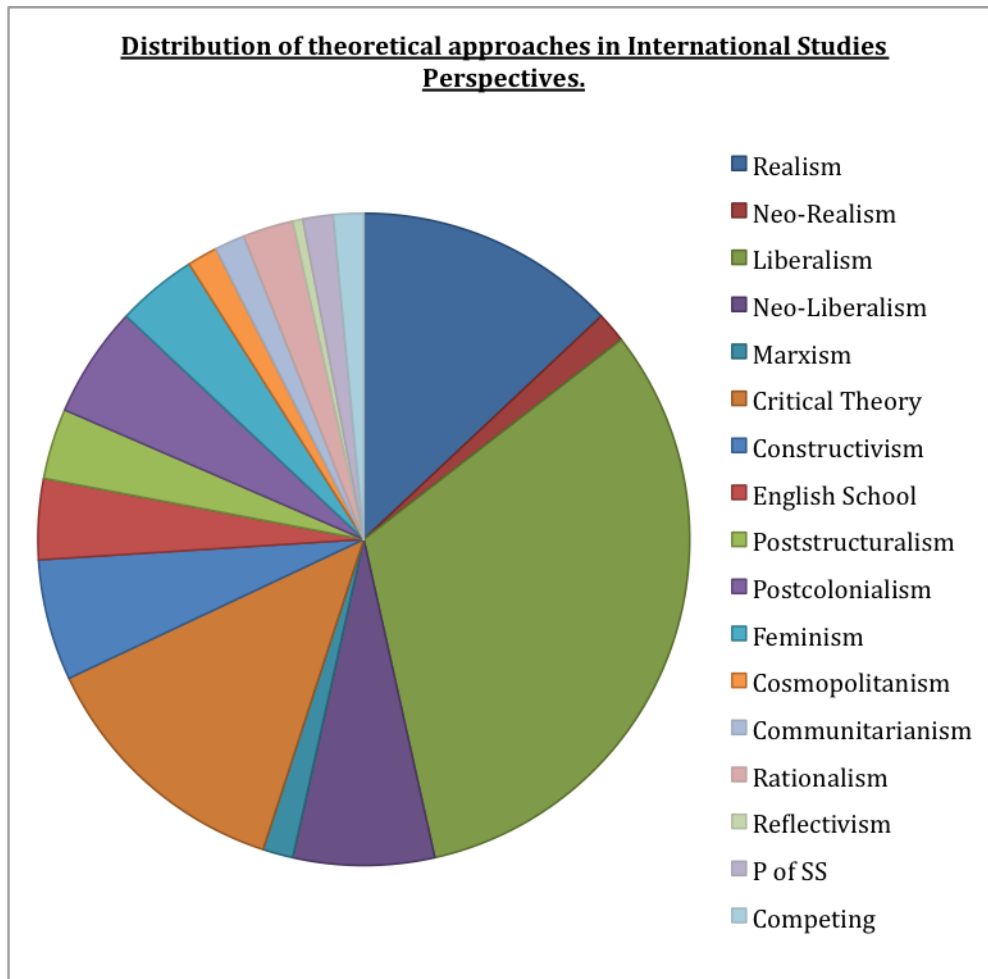


Figure 2.4: Distribution of theoretical approaches in articles published from 1999-2009 in *International Studies Perspectives*.

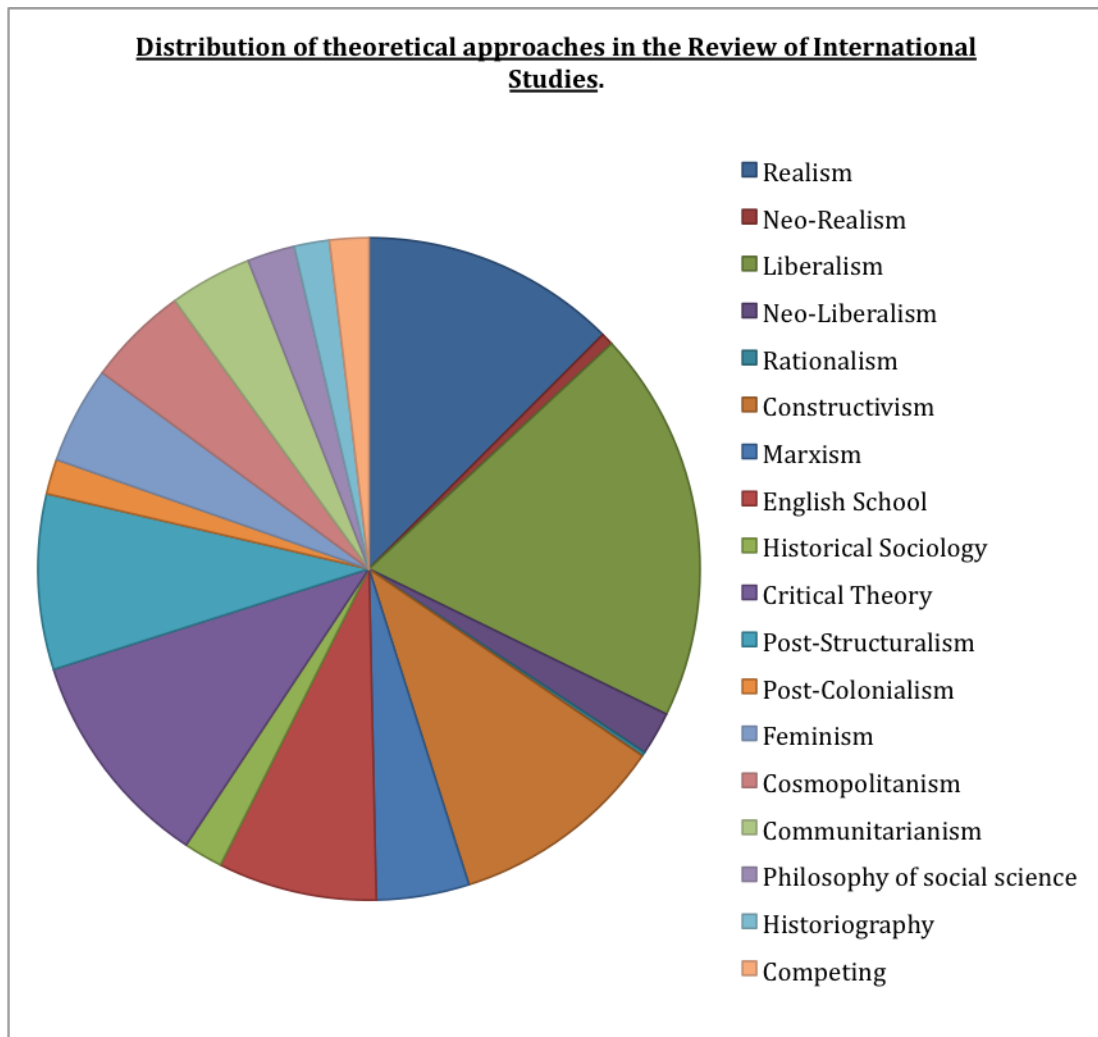


Figure 2.5: Distribution of theoretical approaches in articles published from 1999-2009 in the *Review of International Studies*.

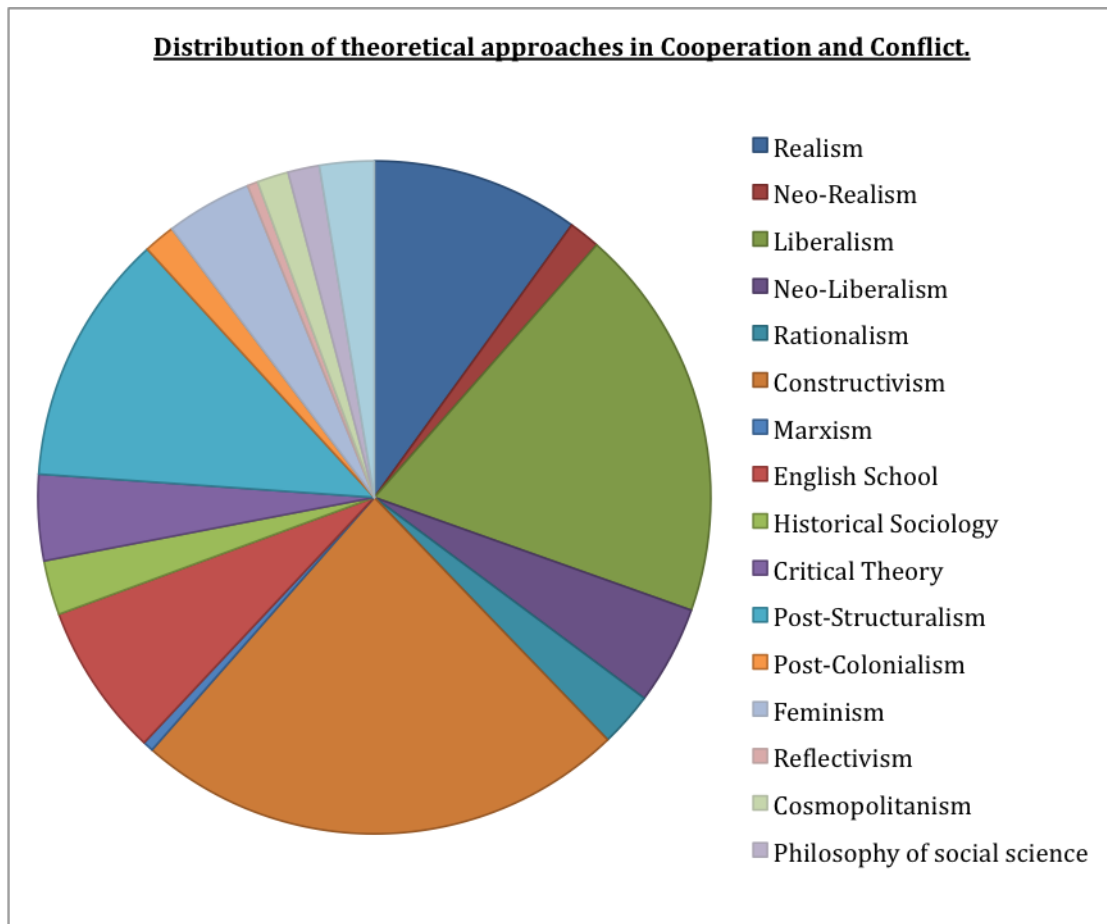


Figure 2.6: Distribution of theoretical approaches in articles published from 1999-2009 in *Cooperation and Conflict*.

Although some such as Kal Holsti⁵²⁹ may lament the state of pluralism arguing that it has resulted in disciplinary fragmentation, I believe it is a cause for celebration. A disciplinary situation of theoretical pluralism means that the consequences of a realist, neo-neo, or constructivist mainstream are not a disciplinary reality. In other words the field is not conditioned by a narrow, ahistorical Eurocentric problem field, it is not presented with limited tools of analysis, and it no longer arguably overlooks a number of international realities and pressing issues. Instead we have a healthy discipline equipped to help understand and explain the myriad of international realities we are faced with in an ever-growing complex world.

Theoretical Pluralism: A Cause for Celebration.

There is however, no consensus over theoretical pluralism.⁵³⁰ The counter arguments point to what Michael Banks terms an ‘incoherent discipline’.⁵³¹ Pluralism, critics such as Kal Holsti⁵³² and

⁵²⁹ Kal J. Holsti in Adam Jones “Interview with Kal Holsti” *Review of International Studies* 28 (3) (2002), pp. 621.

⁵³⁰ Steve Smith “Debating Schmidt: Theoretical Pluralism in IR” *Millennium* 36 (2) (2008), pp. 306.

Margaret Hermann argue,⁵³³ has resulted in intellectual confusion and ‘theoretical anarchy’ with a lack of communication between theories⁵³⁴, resulting in a divided discipline.⁵³⁵ All in all, this means we are in a Kuhnian state of revolution and theoretical pluralism has made it “difficult if not impossible, for knowledge to accumulate in the field”.⁵³⁶ For those who remain committed to Thomas Kuhn’s account of scientific development, theoretical pluralism is viewed as an impediment to progress.⁵³⁷

Kuhn argued that science develops through two distinct phases, that of 1) revolutionary science and 2) normal science.⁵³⁸ In its revolutionary phase, science is characterized by theoretical fragmentation, as new theories enter a given discipline to challenge traditional modes of thought that are in ‘crisis’. The revolutionary phase ensures that theoretical advancement is always possible, but Kuhn argued that such revolutionary phases did not lead to a progression in terms of a body of cumulative knowledge. Knowledge could only progress, Kuhn argued, in periods of what he termed normal science. In an era of normal science a ‘paradigm’ would dominate, meaning that under this ‘worldview’ or ‘outlook’ a given field could progress to produce a cumulative body of knowledge.⁵³⁹ Applying Kuhn’s work to IR (as many, such as John Vasquez,⁵⁴⁰ Stefano Guzzini,⁵⁴¹ and Kal Holsti,⁵⁴² have done in order to critique the recent theoretical expansion), the current state of pluralism means that the field is in the midst of a revolutionary phase and unable to progress and advance a collective body of research. According to Yale Ferguson and Richard Mansbach theoretical pluralism should not be not be celebrated but despaired.⁵⁴³

There are a number of problems with the above arguments. For instance, Kuhn’s arguments cannot be applied to the social sciences, for he argued that his theory of scientific revolutions only applied to the mature sciences, and not to the arts and social sciences. Kuhn believed the social sciences to be pre-paradigmatic, and he doubted whether they could ever progress to be ‘mature sciences’. Due to his belief in the immature status of the social sciences Kuhn’s theory was derived from his observations in the natural sciences, therefore as Hugh

⁵³¹ Michael Banks “Where Are We Now?” *Review of International Studies* 11 (3) (1985), pp. 217.

⁵³² Kal J. Holsti “Mirror, Mirror on the Wall, Which are the Fairest Theories of All?” *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (3) (1989), pp. 255-261.

⁵³³ Margaret Hermann “One Field, Many Perspectives: Building the Foundations for Dialogue” *International Studies Quarterly* 42 (4) (1998), pp. 606.

⁵³⁴ Brian Schmidt “International Relations Theory: Hegemony or Pluralism?” *Millennium* 36 (2) (2008), pp. 298.

⁵³⁵ Holsti “Interview with Kal Holsti” pp. 621.

⁵³⁶ Schmidt “International Relations Theory”, pp.298.

⁵³⁷ Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13; 90-92.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. x; 24; 42-44

⁵⁴⁰ Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*.

⁵⁴¹ Guzzini “A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations”, pp. 158-159.

⁵⁴² Holsti “Mirror, Mirror on the Wall”.

⁵⁴³ See for example Yale Ferguson and Richard Mansbach Ferguson “Between Celebration and Despair: Constructive Suggestions for Future International Theory” *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (4) (1991), pp. 363-386.

Wilmott argues “Kuhn’s theory is of tenuous relevance for understanding the processes of theory development in the social sciences”.⁵⁴⁴ If we cannot apply Kuhn’s theory to the social sciences then the concerns about stagnation and the inability to progress are unwarranted. Pluralism does not prevent progress.

Furthermore, the concern regarding the lack of communication between theories seems slightly over exaggerated. One only has to look at the themes of some of the discipline’s recent conferences to see the attempts to stimulate dialogue between different theoretical schools in action.⁵⁴⁵ The discipline’s journals are also full of cross-theoretical debates, and show the inclination to promote further theoretical conversations.⁵⁴⁶ The term ‘synthesis’ has become one of the discipline’s ‘buzz words’ in recent years,⁵⁴⁷ and hybrid theoretical endeavours have attracted much attention and encouraged further debate.⁵⁴⁸ It seems that claims that lament theoretical pluralism and the associated arguments that incite fears of preventing scientific advancement, or illicit notions of disciplinary degradation can operate in a gate-keeping manner due to their attempts to limit the number of theories present. It seems that those wishing to protect the traditional boundaries of the discipline have evoked such arguments, to bring back a theoretical orthodoxy like the discipline had in the 1970s with the dominance of realism to the detriment of the discipline.⁵⁴⁹

Pluralism is exceedingly important for IR as it ensures that we uphold the Socratic belief, that ideas are improved through debate and critique and such activities help the development of alternatives.⁵⁵⁰ Progress is achieved not through consensus but “through the conflict of ideas”.⁵⁵¹ According to John Mearsheimer, scholarship:

“is best advanced in any discipline when there are contending schools of thought that are free to compete with each other in the marketplace of ideas.

⁵⁴⁴ Hugh Wilmott “Breaking the Paradigm Mentality” *Organization Studies* 14 (5) (1993), pp. 687.

⁵⁴⁵ For example recent ISA conference themes have been; “One Field Many Perspectives: Building the Foundations of Dialogue” in 1999; “Dissolving Boundaries: The Nexus Between Comparative Politics and IR” in 2002; “The Construction and Accumulation of Knowledge” in 2003; and “Bridging Multiple Divides” in 2008. Another recent example is the 2012 BISA-ISA joint convention, of which the theme was, “Diversity in the Discipline: Tension or Opportunity?”. As such there were multiple panels addressing the issue of generating cross theory communication.

⁵⁴⁶ There have also been a number of works published lately also addressing the issue of, and encouraging or seeking, inter-paradigm dialogue see for example the recent special issue of *Millennium* titled ‘International Relations in Dialogue’ 39 (3) (2011), and monographs by Patrick Thaddeus Jackson *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and its Implications for the Study of World Politics* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011).

⁵⁴⁷ For example see the forum “Are Dialogue and Synthesis Possible in International Relations” published in *International Studies Review* 5 (1) (2003), pp. 123-153.

⁵⁴⁸ Hegemonic Stability Theory is often referred to as a hybrid theory. For more see James F. Hollifield “Migration and International Relations: Cooperation and the European Community” *International Migration Review* 26 (2) (1992), pp. 568-595.

⁵⁴⁹ Smith “Paradigm Dominance in International Relations”, pp. 196.

⁵⁵⁰ Yaqing “Development of International Relations Theory in China: Progress Through Debates”, pp. 231-257.

⁵⁵¹ Holsti, “Mirror, Mirror on the Wall”, pp. 257.

Pluralism, not monopoly, is what we should foster in our departments and in the broader field of international relations".⁵⁵²

Our ideas and research are bettered from engaging with others who adopt different approaches to us, for they force us to reflect upon our work in different ways and continue to improve our insights. Theoretical pluralism is be beneficial for the discipline because not only does it engender debate ensuring progress, it also prevents 1) over simplification and 2) enables the discipline to effectively deal with changing potentialities and pressures.

Theoretical pluralism is almost necessary in order for the discipline of IR to function and be relevant. Because of the complex nature of international politics one theory alone cannot explain the workings of international relations from all corners of the globe. We are currently faced with a range of diverse issues, from terrorist threats, to nuclear proliferation, to migration, and climate change, hence we need a multiplicity of theories to help us understand global events.⁵⁵³ According to Mearsheimer, "even if one has an impressive theory or perspective, it cannot tell us all we need to know about international politics".⁵⁵⁴ Because it is highly unlikely that one single theory could adequately explain all the features of the contemporary international system we are better off with a wide range of competing ideas. Furthermore, theoretical pluralism prevents us from committing the dangers of oversimplification.⁵⁵⁵ Having a divergent range of theoretical perspectives ensures that issues are viewed in numerous ways and prevents from parsimonious accounts, which potentially could limit solutions. As J. Ann Ticker states:

"we must all respect and support scholarly pluralism and protest efforts to enforce intellectual conformity from wherever they may arise.... New questions, new concepts and definitions, and new modes of analysis are essential tools for seeing beyond ideological and epistemological boundaries that are driving global politics and inhibiting our quest to understand them".⁵⁵⁶

According to Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith an increased number of theoretical approaches is better for IR because not only does a milieu of pluralism enable old issues to be addressed in new ways, but also "pluralism opens up the new agenda which speak more directly to changing threats and potentialities".⁵⁵⁷ The array of theoretical perspectives present in the discipline and the correlated diversity of ontological foci has sparked a debate and subsequent expansion of the subject matter of IR, rather than focusing on cooperation and conflict which

⁵⁵² Mearsheimer "E. H. Carr Vs. Idealism", pp. 149.

⁵⁵³ Schmidt, "International Relations Theory: Hegemony or Pluralism", pp. 296.

⁵⁵⁴ Mearsheimer "E.H Carr vs. Idealism", pp. 149.

⁵⁵⁵ Holsti, "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall", pp. 256.

⁵⁵⁶ Tickner "On the Frontlines or Sidelines of Knowledge and Power?", pp. 393.

⁵⁵⁷ Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki and Steve Smith "Preface" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. vi.

have been the traditional parameters of the discipline,⁵⁵⁸ the influx of theories in the 1990s and their current adoption has allowed academics to focus on a broad range of issues, giving the discipline a truly international outlook.⁵⁵⁹ This has enabled the discipline to become more relevant to people in a variety of locations that has until recently been the case, as Steve Smith argues, theoretical pluralism has permitted IR “to develop theory relevant to a wider range of humanity”.⁵⁶⁰ Embracing theoretical pluralism means exposing the discipline to new issues and concerns, meaning that it can speak to a broader range of realities.

The inclination in the discipline towards theoretical pluralism is one to be revered, for the plethora of theories being adopted generates increasingly relevant scholarship for a diverse range of locales, which opens up the possibility of creating new future international realities. The present state of theoretical diversity means that the discipline is more applicable, more reactive and therefore emancipatory in that it raises the possibility of new and alternative future realities. It is important to remember that pluralism for pluralism’s sake is not desirable, yet there are real and actual tangible benefits to the present theoretical diversity in the discipline, for the different theories can help increase our knowledge and make the discipline increasingly relevant.

Whilst the results from the journal investigation demonstrates IR’s theoretical pluralism and therefore the lack of an American theoretical orthodoxy, IR is an American dominated discipline in a sense because the US produces the majority of theoretical works, which the rest of the global discipline consumes.⁵⁶¹ American dominance may not be exercised through the preponderance of either realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism or conventional constructivism, but it still operates through the volume of outputs.⁵⁶² Most theories, with the exceptions of the English School, and the Copenhagen, Welsh and Paris schools of security theory, have emerged from the US. Even poststructuralism, which is based on the works of certain French theorists, as a theory of IR was developed in the US.⁵⁶³ This final section will explore what it means for a theory to be ‘American’, and ask whether we can meaningfully speak of ‘American’ theories?

What Does it Mean to be ‘American’?

⁵⁵⁸ J. Ann Tickner *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵⁹ Christine Sylvester “Whither the International at the End of IR” *Millennium* 35 (3) (2007), pp. 553.

⁵⁶⁰ Steve Smith “Introduction; Diversity and Disciplinarity in IR Theory” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 12.

⁵⁶¹ Biersteker “The Parochialism of Hegemony”, pp. 309.

⁵⁶² Acharya and Buzan “Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory?”, pp. 296.

⁵⁶³ Francois Cusset *French Theory: How Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze & Co. Transformed the Intellectual Life of the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

Given the alleged dependence of other IR communities on American theoretical texts the case for disciplinary dominance could potentially be made. However, if one were to examine the origins of all IR theories and which 'classical' thinkers have been drawn upon one could argue that all theories are suffused with both American, non-American, Western and non-Western influences.⁵⁶⁴ Each theoretical text and theoretical artifact is itself the product of past interactions. This means that bodies of scholarship, ideas, and even theories are always amalgamations of different intellectual sources from differing geographical locales, which ultimately brings into the question the 'Americanness' such work.⁵⁶⁵ Texts and theories need to be understood as the products of numerous interactions and influences. Although the final product is confined to, and framed by, a more specific setting, such as the US, the actual intellectual product and its identity is negotiated and renegotiated following the authors' interactions with other texts, which take place in a context that shifts.

Despite the above, theories have been designated as American because it is claimed that they are embedded within American experiences, and aimed for an American foreign policy audience. Looking at the emergence of poststructuralism as an 'American' theory of IR, Francois Cusset argued that when 'French Theory' (or what we now commonly understand as 'poststructuralism') travelled to North America it was read in an alternative way due to the determining influences of the US context.⁵⁶⁶ What occurred, claims Cusset, was an American 'misinterpretation' of the original texts. According to Cusset this American reading differed somewhat remarkably from the original meanings,⁵⁶⁷ which was due to the American influences and experiences in which the texts were interpreted against. Resultantly, this means we can label this IR theory as American.

Cusset draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu to argue that when ideas and theories travel they do not carry their context with them when they travel. Resultantly when theories 'travel' from one academic community to another they become decontextualised and denationalised. According to Bourdieu "International exchanges are subject to a certain number of structural factors which generate misunderstandings".⁵⁶⁸ By 'misunderstandings' Bourdieu refers to the notion that ideas shift and suffer a metamorphosis when they are disseminated in a new context; "many misunderstandings in international communication are a result of the fact that texts do not bring their context with them".⁵⁶⁹ This means for example that theories are interpreted in a different way because they are influenced by the immediate context, which is often different from that in which the theory was originated. In short, historical circumstances and national situations do not travel or follow the movement of those theories generated within

⁵⁶⁴ Bilgin "Thinking Past 'Western' IR?", pp. 8.

⁵⁶⁵ Viatcheslav Morozov "'Obsessed with Identity: the IR in Post-Soviet Russia" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 205.

⁵⁶⁶ Cusset, *French Theory*, pp. 305-306.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁵⁶⁸ Pierre Bourdieu "The Social Condition of the International Circulation of Ideas" in Schusterman, R. (ed) *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1999), pp. 221.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

them. It is the static nature of context that enables theories and ideas to be read in a different fashion due to the determining force of the new environment.⁵⁷⁰

Following Bourdieu's reasoning, theories are dependent on the context in which they are generated (or in Bourdieu's terms, the field of production), but this dependence no longer comes into play once ideas begin to leave the original context. Instead, they become dependent on the new context in which they are read, what Bourdieu terms 'the field of *reception*'. The way the theory is interpreted and disseminated is reliant on the receptive field, that is, the site where the theory will be understood in light of new circumstances. The outcome of this process is that the theory takes on a different identity than the one it originated with. Upon assimilation in the field of reception, ideas in a sense are re-historicised: they gain a new history, and resultantly are now applicable to the new environment.⁵⁷¹

Furthermore, according to Edward Said theories develop in response to specific historical and social reasons, but when they move from their site of origin, the power, history and arguably 'rebelliousness' attached to them dissipates as they become domesticated in their new location.⁵⁷² Like Bourdieu, Said argued that theories can be reinterpreted, or 'misinterpreted' in situations that differ from their original environment due to the determining effects of historical circumstances.⁵⁷³ Theories, it seems, can be understood and put to use in a different manner, or, in other words, made relevant to the 'local' context, because of the decisive force of circumstance and situation.⁵⁷⁴ It is, then, possible that the same theory originating in the US may travel to different IR communities and be understood and (re)interpreted in a number of divergent fashions. In each of these possibilities, the 'renationalised' set of ideas always differs from the original one. What this means is that whilst America has produced the greatest volume of theoretical works, and that other IR communities have consumed such works it does not mean that they have been interpreted and understood in the same manner. Rather, the suggestion is that as the mainstream theories have travelled and become assimilated in other IR communities their identity shifts through 'misinterpretations' borne out of the determining influences of context, culture and circumstances. In other words it can be argued that they lose their 'Americanness'.

Looking at what happens when theories and ideas travel challenges the pervasiveness of American dominance. Whilst America may produce the greatest volume of theory and these theories are seemingly consumed by academics in other IR communities, the way they are understood, applied and both denationalized and renationalized dilutes the degree of American theoretical dominance. As Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver argue, "the US brand of IR is always

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid., op cit.*

⁵⁷¹ Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant "On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason" *Theory Culture Society* 16 (1) (1999), pp. 41-58.

⁵⁷² Edward Said "Travelling Theory" in Bayoumi, M. and Rubin, A. (eds) *The Edward Said Reader* (London: Granta Publications, 2001), pp. 195-196.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid., op cit.*

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.,* pp. 205.

present as a reference point"⁵⁷⁵ yet this brand is mixed with local knowledge and experiences and interpreted against them. We can in a sense still claim that the US is theoretically dominant but we must begin to question the degree to which it does, and look at how American theories are understood and applied in different IR communities. Each national IR academy has its own traditions and history and these influences will shape scholarly interactions with American theories. Furthermore, taking into account the numerous works published recently that have looked for, promoted, and encouraged further development of non-Western IR theory,⁵⁷⁶ it may be the case that non-American IR communities are not as dependent upon US theoretical works as is perceived. Whilst this chapter is unable to fully answer the above questions, it has aimed to show that the situation is more complex than is presented in the literature and the degree to which the US is able to exercise its hegemonic influence is not as determining for the discipline as it initially appears.

Conclusion.

This chapter has sought to unpack the various claims of American theoretical dominance that proliferate in the literature. Through assessing whether these claims capture the current disciplinary environment this chapter has revealed the contemporary discipline of IR to be theoretically plural. This disciplinary reality of theoretical pluralism has therefore challenged certain assumptions regarding the theoretical inclinations of the discipline. Through questioning the claims regarding the ways in which the United States allegedly theoretically dominates the discipline this chapter has attempted to argue that whilst the US does not exercise its hegemony through creating a theoretical orthodoxy it can be still claimed to dominate the discipline due to it being the main producer of IR theory. But in turn this has raised a number of issues regarding whether theories can be designated as belonging to country X and what happens to them when they become disseminated in another academic community.

This chapter began by exploring the many claims in the literature that state that IR is dominated by an American theoretical orthodoxy and as such the United States is intellectually hegemonic. The chapter was based around empirically examining three prominent claims 1) the dominance of realism 2) the preponderance of the neo-neo approaches and 3) the most recent of claims, the dominance of conventional constructivism. The chapter then explored the underlying claims of American disciplinary dominance due to the dynamic of dependence in operation. The US can be argued to dominate the discipline due not only to the sheer volume of theoretical works developed in the United States, but also because other IR communities have become dependent upon American theoretical productions. The reliance of other IR communities upon

⁵⁷⁵ Tickner and Wæver "Conclusion", pp. 329.

⁵⁷⁶ See for example Shilliam *International Relations and Non-Western Thought*, and Arlene B. Tickner and David L. Blaney (eds) *Thinking International Relations Differently* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

American theoretical outputs has apparently caused and sustained American theoretical dominance, which in turn allegedly hinders the development of non-American and especially non-Western International Relations Theory. Despite recent efforts to develop, advance and discover non-Western IR theory the arguments that proliferate the discipline are that such efforts are consistently overlooked by the United States therefore they are destined to remain peripheral due to the structural bias formed out of previous theoretical and textual dependency.⁵⁷⁷

The notion of US theoretical dominance has become embedded within the discipline and reproduced without question and without empirical verification. One of the underlying interventions throughout this chapter has been to highlight and problematise that the popular discourse and notions of American theoretical dominance conditions the current behaviour of academics. Firstly, the claims that have populated the discipline, such as the dominance of realism, or conventional constructivism for example has resulted in academics reenacting their perceived marginal positions and thereby disciplining themselves. As noted throughout this chapter the literature gives the impression of the dominance of the US IR community due to the alleged preponderance of either realism, the neo-neo approaches or conventional constructivism. Whilst this investigation has suggested that this is not the empirical actuality academics continue to define themselves in relation to the 'mainstream' (defined as a set of American realist/neo-realist/neo-liberal/constructivist scholars) and thereby give the aforementioned theories authority. Because of the way academics refer to the perceived mainstream theories and use them as their referent object the narrative of dominance is reproduced. Realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and conventional constructivism are kept central and all other theories (whether they are American or not) are constantly compared against these approaches, resulting in them being reified in discourse. Most theoretical articles encounter and engage with the perceived mainstream theory in order to 1) critique it and/or 2) show how the chosen alternative theoretical account is better in order to vie for theoretical superiority or explanatory prowess. But in doing so each article acknowledges the perceived centrality/authority/dominance of the mainstream accounts and constructs their 'outlier'/marginal status, which as my results have shown is not the case.

Even though this study has attempted to argue that the empirical actuality differs from the popular notions, the commonplace assumptions of a realist, neo-neo or constructivist dominated discipline are continually enacted and reproduced through academics behaving as if it were the empirically reality. Marginal statuses are being constructed by those who claim to be marginal. In other words, certain academics are performing their own peripheral statuses and actively self-disciplining. This in turn hampers academic activities, reproduces and entrenches certain disciplinary self-images, which further conditions scholarly behaviour, thereby effectively

⁵⁷⁷ Aydinli and Mathews "Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline", pp. 693-712. Also see the edited volume by Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan (eds) *Non-Western International Relations Theory: Perspectives on and Beyond Asia* (Oxon: Routledge, 2010).

marginalizing non-Western IR theory or any other non-American category that emerges because it is perceived to be marginalized by the 'mainstream'.⁵⁷⁸

Secondly, the claims of a dependent periphery have generated a series of arguments that state that because of the consumption of American theories scholars in the so-called periphery simply emulate American theoretical trends. The perception of this supposed emulation is that peripheral scholarship produces nothing original.⁵⁷⁹ According to Donald Puchala 'peripheral scholarship' is often perceived as "nothing other than what it has been taught".⁵⁸⁰ The fact that there is an asymmetry in the production of theoretical knowledge does not mean that we must deny any agency to scholars who adopt elements of the mainstream or use American theoretical frameworks.⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, as the final section of this chapter argued even if American theories are consumed in the 'periphery' they are often interpreted and applied differently due to the determining effects of context.⁵⁸²

The discipline of International Relations does experience a degree of American theoretical dominance but we should be careful of uncritically reproducing this self-image due to the way this self-image conditions academic behaviour. Disciplinary accounts need to take the diverse array of dynamics and tensions into account and there needs to be more discussion into what makes a theory 'American' and what happens, when, and why these theories travel and become disseminated in a new context. Furthermore, American theoretical dominance, understood as a dominance of theoretical production, occurs alongside the disciplinary trend of theoretical pluralism. We must also be wary of overlooking the theoretical diversity underway, because it is this plural reality that challenges the other set of claims regarding American theoretical dominance.

⁵⁷⁸ These arguments are expanded upon in the conclusion chapter.

⁵⁷⁹ Bilgin, "Thinking Past 'Western' IR", pp. 13.

⁵⁸⁰ Donald Puchala "Some Non-Western Perspectives on International Relations" *Journal of Peace Research* 34 (2) (1997), pp. 139.

⁵⁸¹ Bilgin, "Thinking Past 'Western' IR", pp. 13.

⁵⁸² Bourdieu "The Social Condition of the International Circulation of Ideas", pp. 221.

4.

American Epistemological and Methodological Dominance?

Whereas chapter one displayed IR's pluralist tendencies in terms of the discipline's subject matter, and chapter two showed IR's theoretical pluralism, this chapter will illustrate the discipline's pluralist tendencies methodologically speaking, and in doing so will challenge a number of prevalent assumptions regarding the methodological inclinations of International Relations. Defining dominance epistemologically and methodologically there are two prominent claims in the literature regarding the way the US allegedly exercise's its hegemonic influence in the discipline. It has been argued that IR is an American dominated discipline due to the preponderance of 1) Rationalism and 2) Positivism. For instance according to Darryl Jarvis:

“Despite the increasing array of formulations advanced to challenge this, positivist-rationalist-empirical approaches still tend to predominate. A perusal of the pages of the discipline's leading journals, for example – measured in terms of circulation – all display an affinity for methodological conformity evidenced by how few articles feel the need to even problematise the issue of method or epistemology”.⁵⁸³

Rationalism in this sense refers to a methodological approach. Used in IR contexts it refers to “formal and informal applications of rational choice theory, to any work drawing on the tradition of microeconomic theory from Alfred Marshall to recent developments in evolutionary game theory”.⁵⁸⁴ The way the term is commonly employed in the discipline of IR is not to refer to the epistemological position of rationalism⁵⁸⁵ but rather points to a methodological approach that draws on certain philosophical assumptions regarding the rationality of actors in the international system.⁵⁸⁶ As noted in the previous chapter Robert Keohane devised the term rationalism,⁵⁸⁷ not only in order to refer to neo-realism and neo-liberalism, but also to denote his

⁵⁸³ Darryl S. L. Jarvis “International Relations: An International Discipline?” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 372-373.

⁵⁸⁴ James Fearon and Alexander Wendt “Rationalism V. Constructivism: A Skeptical View” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003), pp. 54.

⁵⁸⁵ For an account of the rationalism as an epistemology see John Dancy *Introduction to Contemporary Epistemology* (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1985), pp. 66-84; John Locke *An Essay on Human Understanding: Fifth Edition* (London: Collins, 1969) and Steve Smith “Positivism and Beyond” in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 21-23.

⁵⁸⁶ Duncan Snidal “Rational Choice and International Relations” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003), pp. 75.

⁵⁸⁷ Robert Keohane “International Institutions: Two Approaches” *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (4) (1988), pp. 327-396.

commitment to rational choice theory.⁵⁸⁸ In the contemporary literature it is frequently commented that rational choice methods or formal models dominate the discipline, and by extension so does the American IR community.⁵⁸⁹ For instance, Chris Brown laments “The ‘Americanness’ of IR is now a matter of the legitimacy of methods employed by the discipline. Those of us who do not employ rational choice thinking are now marginalized, whether we are American or not”.⁵⁹⁰

According to Steve Smith, however, “For the last forty years the academic discipline of International Relations has been dominated by positivism”.⁵⁹¹ Because of the association with the American IR academy, due to America being the ‘birthplace of the behavioural revolution’,⁵⁹² the dominance of positivism is often interpreted to mean that IR is an American enterprise.⁵⁹³ As positivism is a philosophy of social science it has ontological, epistemological and methodological components, hence IR is often depicted to be an American discipline due to the alleged dominance of certain methods and ways of acquiring and evaluating knowledge claims. It is frequently argued that ‘neo-positivist’ methods dominate,⁵⁹⁴ which is usually taken to imply the dominance of certain quantitative methods that are statistical in orientation. Whereas, epistemologically speaking, according to Molly Cochran, “For contemporary IR as an American social science, that playing field is now positivism: what counts as knowledge is that which can be proven to have explanatory power and we study it empirically”.⁵⁹⁵ The supposed dominance of positivism equates to a dominance of empiricism and the associated methodologies licensed by the commitment to the view “that the only grounds for justified belief are those that rest ultimately on observation”.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁸⁸ Milja Kurki and Colin Wight “International Relations and Social Science” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 23.

⁵⁸⁹ For example see Steve Smith “The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (3) (2000), pp. 374-402.

⁵⁹⁰ Chris Brown “Fog in the Channel: Continental International Relations Theory Isolated (or an essay on the paradoxes of diversity and parochialism in IR theory)” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 215.

⁵⁹¹ Smith “Positivism and Beyond”, pp. 11.

⁵⁹² For more see John Vasquez *The Power of Power Politics: From Classical Realism to Neo-traditionalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 39-43 and Colin Wight “Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 28-29.

⁵⁹³ See for example Ted Hopf “The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory” *International Security* 23 (1) (1998), pp. 182 and Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 374-402.

⁵⁹⁴ J. Ann Tickner “Dealing with Difference: Problems and Possibilities for Dialogue in International Relations” *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 608 and Patrick Thaddeus Jackson *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and its Implications for the Study of World Politics* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 41-42.

⁵⁹⁵ Molly Cochran “What Does it Mean to be an American Social Science? A Pragmatist Case of Diversity in International Relations” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 63.

⁵⁹⁶ Smith “Positivism and Beyond”, pp. 19.

This chapter aims to explore these two alleged forms of American disciplinary dominance and to question whether most contemporary research in the discipline can be depicted as either 'rationalist' through the use of rational choice and/or formal modeling, or 'positivist' in terms of whether research is being conducted under the guises of empiricism and using the associated quantitative methods. For the purposes of this chapter, dominance will be 1) defined by an actor's capability to establish an epistemological and methodological benchmark, a set the guidelines or rather a blueprint for research and knowledge accumulation; and 2) measured by whether these principles are emulated and replicated by the global IR community. If either positivism or rationalism have been adopted outside of the American academy and this way of conducting research is being emulated throughout the globe, then there is an empirical basis upon which to claim and demonstrate how America exercises its disciplinary dominance. In other words, this chapter is ultimately looking to ascertain whether there is a Gramscian style hegemony in the discipline with the dominant body being the US.

However, due to the way the discipline tends to misunderstand and mistreat 'positivism' and 'epistemology' the claims regarding the discipline's empiricist commitments could not be empirically explored.⁵⁹⁷ Instead this chapter will focus on exploring the methodological inclinations of the contemporary discipline and examine whether rational choice approaches, formal models, and the quantitative methods associated with positivism populate the field of IR. Firstly, this chapter will begin by defining and clarifying the key terms that are central to this realm of dominance in order to avoid further conceptual conflation or confusion. Secondly, this chapter will then move on to explore the reasons why the claims surrounding the dominance of positivism and empiricism could not be empirically investigated. The problematic relationship that the discipline of IR has with the Philosophy of Social Science will be examined, and in doing so this chapter suggests that the claims relating to the dominance of positivism may not be indicative of just American dominance but also of another disciplinary dynamic. It will be argued that the seeming dominance of positivism is in part due to the discipline's selective engagement with the philosophy of social science. Because of these dynamics and disciplinary misunderstandings the claims surrounding the dominance of rationalism and the methodological inclinations of IR will be the principal focus of this chapter. Therefore, thirdly this chapter will explore the claims that IR is an American dominated discipline because of the dominance of certain methods and look at the debates taking place in the literature. The results of the journal investigation will then be presented in order to see if the claims of a rationalist dominated discipline capture the current methodological trends in the discipline. Instead of supporting the prominent disciplinary characterization the results reveal the discipline's interpretive inclinations. It seems that the discipline is more historicist and interpretive than is often depicted, as the methodological approaches that are popular and even dominant in the US

⁵⁹⁷ For more see Colin Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations: Politics as Ontology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 227.

academy were not employed in the non-American IR communities.⁵⁹⁸ As such, this chapter, along with the others preceding it, challenges a rather entrenched disciplinary image, that of the dominance of certain quantitative methods.

Overall this chapter will reveal, once again, how complex the situation is and how the disciplinary accounts of American dominance due to the dominance of either positivism or rationalism do not reflect or acknowledge the many divergent dynamics in operation. Furthermore, such disciplinary depictions also fail to reflect the actual methodological preferences of contemporary IR scholars. This chapter therefore aims to 1) problematise the discipline's handling of 'positivism' and 'epistemology' 2) reveal the plural methodological disciplinary environment and 3) question why certain IR communities are averse to employing specific quantitative methods.

Conceptual Confusion: Epistemology and Positivism.

To see if positivism dominates the discipline of IR one would have to look at whether 1) empiricism dominates and 2) whether the associated methodologies do. However, because of the way the terms epistemology and positivism are often mistreated in the discipline one cannot meaningfully explore the claims surrounding the preponderance of positivism. Examining the ways in which the terms are misunderstood it becomes clear that if one were to empirically investigate whether the majority of research in the discipline uses an empiricist epistemology for instance one would end up reproducing a number of problematic assumptions. Furthermore, one would also overlook and fail to problematise the ways in which many in the field (mis)understand and (mis)use the concepts of epistemology and positivism. This section will begin by looking at the contentious use of the term epistemology before exploring the many definitions of positivism used in IR.

Epistemology or the theory of knowledge is driven by three main questions: 'What is knowledge? 'What can we know?' and 'How do we know what we know?'⁵⁹⁹ Epistemology is the study of and theory of knowledge, and the justification of belief.⁶⁰⁰ There is not one theory of knowledge, but rather there are many different accounts or rather epistemological positions.⁶⁰¹ Many within the discipline use the term in a controversial manner and often use "epistemology to

⁵⁹⁸ Wayne Cox and Kim Nossal "The 'Crimson World': The Anglo Core, the Post-Imperial Non-Core, and the Hegemony of American IR" in Tickner, A. B., and Waever, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 288.

⁵⁹⁹ John Greco "Introduction: What is Epistemology?" in Greco, J. and Sosa, E. (eds) *The Blackwell Guide to Epistemology* (Blackwell: Oxford, 2006), pp. 1.

⁶⁰⁰ Dancy *Introduction to Contemporary Epistemology*, pp.1.

⁶⁰¹ For more see Robert Audi *Epistemology: A Contemporary Introduction to the Theory of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002); Donna Haraway "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspectives" *Feminist Studies* 14 (3) (1988), pp. 575-600; Andrew Sayer *Realism and Social Science* (London: Sage, 2000); and Smith "Positivism and Beyond", pp. 11-44.

refer to general worldviews, theories or paradigms”.⁶⁰² For example, looking at the content of the 12 journals that were investigated for this thesis a number of academics explicitly labeled themselves as having a ‘social constructivist’⁶⁰³ epistemology or even an ‘indigenous’,⁶⁰⁴ ‘hermeneutic’⁶⁰⁵, ‘Taoist’⁶⁰⁶ or ‘reflexive’⁶⁰⁷ epistemology in their articles. None of these designations correspond to the different epistemological positions; instead they operate as perspectives or methodologies, but not epistemologies. Within IR academics often confuse epistemological questions with either ontological or methodological ones,⁶⁰⁸ or employ the term in such a broad and encompassing manner that it becomes meaningless.⁶⁰⁹

To empirically explore these claims would be to overlook the problematic treatment of ‘epistemology’, and in doing so one would end up reproducing a number of misleading assumptions. To attempt to discover the epistemological leanings of the global discipline one could for example, conduct a journal investigation of the sort undertaken for this thesis, and code for the epistemological position of the article under review. The result however would be 1) the reproduction of the notion that epistemologies are exclusive, which they are not⁶¹⁰ and 2) the misrepresentation of the actual practices of researchers. For instance, one could discount the authors’ own epistemological self-identifications and read a manuscript and decide that it is empiricist, rationalist, pragmatist, relativist or standpoint feminist. Conducting a content or discourse analysis of a given journal sample would then allow one to seemingly make a claim regarding the epistemological orientation of IR. Yet, in practice there is often no clear distinction between what epistemology is actually underpinning research. Because the epistemological positions themselves are not mutually exclusive researchers are then able to adopt certain beliefs or aspects from the differing epistemologies.⁶¹¹ What this means is that in reality epistemic claims are often drawn from different epistemological positions. Because research is often an amalgamation of differing epistemological assumptions one cannot designate an article as belonging to a certain epistemological camp. For example, articles may appear as both rationalist

⁶⁰² Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, pp. 227.

⁶⁰³ For example see Stefano Guzzini “A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations” *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (2) (2000), pp. 147-182. For another example see J. Samuel Barkin “Realist Constructivism” *International Studies Review* 5 (3) (2003), pp. 325-342.

⁶⁰⁴ Clive Moore “Pacific View: the Meaning of Governance and Politics in the Solomon Islands” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62 (3) (2008), pp. 386-407.

⁶⁰⁵ Petr Drulak “The Problem of Social Change in Alexander Wendt’s Social Theory of International Politics” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4 (4) (2001), pp. 363-379.

⁶⁰⁶ Ralph Pettmann “Taoism and the Concept of Global Security” *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 5 (1) (2005), pp. 59-83.

⁶⁰⁷ Brent J. Steele “Eavesdropping on Honored Ghosts: from Classical to Reflexive Realism” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 10 (3) (2007), pp. 272-300.

⁶⁰⁸ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, pp. 244-248.

⁶⁰⁹ Colin Wight “The Impossible Dream: Theorising International Relations without the Philosophy of Science” Paper presented for the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, New York, February 2009.

⁶¹⁰ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, pp. 227.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 238.

and empiricist as they may have drawn on aspects of both, and indeed both may be required in order to arrive at an adequate explanation.⁶¹²

Furthermore, one cannot code for epistemology in order to determine the epistemological inclinations of the discipline because in actuality there is no true overriding prior allegiance to epistemological positions.⁶¹³ According to Colin Wight “as far as the actual practices of scientists are concerned, as opposed to philosophical descriptions of them, their activities tend to support the view of epistemological eclecticism”.⁶¹⁴ What this means is that epistemological positioning operates as ‘best fit’ choices, or what Wight call’s ‘rules of thumb’ rather than ‘all or nothing positions’.⁶¹⁵ Rather than an unshakable commitment to a hermetically sealed epistemology, academics treat epistemology opportunistically and use it as a ‘tool’ to justify and support research. Scholars select the appropriate ‘tools’ (epistemological claims) for research and if they don’t work then they select another one.⁶¹⁶ In practice ontological decisions are made prior to epistemological ones.⁶¹⁷ Therefore academics enter the exercise of research with a prior notion of what exists and what their object of study is, or rather what they seek to explain or understand. Epistemological concerns enter the fray when one seeks a justification for the knowledge uncovered. In other words they are made later, and work as posterior supports rather than a prior set of epistemic commitments.⁶¹⁸ Instead of operating with a dogmatic adherence to a set of epistemological assumptions academics use them as tools to justify their claims. Research is guided by the ontological, and as such there is no true allegiance to epistemological positions in practice, what there is in fact is epistemological opportunism.⁶¹⁹ If epistemology is essentially reduced to how we justify beliefs⁶²⁰ and employed opportunistically one cannot meaningfully code for epistemology and discuss the epistemological trends in the discipline without misrepresenting the actual eclectic practices of scholars.

Furthermore, like ‘epistemology’ the term positivism is used in a number of divergent fashions by IR scholars. There is practically no consensus on what positivism is, for example Peter Halfpenny identified twelve different versions of positivism being used within the discipline.⁶²¹ This confusion is due to the fact that the discipline of IR has never truly attempted to understand what is, as Wight describes, a very sophisticated philosophy of social science.⁶²² There are many different accounts of what positivism means, and further there are “many

⁶¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 240.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 227

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 241.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁶¹⁶ For more on the treatment of epistemology and theories in general as ‘tools’ which constitute a toolbox see Paul Feyerabend *Farewell to Reason* (London: Verso, 2002).

⁶¹⁷ Roy Bhaskar *A Realist Theory of Science* (Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited, 1978), pp. 39.

⁶¹⁸ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, pp. 227.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 246.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 242.

⁶²¹ Peter Halfpenny *Positivism and Sociology* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982).

⁶²² Colin Wight “Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003), pp. 36.

versions of positivism and much that divides those who claims to be positivists".⁶²³ Due to the divergent understandings of positivism and the different ways the term is employed, the question is raised of how can we meaningfully speak of the dominance of positivism?

There are certain shared central characteristics that allow us to define positivism. According to Wight there are four such components, positivism is comprised of: phenomenalism,⁶²⁴ nominalism,⁶²⁵ cognitivism⁶²⁶ and naturalism.⁶²⁷ Following these philosophical assumptions most positivists hold the following beliefs: 1) A Humean understanding of causation;⁶²⁸ 2) Instrumentalism; 3) A commitment to operationalism and 4) an adoption of the 'covering law model' of explanation.⁶²⁹ Positivism is much more than a commitment to empiricism or a set of methodological principles;⁶³⁰ it is a set of beliefs concerning the nature of science and scientific practice. Someone who claims to be a positivist is therefore claiming a belief in the unity of science (naturalism), the distinction between facts and values (cognitivism), the belief that good knowledge is useful and practical (instrumentalism), a belief in the existence of regularities (Humean causation), and a belief that only knowledge which can be directly experienced can count as knowledge (phenomenalism and nominalism).⁶³¹ The belief in the unity of science has meant that methods normally used in the natural sciences have been transported into and privileged in the social sciences.⁶³² Coupled with phenomenalist nominalism this has lead positivists to "privilege observation, empirical data, and measurement; what cannot be an object of experience cannot be scientifically validated".⁶³³

As previously mentioned positivism (a philosophy of social science) is often misinterpreted and applied in numerous fashions. The four most common misapplications of the term are: 1) Positivism as an epistemology;⁶³⁴ 2) Positivism as a methodological approach;⁶³⁵ 3)

⁶²³ Wight *Agents Structures and International Relations*, pp. 20-21.

⁶²⁴ Phenomenalism focuses on the nature of perceptible objects which it implies are related view of perception. What this means is that the existence of objects is dependent on our experience of them. For more see Dancy *Introduction to Contemporary Epistemology*, pp. 89-91.

⁶²⁵ The principle of nominalism is that we cannot assume that any perception generated will have any real referents other than concrete objects. For more see Lesek Kolakowski "An Overview of Positivism" in Hammersley, M. (ed) *Social Research: Philosophy, Politics and Practice* (London: Sage, 2004), pp. 4-5.

⁶²⁶ Cognitivism refers to the separation of facts from moral values. For more see Larry Laudan *Science and Relativism: Some Key Controversies in the Philosophy of Social Science* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1990).

⁶²⁷ Wight, *Agents Structures and International Relations*, pp. 20-21.

⁶²⁸ Milja Kurki *Causation in International Relations: Reclaiming Causal Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 61-62.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid., op cit.*

⁶³⁰ Smith "Positivism and Beyond", pp. 17.

⁶³¹ Mark Neufeld *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 24-28.

⁶³² Roy Bhaskar *The Possibility of Naturalism: A Philosophical Critique of the Contemporary Human Sciences, Third Edition* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 1-3.

⁶³³ Kurki and Wight "International Relations and Social Science", pp. 21.

⁶³⁴ For example see Michael Nicholson "The Continued Significance of Positivism?" in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 128-145.

⁶³⁵ Smith "Positivism and Beyond", pp. 17.

Positivism as science;⁶³⁶ and 4) Positivism as behaviouralism.⁶³⁷ Firstly, positivism is more than a commitment to an empiricist epistemology; meaning positivism is not an epistemology. As Colin Wight states: “positivism embodies certain epistemological commitments, but it is not itself an epistemology; unless that is, one is stretching the use of the terms to make it meaningless”.⁶³⁸ Yet, many continue to treat positivism as an epistemological position.⁶³⁹ For example, the various TRIP surveys coded for ‘epistemology’ in order to determine the epistemological persuasion of the discipline. The TRIP surveys asked scholars to characterize their work in epistemological terms, asking academics to state whether their work is “Positivist; Non-Positivist; Post-Positivist”, whereas their journal investigation coded articles using the aforementioned categories to determine the dominant epistemology.⁶⁴⁰ Instead of providing a snapshot of the discipline’s epistemological inclinations the TRIP surveys actually embedded and endorsed the problematic notion that positivism is an epistemology.

Secondly, positivism is often reduced to denoting a methodological approach. For instance Steve Smith defines positivism as “a methodological view”.⁶⁴¹ Just as positivism cannot be conflated with an epistemological position neither can it be used to solely refer to a set of methodological principles. Whilst treating positivism in this manner may be useful for certain academics in terms of detailing and positioning their research design and methodologies, it is according to Mark Neufeld a misrecognition.⁶⁴²

Colin Wight has charted the discipline’s developments and relationship with the philosophy of social science and he noted that in the 1960s “the label science was conceded to logical positivism”.⁶⁴³ When Stanley Hoffmann declared that IR was an American social *science* in 1977 he was in fact arguing that IR was an American discipline because of the dominance of positivism.⁶⁴⁴ Hoffmann spoke of tests, regularities, predictions, empirical analysis, and laws as the basis for IR’s emergence as a social science in the United States following World War II.⁶⁴⁵ He

⁶³⁶ For example see William Wallace “Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats: Theory and Practice in International Relations” *Review of International Studies* 22 (3) (1996), pp. 301-321.

⁶³⁷ Fred Halliday “The Future of International Relations: Fears and Hopes” in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 319.

⁶³⁸ Wight “Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations”, pp. 30.

⁶³⁹ For example see Yosef Lapid “The Third Debate: On the Prospects of International Theory in a Post-Positivist Era” *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (3) (1989), pp. 235-254 and V.S. Peterson “Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations” *Millennium* 21 (2) (1992), pp. 183-206.

⁶⁴⁰ For all the TRIP surveys conducted by the Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations at the College of William and Mary see <http://irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/publications.php> (Accessed on 4/10/12).

⁶⁴¹ Smith “Positivism and Beyond”, pp. 17.

⁶⁴² Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory*, pp. 23.

⁶⁴³ Wight, “The Philosophy of Social Science and IR”, pp. 28.

⁶⁴⁴ Stanley Hoffmann “An American Social Science: International Relations” *Daedalus* 106 (3) (1977), pp. 41-60.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-45.

used a context specific understanding of social science and science,⁶⁴⁶ and went on to argue that the convergence of three factors resulted in IR becoming an American discipline, one of them being 'intellectual predispositions' which we can unpack to mean positivism. Following the 'behavioural revolt'⁶⁴⁷ positivism, according to Hoffmann, became the 'operational paradigm' in the United States.⁶⁴⁸

If we consider that at this juncture in the history of IR positivism was largely an American phenomenon it makes sense that IR would be an American social science if by social science we mean undertaking positivist research. This means of conducting inquiry had not been replicated elsewhere and was confined to the US, as Hoffmann notes "What is specifically American is the scope of these beliefs, or the depth of faith"⁶⁴⁹ in the 'scientific method' (positivism). What this means is that through equating science with positivism Hoffmann was able to declare that IR was an American social science, because the application of positivism was primarily an American enterprise.⁶⁵⁰ Hoffmann's claims were grounded in a specific moment in the development of IR and he first licensed the prevalent notion that exists in the literature today that IR is an American discipline because of the dominance of positivism. The terms science and positivism have since become linked to such an extent that any 'reference to science is taken to imply positivism'.⁶⁵¹ The result of which being that 'science' has become a problematic and heavily loaded term in the discipline⁶⁵² and it is difficult, if not impossible, to meaningfully talk about both 'science' and positivism in the contemporary field.⁶⁵³

The final common misapplication of positivism is positivism as behaviouralism. The term behaviouralism signifies a movement in the social sciences.⁶⁵⁴ The concept is used to capture a particular timely scholarly enterprise, the aim of which was "to implement a particular philosophy of social science that was dominant at that time".⁶⁵⁵ The discipline's Second Debate⁶⁵⁶ is often depicted as a debate between 'traditionalists' and 'behaviouralists',⁶⁵⁷ with the subject of

⁶⁴⁶ It is because Stanley Hoffmann staked his claim upon the foundation of a very narrow and in my open incorrect definition of social science that I have used the term discipline rather than social science. Hoffmann commits two conceptual errors, the first as I have mentioned above the conflation of social science with positivism. The second is that he uses social science and discipline interchangeably. Whilst the discipline of IR is a social science because of Hoffmann's specific employment of the term I have preferred to speak of IR as a discipline rather than as a social science.

⁶⁴⁷ Vasquez *The Power of Power Politics*, pp. 39-43.

⁶⁴⁸ Hoffmann, "An American Social Science: pp. 45.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁶⁵⁰ Cox and Nossal "The Crimson World", pp. 287-307

⁶⁵¹ Wight, "The Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations", pp. 30.

⁶⁵² Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry*, pp. 3.

⁶⁵³ Smith, "Positivism and Beyond", pp. 17.

⁶⁵⁴ Wight, "The Philosophy of Social Science and IR", pp. 28.

⁶⁵⁵ Wight "The Philosophy of Social Science and International Relations", pp. 28-29.

⁶⁵⁶ For more on the Second Debate see Stephen George "The Reconciliation of the 'Classical' and 'Scientific' Approaches to International Relations" *Millennium* 5 (1) (1976), pp. 28-40; and William Olson and Nicholas Onuf "The Growth of a Discipline: Reviewed" in Smith, S. (ed) *International Relations: British and American Perspectives* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 1-28.

⁶⁵⁷ James Richardson "The Academic Study of International Relations" in Miller, J. D. B. and Vincent, R. J. (eds) *Order and Violence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 156.

debate being “the merits and adequacy of a positivist approach”⁶⁵⁸ to IR. In order to make IR a more credible and legitimate discipline the behaviouralists (for example Morton Kaplan, David Singer, Karl Deutsch, Thomas Schelling and Bruce Russett) sought to apply positivism to IR, which they did.⁶⁵⁹ However, in doing so, not only did the term science become conflated with positivism,⁶⁶⁰ so did behaviouralism. Whilst many behaviouralists were positivists and applied positivistic principles,⁶⁶¹ one cannot use the term ‘behaviouralism’ to depict a philosophy of social science.

It is because of the misapplication of the terms positivism and epistemology in the discipline that the claims surrounding the dominance of a certain set of methods were focused on. As noted in the introduction, this chapter will solely focus on the methodological inclinations of the discipline to see if America exercises its intellectual hegemony in this way. In doing so this chapter hopes to avoid entrenching certain misperceptions and creating further ones by misrepresenting the practices of researchers and alluding to misleading notions of epistemological exclusivity. The next section will look at the dynamics that may be causing 1) not only the contentious use of epistemology and positivism, but 2) also the seeming dominance of positivism itself. Because the term positivism is used in multifarious ways (as demonstrated above) this may compound the perception of disciplinary dominance, and furthermore, positivism may dominate because the discipline does not understand positivism and therefore cannot escape what it understands to be its positivistic commitments.⁶⁶² This chapter will now look at IR’s selective engagement with the philosophy of social science and how this may help explain why positivism is perceived to dominate in the discipline of IR.

The Dominance of Positivism: A Philosophy of Social Science Perspective.

The previous section has shown how both positivism and epistemology are ill defined and misunderstood in the discipline. A potential source of this confusion is the discipline’s selective engagement with the philosophy of social science. Often this selective engagement has been driven by a need to give credibility to mainstream intellectual endeavours rather than a real interest or participation in the debates.⁶⁶³ One could argue that engagements with the philosophy of social science have largely been self-serving measures to promote certain discourses or legitimate certain academic moves to discipline the field.⁶⁶⁴ The uncritical acceptance of

⁶⁵⁸ Brian Schmidt, “On the History and Historiography of International Relations” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2003), pp. 11.

⁶⁵⁹ Kurki and Wight “International Relations and Social Science”, pp. 23.

⁶⁶⁰ Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations*, pp. 6-8.

⁶⁶¹ Wight, “Philosophy of Social Science and IR”, pp. 29.

⁶⁶² Wight “Philosophy of social science and IR”, pp. 40.

⁶⁶³ Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory*, pp. 23.

⁶⁶⁴ Schmidt “On the History and Historiography of IR”, pp. 9.

'positivism' and Thomas Kuhn's concept of paradigms and his incommensurability thesis⁶⁶⁵ are prime examples of the problematic relationship that IR has with the philosophy of social science.

It appears that IR has adopted a 'pick and mix' attitude towards developments and theories within the philosophy of social science.⁶⁶⁶ For example, as Colin Wight notes "Often Kuhn's notion of paradigms was grafted onto a Lakatosian framework for theory choice with little in the way of justification".⁶⁶⁷ Kuhn's theory was anti-positivistic, whereas Lakatos's was not and was actually formulated to overcome the perceived problems associated with Kuhn's account of science.⁶⁶⁸ The fundamental incompatibilities and purposeful differences seemed to escape many IR academics, which highlights how often certain academics have tended to select certain elements in order to justify scholarly moves and define what counts as acceptable scholarship. Rather than a concrete reading of the relevant literature often IR scholars simply choose what best applies in order to promote a certain state of affairs (for example maintaining realism's status as the dominant IR theory in the 1970s by employing the notion of incommensurability). The treatment is primarily instrumental and stems from the largely agnostic attitude of most IR academics towards the philosophy of social science.⁶⁶⁹ For instance, meta-theoretical explorations are often criticized for 'navel gazing' or being 'scholastic' and challenged to place their emphasis on substantive and empirical research.⁶⁷⁰ Yet the need to legitimize work and create authority has resulted in academics ironically turning to the philosophy of social science (an example being Keohane's use of Lakatos to marginalize 'reflective' scholarship).⁶⁷¹ However, as we have seen the manner in which this mostly has been done is selective, which has had numerous implications upon the discipline, one being the seeming dominance of 'positivism'.

According to Michael Nicholson "it is hard to dispute that a lot of research is being currently using research strategies based on positivist principles".⁶⁷² Numerous state of the discipline review articles (both past and present) have also commented on the discipline's positivistic leanings.⁶⁷³ Despite the challenges to positivism and the demise of the positivist

⁶⁶⁵ As Jerome Stephens notes "In adopting Kuhn's ideas most political scientists have failed to question either the accuracy, nature or applicability of Kuhn's view of scientific practice". From Jerome Stephens "The Kuhnian Paradigm and Political Inquiry: An Appraisal" *American Journal of Political Science* 17 (3) (1973), pp. 467.

⁶⁶⁶ Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations*, pp. 16.

⁶⁶⁷ Wight, "Philosophy of Social Science and IR", pp. 32.

⁶⁶⁸ For more see Larry Laudan *Science and Values: The Aims of Science and Their Role in Scientific Debate* (California: University of California Press, 1996).

⁶⁶⁹ Neufeld, *The Restructuring of International Relations Theory*, pp. 23.

⁶⁷⁰ Wallace "Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats", pp. 301-321.

⁶⁷¹ Keohane argued that reflectivist scholars needed to adhere to a Lakatosian framework in order to develop testable theories. See Keohane "International Institutions", pp. 379-396.

⁶⁷² Nicholson "The Continued Significance of Positivism", pp. 128.

⁶⁷³ See for example Steve Smith "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science" *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 189-205; Fred Halliday "The Pertinence of International Relations" *Political Studies* 38 (3) (1990), pp. 502-516 and Helena Rytovuori-Apunen "Forget 'Post-Positivist' IR! The Legacy of IR Theory as the Locus for the Pragmatist Turn" *Cooperation and Conflict* 40 (2) (2005), pp. 147-177.

orthodoxy within the philosophy of science, Patrick Thaddeus Jackson⁶⁷⁴ and others⁶⁷⁵ have claimed that many IR academics still employ positivist principles (either intentionally or otherwise) and hold the idea that science is synonymous with positivism.⁶⁷⁶ Often these claims are used to argue IR is an American dominated discipline. For instance, J. Ann Tickner recently stated that discipline is dominated by the US because of IR's commitment to positivism.⁶⁷⁷ Seeing how the discipline does not truly understand positivism how can this philosophy of social science meaningfully dominate the discipline? The conceptual confusion surrounding the meaning of positivism has resultantly threatened any attempt to effectively use it.

The self-identified 'positivistic' efforts of scholars are unlikely to be accurately positivist because, as previously argued, many scholars do not employ the term correctly. Whilst the discipline may be depicted as positivist it may not be necessarily positivistic because the version of positivism employed and certain academic's social construction of the term is often far removed from the actual philosophical account. In other words, positivism may dominate but the version of positivism that would/does dominate is a disciplinary construct rather than the actual dominance of logical positivism for example. Rather than American hegemony being exercised through the dominance of positivism another disciplinary dynamic may also help explain the seeming preponderance of research that labels itself positivist: the selective engagements with the philosophy of social science.

The discipline uncritically adopted positivism in order to increase the status of intellectual outputs by attaching the 'science' label, but in doing so there has been the general pervasiveness of a 'loose positivism' that has taken on numerous forms. The lack of initial critical reflection during the 1950s meant that there was effectively no discussion of what positivism meant.⁶⁷⁸ This has structured the field remarkably, and helped generate the prevailing self-image of IR as a positivist discipline, with the majority of scholars remaining committed to this model of investigation. However, because the discipline does not necessarily understand its positivistic commitment it is therefore apparently unable to escape from it, because it never really understood positivism itself.⁶⁷⁹ Furthermore, because large sections of the discipline have arguably not been exposed to alternative philosophies of social science through their limited encounters with the relevant literature they remain committed to 'positivism'. If the discipline as a whole was more attune to the developments in the philosophy of social science then more academics might be aware that positivism has been discredited within this academic field of

⁶⁷⁴ Jackson, *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations*.

⁶⁷⁵ For instance see the claims made by Brian Schmidt "International Relations Theory: Hegemony or Pluralism" *Millennium* 36 (2) (2008), pp. 105-114; and Ole Wæver "Figures of International Thought: Introducing Persons Instead of Paradigms" in Neumann, I. and Wæver, O. (eds) *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-38.

⁶⁷⁶ Wight, "Philosophy of Social Science and IR", pp. 36.

⁶⁷⁷ Tickner "Dealing with Difference", pp. 608.

⁶⁷⁸ Smith, "Positivism and Beyond", pp. 16.

⁶⁷⁹ Wight, "Philosophy of Social Science and IR", pp. 40.

study, and that there is no longer a definitive or agreed canon of scientific explanation.⁶⁸⁰ IR scholars would then be aware of the alternatives available and perhaps adopt a Critical Realist or Pragmatist framing for research, instead of remaining wedded to a murky understanding of positivism,⁶⁸¹ which is removed from the actual philosophical account of positivism.

Overall, this section has attempted to highlight that the dominance of 'positivism' may not be solely due to the exercise of US power in the discipline but also a consequence of the discipline's fractured relationship with the philosophy of social science. However, many claims of American disciplinary dominance due to the preponderance of positivism that have been made in the discipline often overlook these tensions, hence we can argue that numerous disciplinary depictions do not actually capture many of the current complexities in IR. It is because of the selective engagements with the philosophy of social science and the many misperceptions that resultantly take place in the discipline that the rest of this chapter will focus on the claims of the dominance of 'rationalism'. In doing so this chapter hopes to prevent reproducing a number of tensions in the discipline.

International Relations, the Rationalist Discipline?

The discipline of International Relations is an American one according to Thomas Biersteker because there is a rationalist hegemony, which has manifested in the denial of historicist arguments and the embracing of quantitative methods.⁶⁸² Ole Wæver's 1998 journal investigation revealed the dominance of these methods in the form of rational choice approaches, including game theory, formal modeling and various other quantitative studies.⁶⁸³ The "North American fetish for quantitative methods"⁶⁸⁴ has arguably generated a global discipline that employs economic methodology to the study of international politics. Whilst not all academic communities subscribe to these methods, this way of conducting research has reached, according to Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Nicholas Rengger, 'honourable status' in certain IR academies.⁶⁸⁵ It is this emulation and the status attached to rational choice approaches that has given rise to the claims that IR is an American dominated discipline. As Fred Halliday, argued the country that dominates the study of international relations is the United States "from the behavioural revolution of the 1950s through to the current predominance of rational choice theory

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸² Thomas Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Tickner, A. B., and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 318-323.

⁶⁸³ Ole Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations" *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 687-727.

⁶⁸⁴ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe "At a Crossroads – and Other Reasons to be Cheerful: The Future of International Relations" *International Relations* 21 (3) (2007), pp. 351.

⁶⁸⁵ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Nicholas Rengger "BISA at Thirty: Reflections on Three Decades of British International Relations Scholarship" *Review of International Studies* 32 (4) (2006), pp. 668.

mainstream social science, to the detriment of the United States and much of the rest of the world, has been dominated by such methodologies".⁶⁸⁶ Apparently the discipline is in the midst of what Knud Erik Jørgensen and Tonny Knudsen have termed a "rational choice inspired American hegemony".⁶⁸⁷

Rational choice approaches according to Steve Smith "lie behind the major research programmes in the US community, either in hard form (mathematical modeling) or in its softer form".⁶⁸⁸ They have allegedly become the dominant methods within the discipline and as such IR can be characterized as an American discipline. Because these methods are 'American' in the sense that they have been championed by the American mainstream as the appropriate and best way to conduct social science inquiry,⁶⁸⁹ the discipline can then be claimed to be an American dominated one. The Perestroika movement of October 2000 in the *American Political Science Association* shows not only the American commitment to rational choice theory in Political Science writ large, but also what is at stake if rationalism is found to be dominant in IR. The Perestroika movement's primary objective was to reverse the trajectory of 'methodological totalitarianism'.⁶⁹⁰ The Perestroikians chiefly criticized 1) the overwhelming preference for rational choice approaches in the *American Political Science Review*, 2) the dogmatism of a narrow range of methods (namely rational choice and formal modeling) within the discipline at large, and 3) the disregard for work employing qualitative methods. Mr. Perestroika asked:

"Why are all the articles of *APSR* from the same methodology – statistics or game theory? Where is political history, International history, political sociology, interpretive methodology, constructivists, areas studies, critical theory and last but not the least – postmodernism?"⁶⁹¹

Similar questions have been posed by Steve Smith regarding the content of *International Organization*.⁶⁹² Smith argued that *IO* is representative of a larger trend occurring in the discipline, namely the marginalization of work that does not adhere to rationalism and its canon of methodological thought. According to Smith "the ratchet has been getting tighter and tighter as

⁶⁸⁶ Fred Halliday "International Relations and Its Discontents" *International Affairs* 71 (4) (October 1995), pp. 738.

⁶⁸⁷ Knud Erik Jørgensen and Tonny Brems Knudsen "United Kingdom" in Jørgensen, K. E. and Knudsen, T. B. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 163.

⁶⁸⁸ Steve Smith "Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11" *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (3) (2004), pp. 502.

⁶⁸⁹ Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba's *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) is a glaring example of the American mainstream's methodological preferences.

⁶⁹⁰ Shelley Rigger "The Perestroika Movement in American Political Science and its Lessons for Chinese Political Studies" *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 14 (4) (2009), pp. 370.

⁶⁹¹ Mr. Perestroika, e-mail titled "To the Editor, PS and APSR, On Globalization of the APSA: A Political Science Manifesto," posted on the Perestroika list server, October 26, 2000. For more see Timothy W. Luke and Patrick J. McGovern "The Rebels' Yell: Mr. Perestroika and the Causes on This Rebellion in Context" *PS: Political Studies and Politics* 43 (4) (2010), pp. 729-731.

⁶⁹² Steve Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 387-389.

to what counts as legitimate social science".⁶⁹³ The American mainstream, it is argued, is able to deem work that does not follow the rationalism's methodological guidelines as 'illegitimate social science' and is awarded the status of unacceptable knowledge. Qualitative work is allegedly exiled to the margins of the discipline; to its detriment as such work could offer new insights and important analyses of present international concerns and issues.⁶⁹⁴ According to Chris Brown the marginalization that takes place on the basis of methodological grounds has resulted in a distinct lack of methodological pluralism.⁶⁹⁵ The literature presents an image of IR that is similar to that of Political Science earlier this century, one of methodological totalitarianism. The dangers of which are not only confined to the marginalization of scholars who do not employ rationalist approaches and the denigration of their work. This suspected methodological orthodoxy also could produce a "dangerous limitation of the range of questions asked"⁶⁹⁶ and impede relevant and important research pertaining to pressing problems.

Academic inquiry in IR runs the risk of being stunted if rational choice, game theory and large-N studies are found to be dominant and constituting what John Mearsheimer terms a hegemonic threat.⁶⁹⁷ The alleged lack of methodological pluralism is apparently disciplining the field to a negative extent, because it closes doors to certain questions and views of the social realm. Because rationalism "treats identities and interests as given, and never enquires to how these come about",⁶⁹⁸ the adoption of rationalist methods thereby deeply conditions scholars' understanding of the world and the possibilities available. There are severe implications attached to the alleged American dominance of the discipline through its associated dominance of rationalism.⁶⁹⁹ However, are these fears justified? Is the contemporary literature actually dominated by game theoretic approaches? Is the discipline of IR marked by methodological totalitarianism, which demonstrates America's disciplinary dominance? Despite Smith and Wæver's claims to the contrary the journal investigation revealed a surprising lack of rational choice approaches and formal modeling. Instead of finding methodological dogmatism through the preponderance of a specific brand of quantitative methods, the results showed the global discipline's tendency towards methodological pluralism. It seems that different academic communities have different methodological preferences; as such the claims about the dominance of rationalism do not capture the methodological reality outside of the US.

The Interpretive Discipline?

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 388.

⁶⁹⁴ Tickner, "Dealing with Difference", pp. 618.

⁶⁹⁵ Brown "Fog in the Channel", pp. 215.

⁶⁹⁶ Dorian Warren "Will the Real Perestroikans Please Stand Up? Race and Methodological Reform in the Study of Politics" in Monroe, K. (ed) *Perestroika! The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science* (New York: Vail Ballou Press, 2005), pp. 223.

⁶⁹⁷ John Mearsheimer quoted in D. W. Miller "Storming the Palace in Political Science" *The Chronicle of Higher Education* September 21, 2001. Available at http://www.btinternet.com/~pae_news/Perestroika/Miller.htm accessed 07/02/2012.

⁶⁹⁸ Smith "Singing Our World Into Existence", pp. 503.

⁶⁹⁹ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 394.

This section will first challenge the notion that quantitative approaches dominate the field using the problematic quantitative/qualitative dichotomy, secondly it will question the prevailing arguments about the dominance of rationalist methods through illustrating the levels of methodological pluralism in IR, and finally this section will look at the impact interpretivism has had on the discipline, which encourages use to reconceptualize IR's methodological self-image.

Each article from the 12 journals being investigated from 1999-2009 was analysed in order to determine the methodology used. If the authors made overtly clear the article's methodology through self-identification, then this was noted accordingly. The self-categorization of academics themselves gave rise to the different categories used. In other words all the different methodologies captured emerged from the authors themselves (and each is defined in the appendix). If the author did not make his/her methodology explicit, each article was read carefully using critical discourse analysis in order to uncover the methodology used, which was then noted. Therefore interpretive judgments were made in some cases to determine an article's methodology. The designations made were based on repeated words, self-positioning, use of certain authors and any visual information such as diagrams, graphs, and tables. Interestingly however, most authors were explicit about their methodology. Regarding the use of mixed methods if an article employed two distinct methodologies such as statistical analysis and interviews for example the 'dominant' method was noted. In other words the method that produced the primary insights was accounted for.

Overall there were no major problems in judging which method was used as the primary means of inquiry. Mixed method analyses were not in the majority and often the secondary method was used in order to support the conclusion drawn from the first. Whilst this process was not ideal, this approach was taken in order to avoid creating a 'mixed methods' category; as such a category would not have been able to showcase the actual methods being used and therefore the articles relationship to the claims of US methodological dominance would not have been questioned.

According to the American rationalist model 'proper' social science must be conducted through the collection of data.⁷⁰⁰ If this can be said to be the American methodological guide it is one that has *not* been emulated globally, as it is qualitative methods, not quantitative, ones that are preponderant in the global discipline. Meaning there is no Gramscian style American methodological hegemony in operation. Looking at figure 3.1 more academics choose to employ qualitative methods than quantitative ones, 77% of IR scholars in the journals under examination used a set of qualitative principles to fortify their research.

Whilst this bifurcation of methodological approaches is not ideal it does allow us to challenge a prominent disciplinary self-image, that of the dominance of quantitative methods. For the purpose of this thesis quantitative research is defined as methods of data collection and analysis that involve the use of numbers. As Norman Blaikie notes "Quantitative methods are

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 383.

generally concerned with counting and measuring aspects of social life, while qualitative methods are more concerned with producing discursive descriptions”.⁷⁰¹ Therefore qualitative research is defined here as the methods of data collection and analysis that emphasize words.⁷⁰²

The legitimacy of the above distinction has been challenged on a number of grounds.⁷⁰³ For instance, Barry Turner argues that all data used by researchers begins in a qualitative form, as it is only after words have been transposed into numbers that can quantitative data come into existence.⁷⁰⁴ Peter Halfpenny argues that there is no fundamental difference between the two approaches, only ‘surface differences’. According to Halfpenny “Quantitative data is usually produced coding some other data, which is reduced to a number by stripping off the context and removing content from it. Later, after manipulating numbers, they are interpreted, that is expanded by adding content and context which enable one to see through the numerical token back to the social world”.⁷⁰⁵ However, If one, contra Halfpenny, accepts there is a distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods this does not prevent qualitative methods taking on a quantitative dimension and vice versa. This means that at times the distinction, if adopted, is often blurred in reality and exercised in an arbitrary manner.

This study recognizes the problems with classifying research as belonging to one tradition or another, but it also recognizes the instrumental function of such classification. It provides a means of classifying different methods and for the purpose of this study enables us to examine one of IR’s prominent self-images. Using the quantitative/qualitative binary quantitative approaches dominated in certain American journals (see figure 3.2), yet this trend was not replicated in the non-American journals, which one would expect if these methods were disciplinary dominant as the literature claims.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰¹ Norman Blaikie *Designing Social Research: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 205.

⁷⁰² Alan Bryman *Social Research Methods: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 19.

⁷⁰³ For example see Derek Layder *New Strategies in Social Research* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

⁷⁰⁴ Barry Turner “Patterns of Crisis Behaviour: A Qualitative Inquiry” in Bryman, A. and Burgess, R. G. (eds) *Analysing Qualitative Data* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 195.

⁷⁰⁵ Peter Halfpenny quoted in Blaikie, *Designing Social Research*, pp. 213.

⁷⁰⁶ See for example Brown “Fog in the Channel”, pp. 215; Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 380; Smith “Singing Our World Into Existence”, pp. 502; and Tickner “Dealing with Difference”, pp. 608.

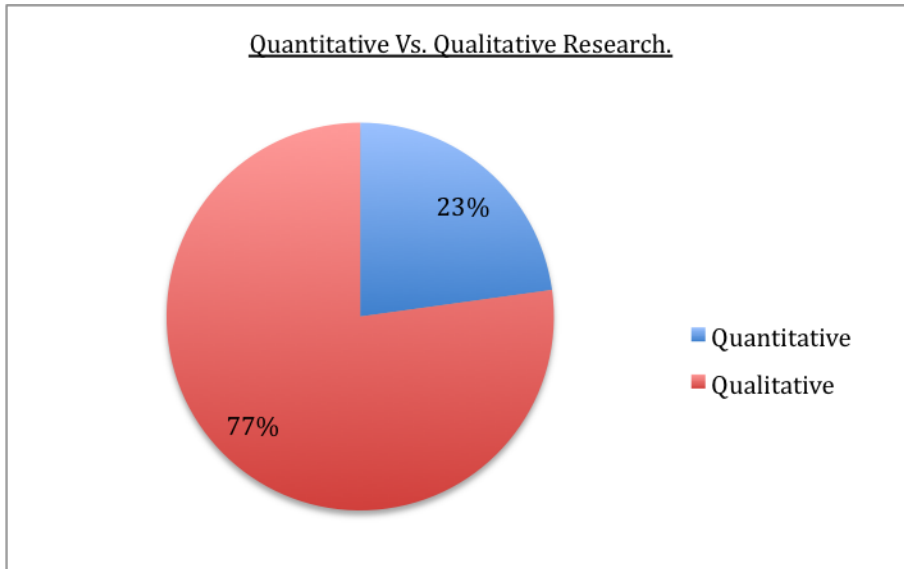
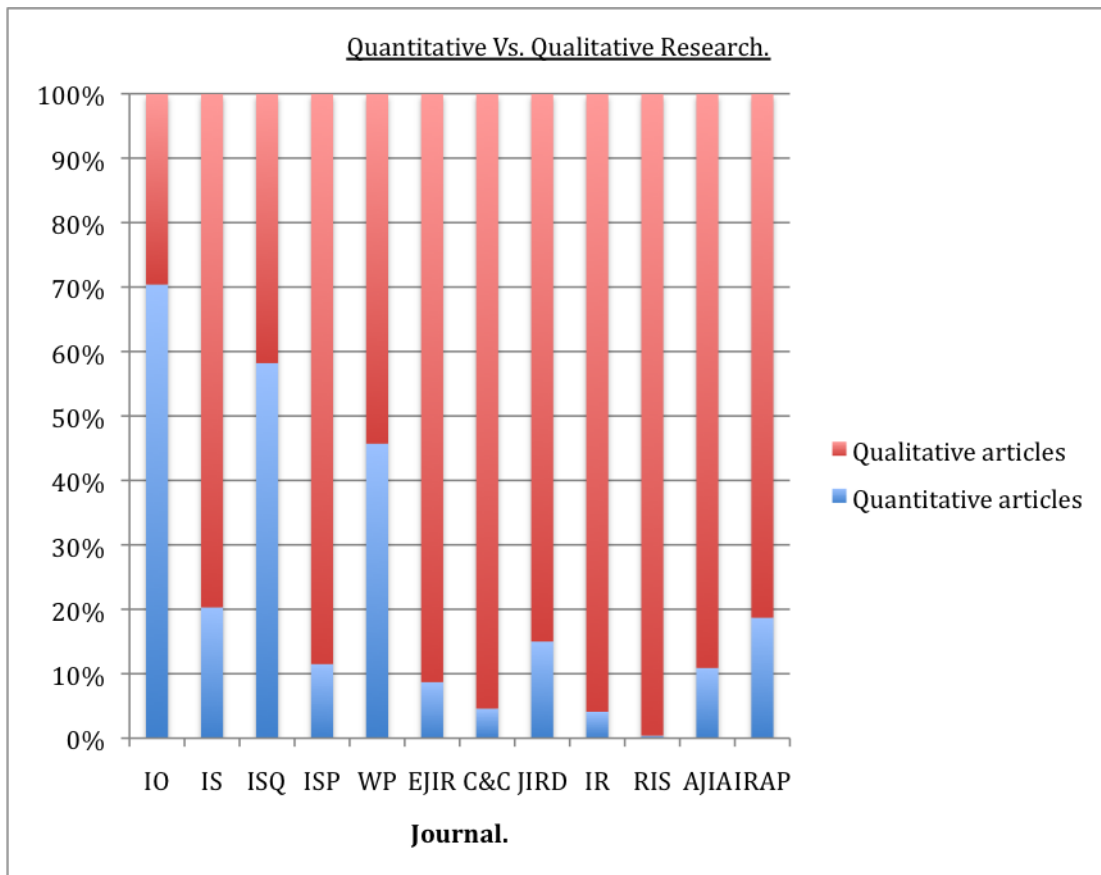


Figure 3.1: Methodological orientation in 12 international journals from 1999-2009.



IO = International Organization; IS = International Security; ISQ = International Studies Quarterly; ISP = International Studies Perspectives; WP = World Politics; EJIR = European Journal of International Relations; CC = Cooperation and Conflict; JIRD = Journal of International Relations and Development; IR = International Relations; RIS = Review of International Studies; AJIA = Australian Journal of International Affairs; IRAP = International Relations of the Asia Pacific.

Figure 3.2: The quantitative/qualitative split for each journal under review from 1999-2009.

The lack of emulation suggests that the 'American model' is not working as a methodological 'blueprint' for the conduct of social science globally. Rather the American mainstream has preserved certain space for the publication of its preferred methodological approaches, whilst other journals seem to be operating with their own methodological agendas and encouraging methodological pluralism. Not only does this journal investigation show that quantitative approaches do not dominate in the scholarship published, we can also refine the focus to challenge the assumptions about the dominance of certain methods.

Rational Choice approaches and formal models were not the most commonly employed methods in the global discipline according to the results of the journal investigation presented here. Contra to what the literature has depicted, the dominant method was actually interpretivism. Figure 3.3 clearly shows the prevalence of interpretivist research in the global field during the time frame investigated. 42% of articles conducted interpretivist analyses compared to 1.9% that used rational choice and 2.7% that applied formal modeling. The amount of interpretivist research conducted in the global discipline is startling when placed in relation to the supposed dominant rationalist model. However, rationalism was still very much the dominant American approach. The methodological inclinations for either the prominence of rationalism or interpretivism shifted depending on the geographical perspective used. *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly* and *World Politics* demonstrated a penchant for quantitative analysis of the sort advocated by rationalists. These American journals contained numerous articles employing statistical/mathematical/economic or rather heavy quantitative methods. What Caroline Kennedy-Pipe refers to as the 'North American fetish for quantitative methods'⁷⁰⁷ appears alive and well, but it is precisely that, a North American fetish, and one that is confined to the pages of *IO*, *ISQ* and *World Politics*. There seems to be a methodological divide occurring between these particular US journals and the others featured. For instance, the other nine journals shared a similar pattern of methodological content, which gravitated around interpretivism, historical analyses and case studies, whereas *IO*, *ISQ* and *World Politics* gravitated towards the statistical.

⁷⁰⁷ Kennedy-Pipe "At a Crossroads", pp. 351.

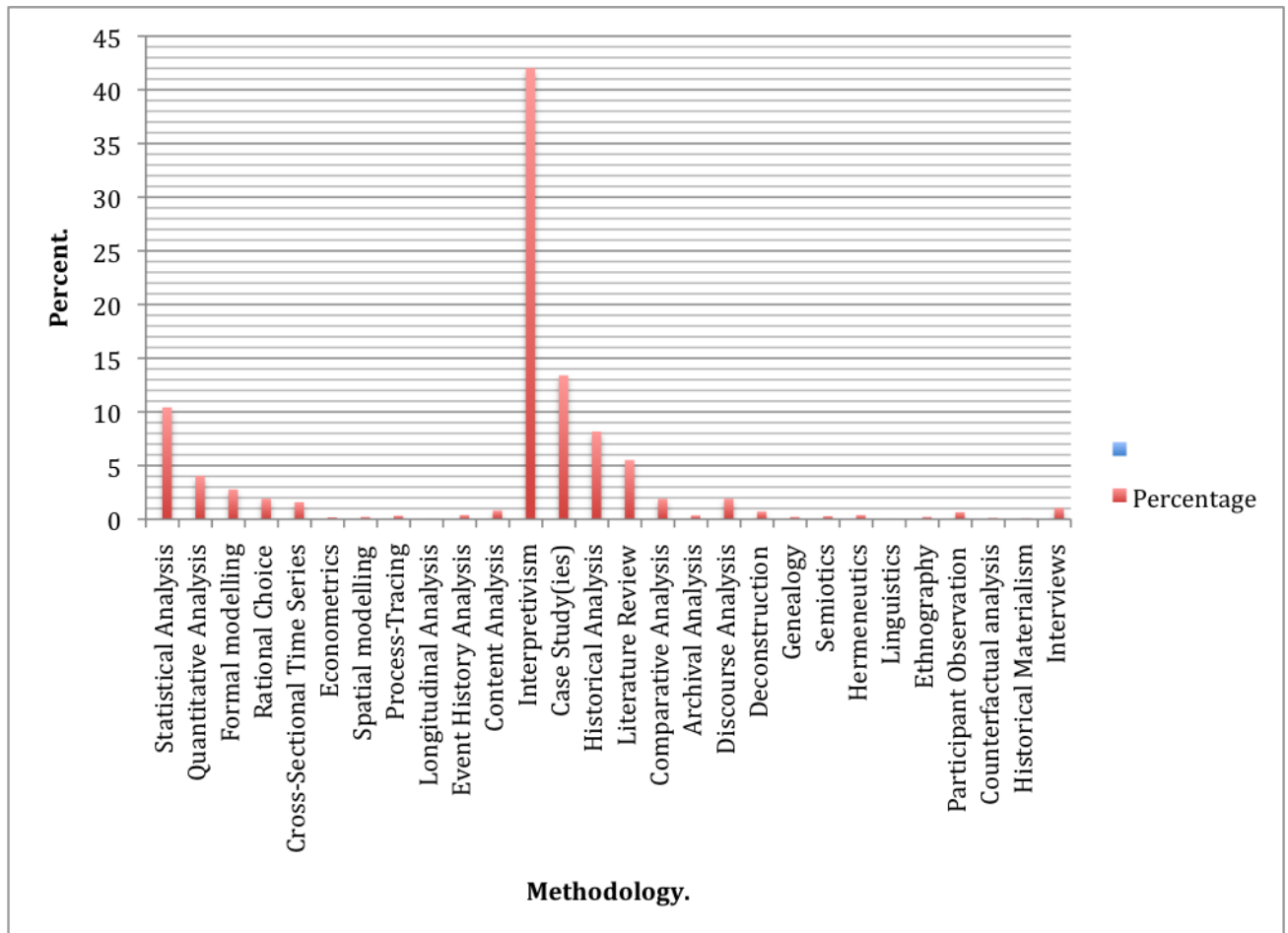
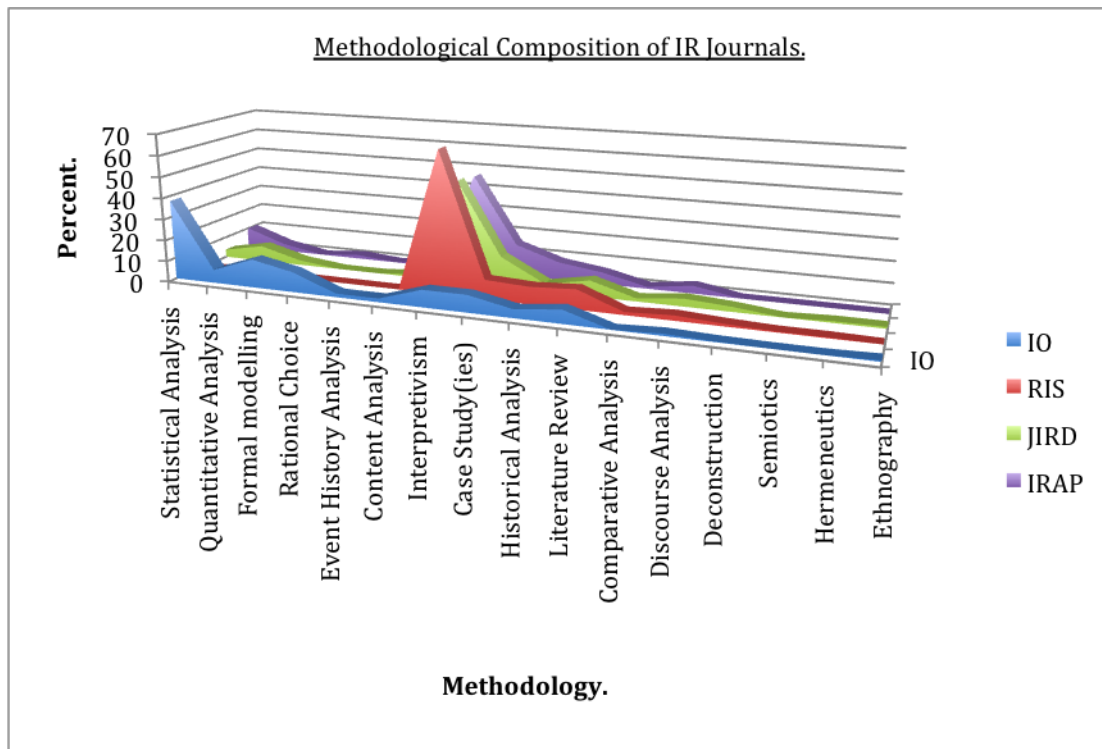


Figure 3.3: The different methodologies employed in 12 international journals from 1999-2009.

Figure 3.4 shows the division between the aforementioned US journals and the ‘rest’, and how other IR communities have not adopted the American rationalist’s methodological preferences. Resultantly, we can argue that there is no global methodological orthodoxy in operation, or methodological totalitarianism to fear. Whilst the American mainstream is still advocating rational choice approaches and still adopting these principles, they have not managed to translate this national penchant into a global one. Furthermore, even though rationalism still dominates in the US academy the American journals investigated still published a wide range of research employing a wide variety of methods, both quantitative and qualitative. We can infer from the results that methodological pluralism seems to be the state of affairs in the global discipline, and also in the US to a lesser degree. The overall dominance of interpretivism (see figure 3.3) in this study, and its status as the most employed method challenges the claims about the dominance of rationalism in the global discipline. It also forces us to examine why such methods have not been readily adopted in certain IR communities.⁷⁰⁸ For example, it seems that the way research is conducted in the UK is very different from that in the US.

⁷⁰⁸ Cox and Nossal “The Crimson World”, pp. 288-289.



IO = *International Organization* (American); RIS = *Review of International Studies* (British); JIRD = *Journal of International Relations and Development* (Eastern European); IRAP = *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* (East Asian).

Figure 3.4: The different methodologies employed in the articles under review from 1999-2009 in 4 of the discipline’s international journals.⁷⁰⁹

The methodological approach of interpretivism is not associated with the US IR community but rather the British one. The British IR community has become globally recognized for its pluralistic approach to the study of world politics and carries a reputation for a specific way of ‘doing IR’. The international image of the British Academy is one of a theoretically diverse community that is noted for its interpretivist and historical tendencies and its lack of quantitative methods, especially the ones associated with rationalism such as rational choice and formal modeling. Ole Wæver argued that the British community is not only “uniquely diverse” but also known for its ‘traditional’ as opposed to ‘scientific’ approach to the subject.⁷¹⁰ According to Caroline Kennedy-Pipe “It has always been a virtue of British International Studies that it has valued eclectic methods and an even more eclectic range of topics”.⁷¹¹ The British academy’s preference and reputation for interpretivism has been crafted due to its juxtapositional relationship with the United States. Throughout the British Academy’s history, and to the present

⁷⁰⁹ In order to present the data comparatively I had to collapse some of the categories. The category statistical analysis was broadened out to include articles using cross-sectional time series analysis. Articles using econometrics were subsumed within the rational choice category, and articles employing spatial modeling were included under the formal modeling heading.

⁷¹⁰ Ole Wæver “The Sociology of a Not so International Discipline”, pp. 711.

⁷¹¹ Kennedy-Pipe “At a Crossroads”, pp. 352.

day, British IR continues to define itself in relation to being distinct, or rather presenting a different way of doing IR from the American IR community.⁷¹²

The American IR community is often *the* referent object for the British academy. In other words the British IR community is defined in relation to what the American community is allegedly not, which in turn partially prescribes the form of British IR. For example, in describing the character of British theoretical and methodological endeavours Chris Brown employs an archetypal comparison between British and American IR;

“British International relations (IR) theory is distinguished by a concern with institutions and norms, and by an emphasis on history, philosophy and law rather than the formal methods of the social sciences; in both respects, but especially the latter, it differs from American IR theory”.⁷¹³

This practice of juxtaposition began in the 1960s with the Second Debate and has continued unabated since. In the 1960s the fault lines were drawn and over the years have been entrenched which has resulted in British IR faithfully and continuously advocating and endorsing interpretivist inquiry. The behaviouralist revolution was associated with key American scholars, whereas the classical approach, or rather interpretivist and historical methods, was linked to British scholars or members of the British Committee such as Herbert Butterfield, Martin Wight and Hedley Bull. Therefore the second debate assumed a geographical split between the US and the UK.⁷¹⁴ The debate famously played out on the pages of the journal *World Politics* in 1966 between Morton Kaplan advocating a ‘scientific approach’ to IR and Hedley Bull defending ‘traditionalism’.

Morton Kaplan argued for more rigour and precision to be brought to the study of IR, which he argued could be achieved through a more ‘scientific approach’, which would entail using the methods of the natural and mechanical sciences. According to Kaplan “the self corrective techniques of science” could “sustain orderly progress in the discipline”.⁷¹⁵ Whereas on the other side of the Atlantic Bull famously argued that the social sciences, including IR, were not amenable to the methods of the natural sciences, he claimed there should be ‘no unity of

⁷¹² Robert Crawford “Where Have all the Theorists Gone – Gone to Britain, Every One? A Story of Two Parochialisms in International Relations” in Crawford, R. and Jarvis, D. (eds) *International Relations – Still an American Social Science?* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 221-242; Kal Holsti *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Relations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1985); Gene Lyons “The Study of International Relations in Great Britain: Further Connections” *World Politics* 38 (4) (1986), pp. 626-645; Steve Smith *International Relations, British and American Perspectives* (London: Blackwell, 1985).

⁷¹³ Chris Brown “The Development of International Relations Theory in the UK: Traditions, Contemporary Perspectives, and Trajectories” *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (2) (2011), pp. 309.

⁷¹⁴ Lyons “The Study of International Relations in Great Britain”, pp. 629 and George “The Reconciliation of the ‘Classical’ and ‘Scientific’ Approaches to International Relations” pp. 28-29.

⁷¹⁵ Morton Kaplan “The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations” *World Politics* 19 (1) (1966), pp. 20.

method' and that a scientific approach could not advance IR theory.⁷¹⁶ Instead Bull defended and advocated the interpretivist tradition of British IR, which embodies the use of history, judgement and induction and was formed based on insights drawn from the 'classical disciplines' political philosophy, law and diplomatic history. Bull's attitude "was shared by the majority of British IR, and some scholars were also explicit in their rejection of the behaviouralist and positivist movement".⁷¹⁷ Almost collectively the British Committee argued that the views on science and methodology adopted by many of their American colleagues prevented serious investigations into the types of questions they found important.⁷¹⁸

As Knud Jørgensen and Tonny Knudsen noted Bull "concluded his forceful attack on the American behaviouralists with an appeal to the (British) traditionalists that they 'should remain resolutely deaf' to demands from the Americans to follow them down the so-called scientific road".⁷¹⁹ His wishes bore fruition, as Bull's sentiments are still very much alive and well today in the British academy. For example, Fred Halliday once termed behaviouralism a 'feckless cult',⁷²⁰ and Chris Brown noted, "it is still the case that most British scholars are sceptical of social science methodologies, especially quantitative methods, and of formal model-building".⁷²¹ The national self-image of a 'traditional/classical/interpretative' academic community formulated by the British Community, and Bull especially, has been built on and entrenched over the years. The British academy is famed for its approach to IR and this way of doing IR remains the prominent methodological approach in the contemporary national discipline. For example 43.06% of the articles in *International Relations* from 1999-2009 used interpretivism, as did 67% of research published in the *Review of International Studies*. Given that the majority of scholars in these journals are from UK institutions, this gives a strong indication of the methodological persuasion of the British IR community.

As previously mentioned, the British academic identity has in part been built on being the antithesis to the American model.⁷²² The following quotes first by Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Nicholas Rengger and then Steve Smith demonstrate the comparative identity forming exercise in operation that often takes place in the literature:

"formal theory in International Relations – meaning the use of formal mathematical and statistical techniques – is a major presence in the study of International Relations in the United States and has what we might term

⁷¹⁶ Hedley Bull "International Theory: The case for a Classical Approach" *World Politics* 18 (3) (1966), pp. 361-377.

⁷¹⁷ Jørgensen and Knudsen "United Kingdom", pp. 154-155.

⁷¹⁸ Tim Dunne 'The English School', in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, 2nd Edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.117: 122-124.

⁷¹⁹ Jørgensen and Knudsen, "United Kingdom", pp. 155.

⁷²⁰ Halliday "The Future of International Relations", pp. 319.

⁷²¹ Brown "The Development of International Relations Theory in the UK", pp. 311.

⁷²² For instance see Chris Brown "IR Theory in Britain – the New Black?" *Review of International Studies* 32 (4) (2006), pp. 677-687 and F. S. Northedge "Transnationalism: The American Illusion" *Millennium* 5 (1) (1976), pp. 21-27.

honourable status in many other countries. Yet, in Britain, it has remained largely, though certainly not wholly, unrecognized".⁷²³

"UK IR never really followed the US in accepting behaviouralism and positivism has historically been much less established in the UK than in the US. There has always been resistance to the attempts of US IR to create a 'science' of IR... Instead the UK community is much more likely to analyse IR through detailed historical analysis".⁷²⁴

Following the second debate positivism, as we have noted, was adopted in the US and not in the UK. As such the US became associated with positivism and conducting research using a specific brand of quantitative methods, and the UK became America's counterpart and therefore associated with being 'non-positivist' and conducting research using a specific set of qualitative methods. In order to explain its academic identity the British IR community continues to define itself against the US, it is for a better word its 'other'.

It seems from this brief account that the UK has its own methodological preferences and that the rationalist methods do not provide the desired means of investigation for the types of questions and research being conducted in the British academy.⁷²⁵ The actual paucity of quantitative research of the sort advocated by rationalist component of the US IR community adopted outside of the US raises the question of why some ideas travel and are disseminated readily by other academies and others do not? The sheer scarcity of rational choice research found in the journals investigated suggests that certain IR enclaves have not readily received such ideas and in fact rejected them.⁷²⁶ Whether a set of ideas, in this case certain methodological assumptions, are adopted in another academic community largely depends on their 'fit' with what Pierre Bourdieu terms the 'field of reception'.⁷²⁷ In order for certain ideas to travel from their original field of inception, in this case America, to 'foreign terrain'⁷²⁸ there needs to be some semblance of compatibility based on former and current intellectual persuasions and historical context. This fit can come in many different forms,⁷²⁹ but regardless there needs to be some form of affinity, otherwise the ideas would not be adopted for they would make little to no sense. In other words, rational choice approaches are perhaps not amenable to the type of questions being

⁷²³ Kennedy-Pipe and Rengger "BISA at Thirty", pp. 668.

⁷²⁴ Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 398.

⁷²⁵ Tim Dunne *Inventing International Society: A History of the English School* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), pp. 117; 122-124.

⁷²⁶ Morten Valbjørn "Blank, Blind or Blinded? Cultural Investigations in International Relations" in Jørgensen, K. and Knudsen, T. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 203 and Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations*, pp. 14.

⁷²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu "The Social Condition of the International Circulation of Ideas" in Schusterman, R. (ed) *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1999), pp. 220-228.

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 222.

⁷²⁹ For example see Thomas Risse-Kappen "Ideas Do Not Freely Flow: Coalition Politics, Domestic Structure and the End of the Cold War" *International Organization* 48 (2) (1994), pp. 185-214 and Yongjin Zhang "The 'English School' in China: A Travelogue of Ideas and Their Diffusion" *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (1) (2003), pp. 87-114.

asked by the majority of IR scholars around the globe.⁷³⁰ Furthermore they may not interlock with the methodological precedent of certain IR communities borne out of their intellectual histories and development,⁷³¹ as is the case with the British IR academy. The probable lack of 'fit' has meant that America has not been able to exercise its dominance methodologically, as globally speaking scholars have opted for a plethora of other methods, methods that better suit their research agendas and foci.

Similarly, the methods advocated by the British community may not suit the research interests and problem fields of many American scholars. This study has shown that the British model – interpretivist and historical analyses- has not penetrated the pages of certain American journals, which suggests that such methods do not facilitate certain academics to address their respective research questions. Given the quantitative orientation of the American community it is important not to turn the global popularity of interpretivism into claims of a British methodological preponderance. Whilst this method is employed more than the various state of discipline articles depict it is not dominant in the US. It seems that both the American and British IR communities have their own methodological traditions. There is however a concern that the commitment to each tradition may prevent increased methodological pluralism within the UK and US IR communities. For example, the British IR community is predisposed to qualitative methods and therefore scholars in the UK tend to not embark upon quantitative endeavours. According to Chris Brown “very few British IR scholars were then trained in the methods of the behavioural sciences, and this remains the case, despite the efforts of the ESRC to force us to change our ways”.⁷³² In a study by Wayne Cox and Kim Nossal into the state of British IR they noted that “there are virtually no professors of IR in the British academy who embrace methodologies popular in American IR, such as rational choice and formal modelling”, and furthermore that “there is a marked absence of any indication of followers of rational choice or quantitative approaches at UK universities”, with the University of Essex being the only exception to the norm.⁷³³ This study empirically supports these claims concerning the dearth of quantitative methods, especially those of the econometric variety. Using the quantitative/qualitative binary 0.4% of articles from 1999-2009 in the *Review of International Studies* were quantitative, meaning that out of 491 articles only two used methodological approaches that could be designated as quantitative. In the other British journal investigated, *International Relations*, 4.3% of research published in the time frame under review was quantitative; which meant 11 out of 255 articles employed either statistical analysis, or quantitative content analyses. It seems that the British IR community is somewhat adverse to either publishing or even in fact conducting quantitative research, which means that it possibly

⁷³⁰ Dunne *Inventing International Society*, pp. 117. 122-124.

⁷³¹ See for example Brown, “The Development of International Relations Theory in the UK”, pp. 309-330; Jørgensen and Knudsen, “United Kingdom”, pp. 149-171; and Lyons “The Study of International Relations in Great Britain”, pp. 626-645

⁷³² Brown. “IR Theory in Britain”, pp. 684.

⁷³³ Cox and Nossal “The ‘Crimson World’”, pp. 293-294.

could be accused of neglecting certain methods and being truly methodologically plural. The reasons for the lack of quantitative methods go beyond the scope of this chapter, however this section has hoped to demonstrate that the US and the UK IR academies are very different in terms of their methodological preferences, and this is most likely to be the case with other IR communities.⁷³⁴

There seems to be different methodological inclinations in the discipline, and these operate on a multilevel and geographical basis. Globally the discipline is methodologically plural, but nationally the degree of pluralism reduces as national IR communities exhibit preferences for certain methodological approaches. These preferences differ from academy to academy. What this means is that depending on the perspective used one gains a different insight into the methodological orientation of the discipline. Returning to the issue of whether rationalism dominates in the discipline, it does in the US, but not in the global discipline. The overall trend in the discipline seems to be one of methodological pluralism, which is evidenced by the multitude of other methodological approaches being advanced in the contemporary discipline. But again the degree of plurality experienced changes from journal to journal, and IR community to IR community.

Conclusion.

This chapter has sought to highlight and problematise a number of different dynamics occurring within the discipline of IR that force us to re-conceptualise and re-frame the issue of American disciplinary dominance in its epistemological and methodological forms. This chapter has endeavoured to bring attention to a number of issues that are often overlooked by the majority of state of the discipline reviews. In doing so this chapter has argued that the current state of affairs cannot be reduced to claims of whether the US does or does not dominate through its ability to establish a blueprint for social science research. The situation is incredibly complex, and further complicated by the problematic ways epistemology and positivism are treated by many in the discipline.

Overall, this chapter has attempted to make three related claims that challenge a number of prevalent assumptions regarding the way America is perceived to dominate the discipline epistemologically and methodologically through the dominance of either 1) positivism or 2) rationalism. The first claim that this chapter made was in regards to the way many academics (mis)understand positivism. Due to the rampant misperceptions within IR one cannot meaningfully claim that positivism dominates the discipline, and furthermore this seeming dominance may in part be the consequence of the discipline's troubled relationship with the philosophy of social science. This claim challenges certain scholarly behaviour and causes us to re-examine the way scholars are actually employing the term, and question what is actually meant when academics states that 'positivism' is disciplinary preponderant.

⁷³⁴ Schmidt "On the History and Historiography of International Relations", pp. 5.

Secondly, the claim was made that the discipline is methodologically plural. Instead of being characterized by the dominance of rationalism and therefore rational choice approaches, game theoretical methods, formal models and so on, the discipline of IR demonstrated its plural methodological inclinations through the journals investigated. Although the prominent conception of the discipline is one of the dominance of rational choice approaches, the results of the empirical investigation conducted challenges this popular discourse. Rather than replication and American hegemony, the global IR community did not emulate the 'American' methodological model and instead employed numerous other methods, especially those of a qualitative orientation. What this means is that the discipline is more interpretive and historical than many state of the discipline articles depict. The sheer number of interpretive analyses conducted in the period under review encourages a re-reading of the discipline and how we capture its methodological trends. Meaning that rather than putting forth universal disciplinary wide conceptions this study advocates recognizing the differing methodological trends that are occurring at differing disciplinary levels. For instance, in the US rationalism can still be claimed to dominate this IR community, but this is not the case in other IR academies. Different IR communities have different methodological preferences, which then when viewed together as a composite whole generates the global disciplinary situation of methodological pluralism.

Thirdly the claim was made that not only do different IR communities have different methodological trends, whether certain methods are adopted depends upon their 'fit' with the researchers aims, which are often influenced by the methodological traditions and aims of differing IR communities. The ways of 'doing IR' differs from IR community to IR community because of the different contexts, traditions and historical experiences. Each of these shape the contours of the respective IR academies and conditions whether certain methods are applicable or not. The lack of global emulation of the various rationalist methods can be argued to be due to rationalism's unsuitability and applicability of these methods to largely non-American academics.

The primary aim of the chapter was to illustrate that the issue of whether IR is or is not an American dominated discipline due to the dominance of rationalism for example is not as decisive as the literature tends to portray. Whether the US is perceived to exercise its intellectual hegemony in such a manner depends on the perspective one adopts. Certain IR communities have sought to embed and advocate other ways of researching IR, whilst others have employed 'American' methods. There are numerous methodological trends and inclinations underway in the global discipline, and there are also other dynamics in operation that also influence individual methodological decisions, such as collegiate trends, resources, and available expertise for example. As such this chapter recommends that we begin to question the accuracy of the popular narrative, pay more attention to the differing national inclinations and for the discipline to develop a closer relationship with the philosophy of social science, which if it does could bring about further methodological pluralism both at the national and international disciplinary levels.

5.

American Institutional Dominance?

This chapter aims to show that American scholars, defined as scholars from American institutions, command an overt presence in the discipline, in terms of numbers of scholars being published and participating at conferences. In this investigation more Americans were found to be present in the discipline's academic forums than academics affiliated with universities from other geographical regions. In this realm of dominance the empirical reality matched the prominent conceptualization. However, in exploring whether IR can be depicted as an American dominated discipline due to its institutional stronghold this chapter argues that we must be careful of seamlessly reproducing this disciplinary self-image, because in doing so we run the risk of diverting attention away from the large number of non-American scholars participating in the global discipline.⁷³⁵ American institutional dominance is only one side of the disciplinary reality; it co-exists alongside non-American scholarly efforts. If one simply talks of US institutional hegemony this gives the impression that no one is publishing outside of the US,⁷³⁶ and as the results from the journal and conference investigations will show this is not the current state of affairs. This chapter aims to highlight that the disciplinary situation is not solely one of whether the US is institutionally preponderant or not, it is about revealing the other disciplinary dynamics in action, exploring the development of non-American IR communities, and unpacking and questioning what American structural preponderance actually means for the discipline.

This chapter also seeks to illustrate that American institutional dominance is nowhere near as damaging in terms of its associated parochialism as the literature tends to depict.⁷³⁷ Furthermore, it seems that some forms of American dominance are more destructive for the discipline than others. For example, it seems that institutional dominance only merits a disciplinary concern if it brings about the preponderance of a certain theory, method, focus, which subsequently results in either dogmatism or ethnocentrism. If scholars from American

⁷³⁵ Pinar Bilgin "Thinking Past 'Western' IR?" *Third World Quarterly* 29 (1) (2008), pp. 5-23

⁷³⁶ Donald Puchala "Third World Thinking and Contemporary International Relations" in Neuman, S. G. (ed) *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 133-157.

⁷³⁷ Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker "The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archeologist of International Savoir Faire" *International Studies Quarterly* 28 (2) (1984), pp. 121-142; Kim Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell: Ethnocentricity and Diversity in America. Introductions to International Relations" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 167-186; Susan Strange "1995 Presidential Address, ISA as a Microcosm" *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (3) (1995), pp. 289-295; and Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR" *International Political Sociology* 1 (4) (2007), pp. 307-324.

institutions dominate the discipline but they constitute an eclectic and diverse group then the associated concerns in the literature are somewhat diminished.⁷³⁸

This chapter will also examine whether the current institutional dominance could simply be due to the high number of universities in the US and the availability of IR courses.⁷³⁹ As previously mentioned in chapter two the US had a 'big head start' in terms of actually institutionalizing the field of IR within the university structure compared to many other countries. For example, according to Marina Lebedeva in Russia "there were no courses on IR theories until the late 1980s".⁷⁴⁰ Whereas Leticia Pinheiro argued that; "while other Social Sciences started their institutionalization process in the 1960s and 1970s, only in the mid-1970s did Brazilian scholars turn their interest to International Relations as a topic and as an autonomous discipline".⁷⁴¹ Even in the UK whilst the discipline may have been first formally institutionalized there,⁷⁴² the growth of the discipline was comparatively minor to that of the US. According to Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Nicholas Rengger "until well after the Second World War the numbers involved in teaching or writing about International Relations 'professionally' were small"⁷⁴³ in the UK. Therefore it is not surprising that the US commands a significant presence in the geographical composition of the discipline. However, this chapter will ask whether this current preponderance will continue unabated in the future?⁷⁴⁴ If the discipline continues to expand and be studied in a wider capacity in other countries, than the present situation of US hegemony could shift and we could potentially see the emergence of a truly international global discipline in years to come.

To explore the above tensions and trajectories surrounding institutional diversity and dominance, and to assess the claims that proliferate the literature, the institutional affiliation of academics were coded for (see the appendix for the codes used). For each article that was

⁷³⁸ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory? An introduction" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 293. For instance, it is important to note that American institutional dominance has not translated into an adherence to the American intellectual agenda (see chapter one), or the dominance of a specific American way of doing IR (in theoretical or methodological terms, see chapters two and three).

⁷³⁹ Thomas Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Tickner, A. B., and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 308.

⁷⁴⁰ Marina M. Lebedeva "International Relations Studies in the USSR/Russia: Is there a Russian national School of IR Studies?" *Global Society* 18 (3) (2004), pp. 269. Also see Andrei P. Tsygankov "Self and Other in International Relations Theory: Learning from Russian Civilizational Debates" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 762-775.

⁷⁴¹ Leticia Pinheiro "International Relations Studies in Brazil; Epistemological and Institutional Characteristics" Paper presented for the *International Political Science Association Conference*, Concordia University, Montreal, April/May 2008, pp. 3.

⁷⁴² Benjamin de Carvalho, Halvard Leira, and John M. Hobson "The Big Bangs of IR: The Myths That Your Teachers Still Tell You About 1648 and 1919" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 736.

⁷⁴³ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Nicholas Rengger "BISA at Thirty: Reflections on Three Decades of British International Relations Scholarship" *Review of International Studies* 32 (4) (2006), pp. 666.

⁷⁴⁴ Wayne Cox and Kim Nossal "The 'Crimson World': The Anglo Core, the Post-Imperial Non-Core, and the Hegemony of American IR" in Tickner, A. B., and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 289.

published in the twelve journals during the ten-year time frame (1999-2009) the authors' geographical setting based on the location of their institutional affiliation was noted.⁷⁴⁵ The same was done for each panelist (Chair, discussant or paper giver) at each of the conferences explored to see who is actually comprising the discipline of IR, and who is presenting/being published in order to observe whether the geographical make-up of the discipline is disproportionately American. Looking at institutional affiliation as opposed to other institutional indicators such as numbers of IR courses available comparatively provides a means of assessing the notions of insularity that are frequently levied at American scholars, as well the claims of structural preponderance. Therefore this chapter aims to see if the American journals are as parochial as Ersel Adylini and Julie Mathews state,⁷⁴⁶ and whether the European IR journals "largely remain outlets for scholarship from Western IR scholars in general and scholars from the US in particular".⁷⁴⁷ Looking exclusively at the actual institutional infrastructure would not have provided the insights necessary to examine other structural practices allegedly in operation that emanate from the size of the US IR community.

Ole Wæver and Jörg Friedrichs conducted a similar investigation into the geographical location of scholars in 2009.⁷⁴⁸ They examined the institutional affiliation of authors published in five leading IR journals⁷⁴⁹ and their results presented "a picture of continued or even solidified American dominance".⁷⁵⁰ The results shown here will display a similar pattern of American institutional preponderance, as overall out of the 38,478 scholars investigated 17,171 were from American institutions, meaning that 44.62% of the academics investigated can be classed as 'American', if we define American as being from an American university.⁷⁵¹ The American IR community, which is comprised of not only Americans but also other nationalities, commands a significant structural authority. Therefore we can argue that in institutional terms America is disciplinary dominant. However, this depiction does not capture all the dynamics underway in

⁷⁴⁵ For the codes used please see the codebook, which is detailed in the appendix.

⁷⁴⁶ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable? The Curious World of Publishing in Contemporary International Relations" *International Studies Perspectives* 1 (3) (2000), pp. 289-303

⁷⁴⁷ Gunther Hellmann "International Relations as a Field of Studies" in Badie, B., Berg-Schlosser, D. and Morlino, L. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Political Science: Volume Eight* (London: Sage, 2011), pp. 15.

⁷⁴⁸ Jörg Friedrichs and Ole Wæver "Western Europe: Structure and Strategy at the National and Regional Levels" in Tickner, A. and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 261-286.

⁷⁴⁹ The five IR journals that they investigated were as follows: *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Security*, *European Journal of International Relations*, and the *Review of International Studies*. I also investigated these journals as well as an additional seven; moreover I used what I believe to be a more comprehensive coding system.

⁷⁵⁰ Friedrichs and Wæver, "Western Europe", pp. 274.

⁷⁵¹ Obviously working at an American institution does not mean that one is 'American'. Scholars from many different locales and therefore nationalities work in American universities. However considering faculties select members upon their 'fit' with the department, those that already demonstrate an allegiance to the 'American model' arguably will be favoured over those that do not. Furthermore, working in an American institution arguably means that one will become acculturated with the 'American' way of doing IR, hence the application of the label American in this study.

this area of dominance. Despite the overall dominance of authors from American institutions a number of other global disciplinary trends exist, with one being parochialism. This inclination was not just confined to the US IR community, but each national IR community displayed a leaning towards being slightly parochial.⁷⁵²

This introductory section has illustrated numerous issues associated with American institutional preponderance and this chapter seeks to explore each of these in turn and look at 1) what the global expansion of the discipline means for American institutional dominance and the global discipline; 2) why the US is currently institutionally hegemonic, how this is exercised and what are the consequences for the discipline; 3) what developments are happening in other IR communities and why is there a trend for parochialism in national IR academies; 4) what does this form of dominance mean and 5) do other factors and structural dynamics such as where one studies for their PhD and the movement of scholars and ideas around the globe have an equally determining effect upon the configuration and form of IR? In order to answer these questions and reveal the different dynamics in operation this chapter will proceed as follows; firstly the problem field as it is presented in the literature will be explored along with the claims that the discipline is internationalizing and that we are seeing a decline in US institutional dominance will be explored. The global expansion of the discipline will be analysed before presenting the results of the journal and conference investigations. Despite the increasing inclusion of academics from a broad range of geographical settings one can still claim that the US is still institutionally dominant. However, as previously mentioned this self-image does not encapsulate the full complexity of the situation. For instance, there are dual tendencies in the discipline; the discipline is internationalizing at the same time as America exercises its institutional dominance. This chapter will then look at the reasons as to why the American IR community is able to command a position of structural dominance, and whether this situation will continue in the future. This chapter will then examine the consequences of this form of dominance, and the allegations of self-referentialism and the suspected insular nature of American IR. Looking at the results produced in more depth another tendency in IR is revealed, that of parochialism. Not only is the global discipline expanding, and dominated by the US, but at the national level each IR community exhibited parochial tendencies. The inclination towards parochialism will be explored, and this chapter will attempt to explain this trend. Before concluding, the chapter will unpack what this form of dominance means, and looking at other determining influences. This chapter will argue that more research needs to be done in this realm of dominance to find out the true extent to which the US may dominate. For instance, this chapter will argue that we need to

⁷⁵² The differentiation in the disciplinary characteristic generated between the results presented here and those of Jörg Friedrichs and Ole Wæver is likely due to the broader array of journals that are investigated for the purpose of this study allowing insights into the dynamics of other regional IR academies. Furthermore, a more detailed coding process was employed in order to specifically see where the discipline has expanded over the years since Stanley Hoffmann's article. Along with the conference investigation, which added an extra dimension, it can be argued that this analysis created a more substantial and global image of the discipline, one in which the national trend for parochialism is clearly demonstrated.

investigate the biographies of IR scholars in American and non-American universities to see the movement of scholars around the globe, because upon further examination one may find that there are more American scholars located in non-Western universities. This could result in the dissemination of 'American' ideas and the acculturation of 'American' models thereby enhancing America's institutional stronghold.⁷⁵³ But one may also find that there are numerous non-American scholars located in American universities as well as other institutions. Such scholars could bring with them a host of different ideas based on non-American knowledge and facilitate dialogue and interactions that result in the spread of such ideas,⁷⁵⁴ which would temper the effects of American institutional dominance.

Overall, this chapter aims to illustrate all the dynamics occurring in the discipline that exist alongside each other and reframe the issue of American institutional dominance. Whilst the discipline can still be characterized as an American institutionally dominated one: this chapter aims to show that there also exists an underlying plurality. A lively non-American and crucially non-Western body of research is being published in the discipline's journals (including the American ones), and being presented at the discipline's international conferences. This plurality of perspectives and influences may not be as prominent as one may hope for; but there are still plenty of non-American voices contributing to the global IR conversation.⁷⁵⁵

The Global Expansion of International Relations: De-Americanization?

The contemporary discipline of International Relations has continued to be characterized using Stanley Hoffmann's depiction as an American enterprise because American scholars command an overwhelming presence in the discipline.⁷⁵⁶ According to Hoffmann certain internal circumstances accompanied by a specific institutional structure permitted IR to become an American social science.⁷⁵⁷ Despite the growth of the discipline worldwide since Hoffmann wrote his article, this situation has allegedly not abated, and American disciplinary dominance continues to operate as "structural bias".⁷⁵⁸ Scholars based at American institutions dominate the

⁷⁵³ Peter M. Kristensen "Dividing Discipline: Structures of Communication in International Relations" *International Studies Review* 14 (1) (2012), pp. 32-50.

⁷⁵⁴ Amitav Acharya "Dialogue and Discovery: In Search of International Relations Theories Beyond the West" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 619-637.

⁷⁵⁵ For example see Muthiah Alagappa "International Relations in Asia: Distinctive Trajectories" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (2) (2011), pp. 193-230; Giorgio Shani "Toward a Post-Western IR: The Umma, Khalsa Panth and Critical International Relations Theory" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 722-734 and the edited volume by Arlene Tickner and David Blaney *Thinking International Relations Differently: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

⁷⁵⁶ Ole Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations" *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 687-727.

⁷⁵⁷ Stanley Hoffmann "An American Social Science: International Relations" *Daedalus* 106 (3) (1977), pp. 49-51.

⁷⁵⁸ Jörg Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2004), pp. 2.

discipline's journals and conferences, and by extension the discipline, IR is and has been "a field of study dominated by scholars working in the United States".⁷⁵⁹

Accordingly, American dominance presents itself by the size of the US IR community when compared to any other country;⁷⁶⁰ there are more self-identified American IR scholars and more IR departments and courses in the United States than in any other national setting. Furthermore, the 2009 TRIP survey⁷⁶¹ noted that "most authors in the top ranked journals (76 percent in 12 peer reviewed journals), and top universities (16 of the top 20) come, overwhelmingly, from the United States"⁷⁶² meaning that "American IR is hegemonic".⁷⁶³ Thomas Biersteker noted that "More IR scholarship is also written and published in the US than in any other country in the world, producing the structural benefits of sheer market size".⁷⁶⁴ It seems that America is the largest IR community in terms of numbers of academics – whether measured by membership to IR associations, conference attendance, "or (the very tricky figure of) academic posts under an IR label"⁷⁶⁵ – which has resulted in a greater volume of outputs. The resultant situation, Steve Smith argues, is that other IR scholars are "simply overwhelmed by the sheer size of the US community and find it difficult to be at the leading edge of the discipline".⁷⁶⁶ Through being able to convert its unprecedented size into a correlating wealth of intellectual output the US IR community has rooted its hegemonic position. The alleged consequence for the global discipline is that the American IR community is allegedly deaf, blind and dumb⁷⁶⁷ to research that is conducted outside the United States. For example as Vendulka Kubálkova laments, American IR scholars "train the best students to mimic them, they are indifferent to the emergence of global and regional networks of scholars in IR, and they are impervious to criticism from beyond their shores. The hegemonic mainstream hardly notices, much less takes into account, national IR disciplines".⁷⁶⁸ The size of the American IR community means that it can afford to be self-reliant

⁷⁵⁹ Gene M. Lyons "Expanding the Study of International Relations: The French Connection" *World Politics* 35 (1) (1982), pp. 138.

⁷⁶⁰ Hellmann "International Relations as a Field of Studies".

⁷⁶¹ The Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) project seeks to investigate the relationship between IR research and teaching and its influence on "the real world of international politics and policy making". The TRIP project has embarked upon numerous qualitative and quantitative data collections in order to capture the state of the discipline of IR and important features of international politics and policy. For more see the Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations, at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. <http://irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/about.php>.

⁷⁶² Richard Jordan, Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson and Micheal J. Tierney "One Discipline or Many? TRIP Survey of International Relations Faculty in Ten Countries" *Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations*, Available at www.irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip/ (Accessed on 11/09/12), pp. 7.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁷⁶⁴ Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony", pp. 309.

⁷⁶⁵ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 699-700.

⁷⁶⁶ Steve Smith "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science" *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 200.

⁷⁶⁷ Strange "1995 Presidential Address, ISA as a Microcosm", pp. 290.

⁷⁶⁸ Vendulka Kubálkova "The 'Take-Off' of the Czech IR Discipline" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 211.

and remain ignorant to the intellectual developments of non-American scholarship.⁷⁶⁹ American institutional dominance has supposedly generated an insular and self-referential American IR community that promotes itself whilst other non-American works are neglected, marginalized, and denied an international audience, which guarantees the reproduction of America's disciplinary dominant status.

Given the global expansion of the discipline and the divergent ways in which different IR communities are developing and researching international relations⁷⁷⁰ the above claims are being challenged. According to Wayne Cox and Kim Nossal there is a process of de-Americanization underway.⁷⁷¹ The earlier chapters through showing the substantive, theoretical and methodological pluralism in the discipline suggests that other IR communities are growing "increasingly distinct from the 'American IR core'".⁷⁷² Although there are disagreements as to the degree of such enlargements and developments, there is nevertheless some consensus that the discipline is undergoing structural internationalization. For some, such as Miles Kahler, the growth of IR courses outside of the US is first hand evidence that IR can no longer be conceived as an American enterprise,⁷⁷³ whereas for others, such as Jörg Friedrichs, the clear quantitative growth of IR communities throughout the world is a sign of a decrease in American hegemony to come.⁷⁷⁴

The past few decades have witnessed the exponential growth in the institutionalisation and formalisation of the discipline of International Relations across the world. Recent years have seen IR being taught and researched in more universities throughout the globe with the number of students studying IR also increasing. For instance in 1980 Norman Palmer argued that the discipline was undergoing a process of internationalisation:

"The study has been evolving rapidly, not only in countries such as the United States, England and Canada, where it has been developed for a long time, but also in other countries of the Western world, in the Soviet Union and some countries in Eastern Europe (notably Poland and Rumania), in Japan, and to a more limited extent in major nations of the developing world".⁷⁷⁵

From the 1980s onwards the process of worldwide institutionalisation noted by Palmer has continued and intensified, leading many to note that there has been a movement towards a more pluralistic and balanced discipline. The growth of International Relations as a separate field of

⁷⁶⁹ Ole Wæver "Still a discipline After All These Debates?" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 296.

⁷⁷⁰ Wæver, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 703.

⁷⁷¹ Cox and Nossal, "The Crimson World", pp. 289.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 288.

⁷⁷³ Miles Kahler "International Relations: Still an American Social Science?" in Miller, L. B. and Smith, M. J. (eds) *Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honour of Stanley Hoffmann* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993) pp. 395-414.

⁷⁷⁴ Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 4.

⁷⁷⁵ Norman Palmer "The Study of International Relations in the United States: Perspectives of Half a Century" *International Studies Quarterly* 24 (3) (1980), pp. 344.

study in different geographical settings has been chartered in the literature through an increasing number of 'state of the discipline' articles that have emerged in recent years.⁷⁷⁶ These manuscripts have often focused on the relationship between each national community and the United States, and questioned how the discipline of IR can be conceived as one dominated by America given the "different styles and contents of IR research around the world".⁷⁷⁷ With the discipline becoming further established throughout the globe the journal editors interviewed as part of this investigation also noticed a corresponding increased rate of submissions from scholars further afield.⁷⁷⁸ Each editor reported an influx of scholarship from authors based, for instance, such as Turkey, Korea, Iran and elsewhere. These developments point to, not only the existence, but also the growing prominence of an increasing range of non-American IR scholarship.

According to John Groom this institutional expansion is indicative of the discipline becoming a truly international enterprise and therefore moving away from its previous American centrality.⁷⁷⁹ Because the worldwide institutional expansion has meant that there are now more opportunities available to students within their countries of residence, this has arguably resulted in the field undergoing a shift in the instructional location. In other words, America is no longer perceived to be by some, such as Groom, the discipline's educational heartland.⁷⁸⁰ As a result of the worldwide growth in IR infrastructure a greater number of students are being taught in their countries of residence instead of studying abroad. Certain scholars have asserted that there has been a notable shift in the last few decades in the location of where IR students are being educated.⁷⁸¹ Instead of vast numbers of students studying abroad in the US, students are now professed to be doing so to a lesser extent due to the possibilities that now exist for students study IR at local universities and research institutes. Adrian Wooldridge, for instance, noted that

⁷⁷⁶ For example see the edited volume by Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009) and articles such as K.S. Balakrishnan "International Relations in Malaysia: Theories, History, Memory, Perception and Context" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 9 (1) (2009), pp. 107-130; William Callahan "Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-Hegemonic or a New Hegemony?" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 749-769; Petra Roter "At the Centre and Periphery Simultaneously: The Incomplete Internationalization of Slovenian International Relations" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 180-186 and Kazuya Yamamoto "International Relations and Theories and Japan: A Trajectory Shaped by War, Pacificism and Globalization" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (2) (2011), pp. 259-278.

⁷⁷⁷ Henrik Ø. Breitenbauch and Anders Wivel "Understanding National IR Disciplines Outside the United States: Political Culture and the Construction of International Relations in Denmark" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 7 (4) (2004), pp. 415.

⁷⁷⁸ These claims are explored in more depth and expanded upon in the following chapter.

⁷⁷⁹ A. J. R. Groom "International Relations in France: A View From Across the Channel" *European Political Science* 4 (2) (2005), pp. 164-174.

⁷⁸⁰ A. J. R. Groom "The World Beyond: The European Dimension" in Groom, A. J. R. and Light, M. (eds) *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter, 1994), pp. 219-236.

⁷⁸¹ Takashi Inoguchi and Paul Bacon "The Study of International Relations in Japan: Towards a More International Discipline" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 1 (1) (2001), pp. 1-20, also see Pippa Norris "Towards a More Cosmopolitan Political Science?" *European Journal of Political Research* 31 (1-2) (1997), pp. 17-34.

there appears to be an overall decrease in admissions of 'foreign students' to American universities:

"The number of foreign students on American campuses declined by 2.4% in 2003-2004-the first time the number has gone down in 30 years. Foreign applications to American graduate schools fell by 28% and actual enrolment dropped by 6%".⁷⁸²

Wooldridge's exploration seems to suggest that what is allegedly happening in the IR realm could be reflective of a broader trend. Although Wooldridge cites a number of possible explanations he still allows explanatory room for the fact that universities outside the US are growing, not only in number, but also in standards and reputation. In their survey into the state of the discipline Hugh Dyer and Leon Mangasarian also noted the reduced flow of foreign students travelling to the more established institutions in the US due to the national options available.⁷⁸³ Furthermore, they argued that students might now actually be dissuaded from studying in the US due to the high tuition fees. Similarly, John Groom and Peter Mandaville argued that it is no longer necessary to travel to America to make a successful career in IR due to the growth of national IR communities, and the associated strength and growing prestige of non-American universities. According to Groom and Mandaville this is both symptomatic of and is "one of the manifestations of the weakening or decline of North American hegemony in the field".⁷⁸⁴

The expansion of the discipline has resulted in a change in the spatial dimensions of IR; this does not mean, however, that the discipline can be perceived as an international community of scholars. Robert Crawford argues "There are, at least, some reasons to suppose that IR may be finally undergoing some sort of geographical and intellectual diaspora"⁷⁸⁵ but he also argued that institutional growth should not be conflated with the materialization of a truly international discipline and the subsequent emergence of a global network. According to Crawford "The consensus to date is that IR is "international" only in subject matter and name, and pretty much a North Atlantic, disproportionately Anglo-American, preoccupation".⁷⁸⁶ Ole Wæver also noted a similar trend; he acknowledged that the discipline has expanded over recent years as there are

⁷⁸² Adrian Wooldridge "The Class of 2006: Why American Universities Will Lead the World" *The Economist* 20th Edition: The World in 2006 (November) (2005), pp. 66. For more see William C. Kirby "On Chinese, European and American Universities" *Daedalus* 137 (3) (2008), pp. 139-146.

⁷⁸³ Hugh Dyer and Leon Mangasarian "Editors' Foreword" in Dyer, H. C. and Mangasarian, L. (eds) *The Study of International Relations: The State of the Art* (Hampshire: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989), pp. xix.

⁷⁸⁴ John Groom and Peter Mandaville "Hegemony and Autonomy in International Relations; The Continental Experience" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 160.

⁷⁸⁵ Robert M. A. Crawford "International Relations as an Academic Discipline: If It's Good for America, Is It Good for the World?" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 21.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1.

now numerous regional IR communities, but he argues that this disciplinary 'internationalisation' has not translated into a truly global discipline.⁷⁸⁷

This brief account of the claims being made in the literature captures the dual tensions in the discipline. IR is both 1) dominated by the US and 2) undergoing a process of internationalisation, or what some may term de-Americanisation. As previously mentioned one of the aims of this chapter is to reveal both dynamics, so that the claims of US institutional dominance do not operate in a manner which ignores the global developments in IR, and to highlight how "there are many indigenous scholarly communities that have their own unique disciplinary history" and ways of 'doing' IR.⁷⁸⁸ As such, the following section presenting the results of the journal and conference investigations will attempt to illustrate both American dominance and the current institutional diversity.

American Institutional Dominance and Diversity.

Looking at the image of the discipline generated through the journal and conference investigations conducted the results suggest that the discipline is comprised of scholars from a wide range of geographical locations (see figures 4.1 and 4.2) but that this international element exists alongside 'American' institutional dominance. The results presented support both sets of claims in the literature that firstly, the discipline is undergoing a process of 'internationalisation' due to the number of authors published outside of the United States, and secondly, despite this tendency there is still evidence of American institutional dominance.

Just over 44% of all scholars investigated were from American institutions (see figure 4.3). It is important not to lose sight of the fact that 55.38% of scholarship emanated from non-American institutions. Unpacking this percentage further, even though 35.44% of academics were from Europe and Oceania, there was still evidence of a lively Asian IR community. Academics from Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Singaporean institutions were published in the discipline's journals, including the American ones, and further all of these national communities were represented by authors from their respective universities in the conferences examined. Another national academy that featured fairly prominently in the geographical composition of the discipline was the Turkish IR community. Again these scholars were published in the American journals as well as European ones and displayed a sustained presence in all the conferences explored. This study suggests that there are plenty of scholars researching and publishing outside of the US, and that the study of international relations is an international endeavour. However, there was one notable silence. There were very few scholars from Africa

⁷⁸⁷ Ole Wæver "Still a Discipline After All These Debates?" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 296.

⁷⁸⁸ Brian Schmidt, "On the History and Historiography of International Relations" in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 5.

present in the investigation; only 0.23% of scholars in the 12 journals examined from 1999-2009 were from African institutions, whereas 0.24% of academics participating in the conferences explored were affiliated with African universities. As one journal editor noted “We disappointingly receive a small number of submissions from Africa”.⁷⁸⁹

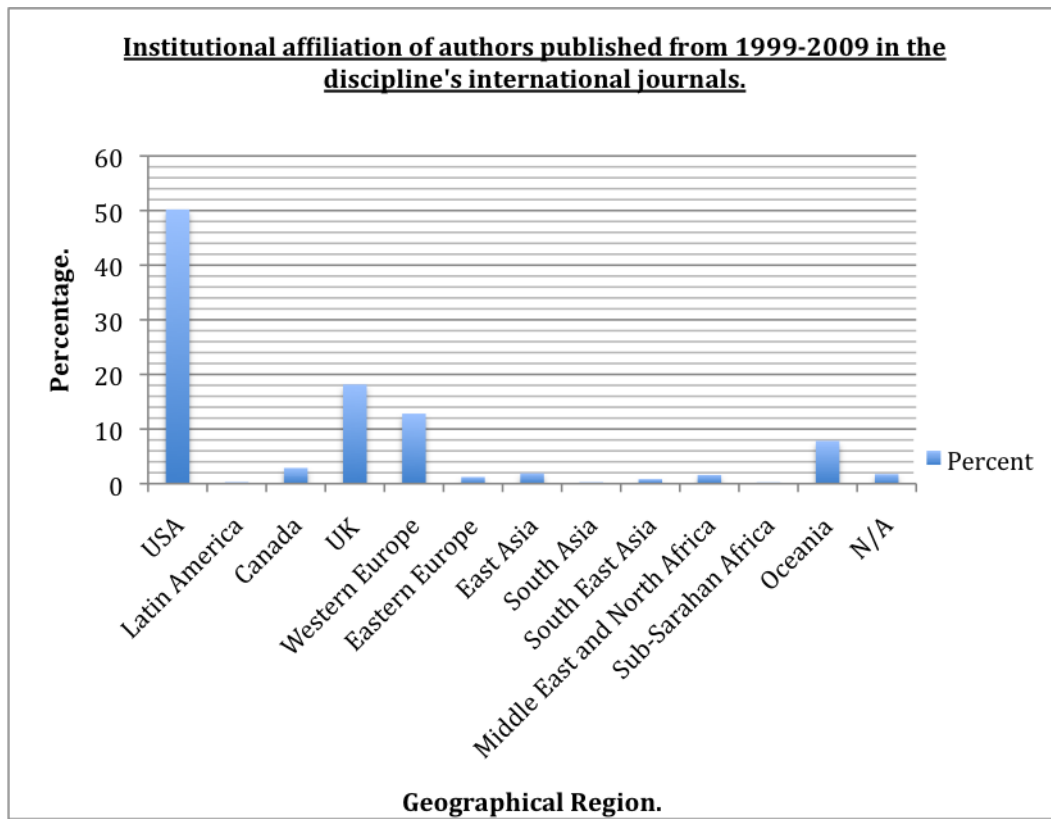


Figure 4.1: Institutional affiliation of authors published from 1999-2009 in the 12 journals investigated.

⁷⁸⁹ Interviewed journal editor number 8.

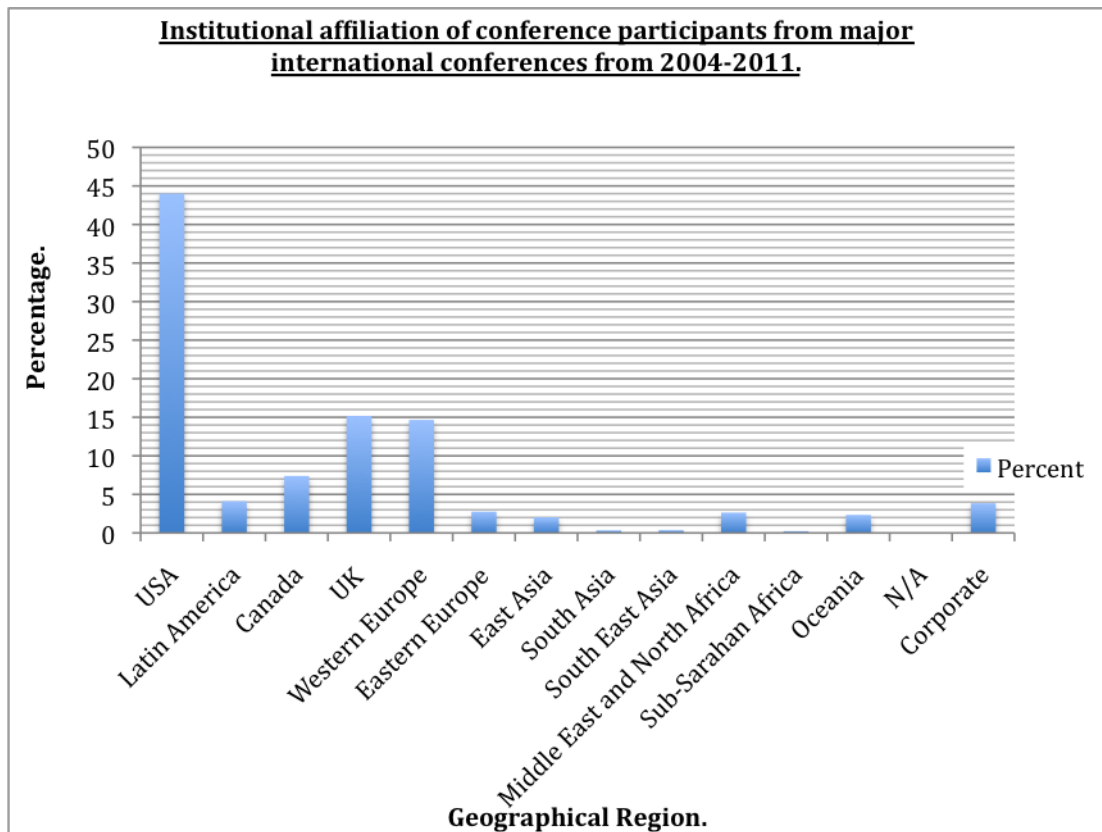


Figure 4.2: Institutional affiliation of conference panellists from BISA, ISA, ISA-Joint Conventions and CEEISA from 2005-2011 (Chairs, panellists and paper-givers).

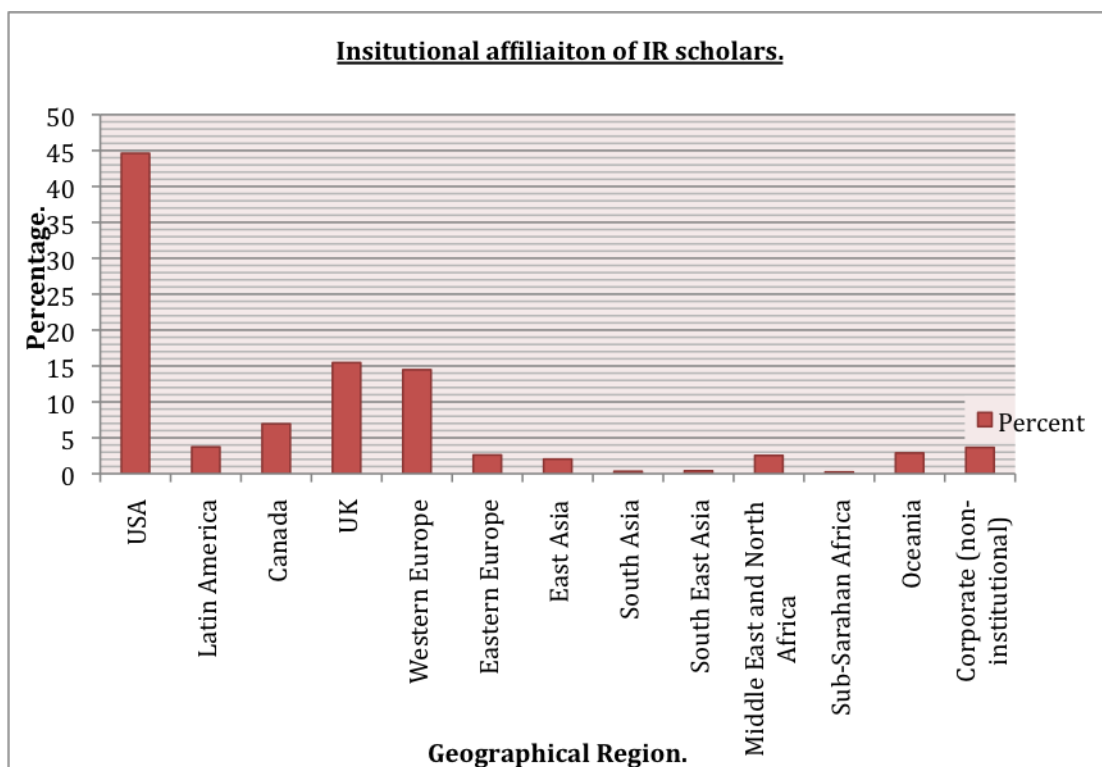


Figure 4.3: Overall composition of the field from the combined journal and conference investigations.

The small number of academics from African institutions featured in this investigation could be due to the infant state of IR in the continent coupled with limited resources. Furthermore, the focus on pedagogy as opposed to individual research could also in part explain why so few scholars from Africa were present. It seems African scholars face internal pressures to prioritise teaching rather than individual research. Looking specifically at the state of the discipline in South Africa, Maxi Schoeman noted that South African academics are overwhelmed with high teaching loads meaning they “have to concentrate on teaching rather than publishing”.⁷⁹⁰ Teaching becomes a priority due to high student demand yet the specific internal structure also prevents the expansion of the discipline in order to incorporate more research. In general terms “relatively few academic positions become vacant, universities do not create new positions, university salaries are relatively low”.⁷⁹¹ Schoeman implies that African academics remain overburdened and unable to embark upon research projects that would enable a higher international profile. The focus on teaching is crucially linked to the issue of resources. Funding plays a central role, for if there were cash injections then scholars would be able to undertake research, yet according to Cirino Hiteng Ofuho “African universities are grossly underfunded, understaffed, ill-equipped with facilities for top-notch teaching and research”.⁷⁹² The situation is mutually reinforcing, thereby preventing African IR from entering into the global disciplinary discourse. Without funding universities are forced to focus on what generates income: teaching. This in turn inhibits research, and without better facilities and more staff, African departments are too stretched to undertake the kind of research that would attract funding from external sources.

Whilst there may be a silence from African scholars in the discipline indicating that the global discipline is not as inclusive as desired there is still a cause to celebrate the existing degree of geographical plurality. The results suggest that the current disciplinary trajectory is one of ‘internationalisation’, which if the discipline continues along we could potentially expect more academics from non-American institutions to comprise the global discipline. If a greater number of academics from non-American and specifically non-Western institutions continue to increase their presence in the discipline through publishing to international audiences and presenting their research at global conferences then over time the discipline will hopefully become ‘truly international’. There is one barrier however, that potentially could prevent the discipline from becoming more international, and that is the issue of resources. Looking briefly at the state of the discipline in Africa above, it seems that a lack of resources is preventing the field from developing within the continent. Similarly, in India Navrita Behera argues that the lack of funding for

⁷⁹⁰ Maxi Schoeman “South Africa: Between History and a Hard Place” in Tickner, A. and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 56.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57.

⁷⁹² Cirino Hiteng Ofuho “Africa: Teaching IR Where It’s Not Supposed to Be” in Tickner, A. and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 73.

research in India is one of the factors that contributes to India's marginalization from the core of IR scholarship.⁷⁹³ Because of its determining function the impact of resources will now be examined, and in doing so the next section will look at how America became institutionally dominant. This section will also contemplate the future trajectory of the discipline, through questioning 1) whether other national IR communities can 'catch up' and increase their institutional presence thereby bringing about a decrease in American dominance; or 2) whether American hegemony is too institutionally embedded as to bring about further internationalization.

How Did America Become Institutionally Dominant?

Currently America offers more centres of IR research and teaching than is available anywhere else in the world.⁷⁹⁴ Its preponderant size is due to its institutional 'big head start' that came about because of the structure and arrangement of the global discipline and the unrivaled resources available to the nascent American academy. These mutually reinforcing factors facilitated the growth of numerous IR departments and thus scholars before the field had even emerged in India,⁷⁹⁵ Turkey,⁷⁹⁶ and Russia for example.⁷⁹⁷ The "institutional opportunities"⁷⁹⁸ awarded to the United States enabled it to become and remain institutionally dominant, as in later years it has arguably been able to capitalize on its early institutional lead. Stanley Hoffmann argued that the close relationship between "the scholarly world, and the world of power: the 'in-and-outer' system of government"⁷⁹⁹ meant that the demand for scholarly knowledge and academic consultants resulted in American universities receiving large amounts of funding from certain government departments. The large amounts of funding from government sources and private foundations enabled the American IR community to develop at an exponential rate and endowed it with a host of opportunities that were not to be found elsewhere.⁸⁰⁰ Additionally the institutional structure of the universities themselves enabled American universities to become

⁷⁹³ Navrita Chadha Behera "Re-Imaging in India" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 349.

⁷⁹⁴ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 699.

⁷⁹⁵ Navnita Chadha Behera "South Asia: A 'Realist' Past and Alternative Futures" in Tickner, A. and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 134-157 and M. S. Rajan "International and Area Studies in India" *International Studies* 31 (2) (1994), pp. 207-214.

⁷⁹⁶ Pinar Bilgin and Oktay F. Tanrisever "A Telling Story of IR in the Periphery: Telling Turkey About the World, Telling the World About Turkey" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 174-179.

⁷⁹⁷ Alexander Sergounin "Russia: IR at a Crossroads" in Tickner, A. and Wæver, O. (eds) *International Relations Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 223-241 and Viatcheslav Morozov "Obsessed with Identity: the IR in Post-Soviet Russia" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (3), pp. 200-205.

⁷⁹⁸ Hoffmann "An American Social Science", pp. 45.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49.

⁸⁰⁰ Phillip Mosely "International Affairs" in Weaver, W. (ed) *US Philanthropic Foundations: Their History, Structure and Management, and Record* (New York: Haper and Row, 1967), pp. 375.

the primary arenas of research. Again this situation was not mirrored elsewhere. In Europe, for example, Hoffmann argued that the postwar European universities were paralysed by “public regulations, quasi-feudal traditions, financial dependence, and intellectual routine”.⁸⁰¹ Resultantly Hoffmann stated IR research was stunted in Europe, as such the US was able to develop a ‘big head start’⁸⁰² in terms of IR research and scholarly output, because the inhibiting conditions in Europe and elsewhere were absent in the US.

As previously mentioned IR became a professional discipline in the US before it became institutionalized elsewhere, hence American IR was able to monopolize the ‘professional’ label.⁸⁰³ The way American universities themselves developed (based on the German model), and the departmental structure they invented, combined with their flexible nature and state independence all attributed to the generation of a professional discipline of IR.⁸⁰⁴ A discipline that was then able to command authority and criticize other burgeoning IR communities for being unprofessional. Andrew Abbott noted that “academic disciplines in the American sense - groups of professors with exchangeable credentials collected in strong associations - did not really appear outside the United States until well into the postwar period”.⁸⁰⁵ The flexibility of the American university system also allowed the US to take the lead in developing a separate discipline of IR. The elasticity of the institutional structure permitted American universities “to adopt this newcomer [the discipline of IR] and give it a proper place next to the older faculties and departments (one need only to look at the often successful resistance of European academic institutions to accept even the much less controversial and much older field of political science as a legitimate discipline)”.⁸⁰⁶ The postwar era however, began to see the exportation of the US university model. Despite the institutional growth of IR outside the US, the prestige and professionalization that the US commanded meant “American universities often were the pinnacles of career prospects for foreigners too”.⁸⁰⁷

The current institutional structure of IR in America has meant that the US is able to arguably offer the most prestigious jobs, and therefore offer greater financial incentives and career opportunities that, as of yet, have not been rivaled elsewhere.⁸⁰⁸ The situation is sustained through associated systemic indicators such as university rankings. American institutional dominance due to its ‘head start’ has subsequently been built into the structure of the global

⁸⁰¹ Hoffmann “An American Social Science”, pp. 50.

⁸⁰² Acharya and Buzan “Why is there no non-Western international relations theory?”, pp. 299

⁸⁰³ Even though the first Chair of IR was established in the UK, in 1919 at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, the US soon followed suit and began institutionalizing the discipline, however it did so in a much more widespread and pronounced fashion than in the UK. Hence we can speak of the discipline being concretely institutionalized in American before other countries, including the UK.

⁸⁰⁴ Wæver “Still a Discipline After All These Debates”, pp. 292.

⁸⁰⁵ Andrew Abbott *Chaos of Disciplines* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 123.

⁸⁰⁶ Ekkehart Krippendorf “The Dominance of American Approaches in International Relations” *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 212.

⁸⁰⁷ Wæver “Still a Discipline After All These Debates”, pp. 292.

⁸⁰⁸ Susan Peterson, Michael J. Tierney, and Daniel Maliniak *Teaching and Research Practices: Views on the Discipline and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at the US College and Universities* (Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary, 2005).

educational system and reproduced. If American universities are perceived to be the best centers of IR, and can offer more advantages, financial and otherwise, then America will be viewed as the career peak for IR academics, which potentially means that America may remain institutionally preponderant for some time. The early institutionalization of the discipline in the US when compared to China,⁸⁰⁹ Latin America⁸¹⁰, Australia⁸¹¹ or France⁸¹² was possible due to the funding and resources available. The 1960s were the zenith of government funding in the US according to Neil Richardson, and this financial support has continued throughout the following decades with resources consistently being piled into research grants and scholarships.⁸¹³ The high level of resources that America was and still is a beneficiary of was not, and is not, only due to government cash investments but also due to the influential “role of grant-awarding foundations to spur research”.⁸¹⁴ Investigating the role of American philanthropic foundations Inderjeet Parmar argued “It is clear that American foundations consciously have helped to construct US intellectual hegemony after 1945”.⁸¹⁵ The vast financial resources allocated by foundations such as the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation have been crucial, according to Parmar in supplying American IR with resources, thereby facilitating the continued high levels of research positions available and departments etc that enables the US to be institutionally dominant.⁸¹⁶

When looking at the conditions of other IR communities it becomes clear how vital a role the abundant resources play in sustaining American institutional dominance. Looking at the state of the discipline in China, Gustaaf Geeraerts and Men Jing claim that, it is “The poor financial situation in the academic field also constrains the development of IR theory...Library holdings are woefully inadequate due to budgetary difficulties. Academic institutions are short of funding for research and for purchasing library material and equipment”.⁸¹⁷ Whereas in Russia, Andrei Tsygankov and Pavel Tsygankov stated that Russia’s material weaknesses have stunted the development of IR research. Russian IR, they argue, lacks even the most elementary resources.

⁸⁰⁹ Song Xinning “Building International Relations Theory with Chinese Characteristics” *Journal of Contemporary China* 10 (26) (2001), pp. 61-74.

⁸¹⁰ Arlene Tickner “Hearing Latin American Voices in International Relations Studies” *International Studies Perspectives* 4 (4) (2003), pp. 325-350 and Arlene Tickner “Latin American IR and the Primacy of *lo práctico*” *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 735-748.

⁸¹¹ James Cotton “Realism, Rationalism, Race: On the Early International Relations Discipline in Australia” *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (3) (2009), pp. 627-647 and Michael Wesley “The Rich Tradition of Australian Realism” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 55 (3) (2009), pp. 323-334.

⁸¹² Jörg Friedrichs “International Relations Theory in France” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 4 (2) (2001), pp. 118-137.

⁸¹³ N. R. Richardson, “The Study of International Relations in the United States” in Dyer, H. C. and Mangasarian, L. (eds) *The Study of International Relations: The State of the Art*. (Hampshire: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989), pp. 281-295.

⁸¹⁴ Smith, “Paradigm Dominance in International Relations”, pp. 195.

⁸¹⁵ Inderjeet Parmar “American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks” *Global Networks* 2 (1) (2002), pp. 13.

⁸¹⁶ Inderjeet Parmar “American Hegemony, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rise of Academic International Relations in the US” in Guilhot, N. (ed) *The Invention of International Relations Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 182-209.

⁸¹⁷ Gustaaf Geeraerts and Men Jing “International Relations Theory in China” *Global Society* 15 (3) (2001), pp. 274.

The dire consequences have been that the “financial crisis has lasted long enough to force many out of the profession”.⁸¹⁸ It is argued that such conditions do not encourage ‘homegrown’ scholars to stay in their locales. If resources are indeed so sparse it is claimed academics will seek employment elsewhere and with its numerous universities, opportunities etc this often means America. The situation is potentially cyclical for fewer national scholars means fewer courses available for students which places increased demand on American universities and ensures funding and faculty positions, which therefore attracts further scholars. With the international reputations of American universities and the funding and research opportunities they can offer the outcome is that the situation serves to attract a high proportion of foreign students and academics alike.⁸¹⁹

What we could be currently witnessing however is a period of catching up.⁸²⁰ If enough resources were forthcoming to other IR communities we could soon witness the emergence of a more institutionally plural and diverse discipline of IR. Meaning the tendency for internationalization could potentially become more prominent than the one of American institutional dominance. Whilst the results presented here indicate that more ‘international’ scholarship is making its way into mainstream circles, some scholars such as Jörg Friedrichs argue that the discipline will retain its American dominance, because this has translated into a disciplinary structural bias.⁸²¹ Certain conditions generated the initial American institutional preponderance, which has continued, albeit to a lesser degree, and perhaps will continue in the future if other IR communities cannot exert more of a presence. We need to question whether the initial head start can ever be ‘caught up’, for it may be too embedded within the structure of the discipline. Not only are certain American universities perceived to be the most prestigious and offer the best career opportunities, other indicators used to generate the hierarchical organization of the educational system throughout the world, such as the ranking of professional journals and the network of peer reviews has only served, it is argued, to perpetuate the American dominance of the discipline born out of the consequences of its institutional structure. The top journals are arguably American, and most journal editors and reviewers are presumed to be American.⁸²² Therefore even if other IR communities are able to populate the discipline to a more significant extent in terms of publications and presentations at conferences, arguably American scholars will still be the ones in the influential positions and at the apex of the discipline.⁸²³

⁸¹⁸ Tsygankov and Tsygankov “A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory”, pp. 316.

⁸¹⁹ Peterson, Tierney and Maliniak, *Teaching and Research Practices*.

⁸²⁰ Acharya and Buzan, “Why is there no non-Western international relations theory?” pp. 300.

⁸²¹ Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 2.

⁸²² Marijke Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft, and Eugene Walton “Promise and Performance: An Evaluation of Journals in International Relations: *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) (2005), pp. 447-461 and Daniel Maliniak and Michael Tierney “The American School of IPE” *Review of International Political Economy* 16 (1) (2009), pp. 6-33.

⁸²³ This form of dominance is explored in the following chapter, and upon examination it seems that those in these positions of power are not preponderantly American.

Looking at the discipline through a more optimistic perspective could lead one to argue that just because at present America is institutionally preponderant and may be for some time, this does not mean it always will be. Looking at the recent 2011 Journal Citation Report as ranked by impact factor out of the top 20 International Relations journals 10 were American meaning that 10 were from Britain and Europe.⁸²⁴ Whereas in the world university rankings by subject matter for Politics and International Studies as compiled by QS for 2011/2012 8 out of the top 20 were non-American.⁸²⁵ Although America commands a dominant position in these institutional indicators, there is evidence of an emerging counter-force from Britain and other parts of Europe, and a growing Asian and Australian institutional presence.⁸²⁶ Other universities and journals have amounted growing prestige and their success points to the internationalization of the discipline taking place. If this course of action continues and non-American universities and journals continue to 'perform' well, as gauged by the above sort of performance indicators, then we could see the dissipation of American structural bias and a decrease in American institutional dominance. In an effort, however, to compete other 'elite' non-American, especially non-Western, universities may try and attract American scholars in order to increase their prestige.⁸²⁷ Whilst their international profile might be raised, we have to question the diversifying effects of such seeming 'internationalization'. We have to question whether such universities are representative of their national communities or whether the composition of each respective faculty is largely American? Clearly more research is needed to explore the internal dynamics of IR departments worldwide and to see whether American dominance is actually more widespread than initially depicted in this study or vice versa.⁸²⁸ One of the problems with coding for institutional affiliation as opposed to the nationality of scholars is that it does not reflect or provide an insight into the movement of academics around the globe and it does not reveal whether the American IR community itself is more or less monolithic as it is perceived to be.

Some academics, such as Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews, argue that because of the alleged insular nature of the American IR community it does not matter how many IR departments are opened worldwide, or how many non-American scholars publish in the discipline's journals. They claim that American journals and American academics themselves remain acutely unaware of non-American developments and tend to focus on and promote fellow

⁸²⁴ The impact of the JCR upon the discipline of IR is discussed in great depth in the following chapter.

⁸²⁵ The world rankings conducted by QS are regarded as the most trusted assessment of the world's universities. For the full rankings see <http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2011> (Accessed on the 2/3/12).

⁸²⁶ See for example J. C. Sharman "Benchmarking Australian IR: Low Impact, a Bookish Lot or a Very British Affair?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62 (4) (2008), pp. 529-540.

⁸²⁷ Norris, "Towards a More Cosmopolitan Political Science?", pp. 17-34.

⁸²⁸ Herein lies one of the problems coding for institutional affiliation as opposed to the nationality of scholars; it does not reflect the movement of scholars around the globe and it does not reveal whether the American IR community itself is as monolithic as it is perceived to be. However, due to time and resource constraints I focused on academic's institutional association as a measure of the geographical make-up of the discipline.

American research.⁸²⁹ According to Robert Crawford “It is perverse that a discipline called International Relations should be so manifestly parochial”.⁸³⁰ Even though there is a wealth of non-American research available (as this study shows), some disciplinary commentators, such as Crawford, fear that American academics behave in a self-contained manner and have an innate incapacity to notice “theoretical construction in different national research communities”.⁸³¹ For example, the 2005 TRIP survey into the state of IR in the USA revealed “American scholars are a relatively insular group who primarily assign American authors to their students”.⁸³² Instead of familiarizing students with work outside of the US, or even personally engaging with non-American research, the TRIP survey argued that the American IR community remains rather inward-looking and fixated on American and opposed to global developments in the discipline.⁸³³

The concerns associated with American institutional dominance will now be addressed. This next section will explore the concerns associated with American institutional dominance and attempt to show that whilst American parochialism may indeed be a disciplinary reality, it is not only the American IR community that is guilty of this inclination. Other academic communities have displayed similar tendencies and according to Chris Brown this situation not only makes sense but also should be encouraged.⁸³⁴

International Relations – The Parochial Discipline?

The alleged insular nature of the American academy is witnessed not only through the allocation of reading materials to students⁸³⁵ but also individual citational practices. By relying on work predominately produced in the US, the American IR community has become, according to Ole Wæver, self-referential.⁸³⁶ In her 1995 Presidential address to the ISA Susan Strange highlighted the depth of this supposed American self-referentialism whilst arguing that the discipline for its benefit should pay more attention to the non-American scholarship being produced for it is certainly not inferior:

⁸²⁹ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews “Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline: Spinning Theory Out of Antolia” *Review of International Studies* 34 (2) (2008), pp. 694.

⁸³⁰ Robert M. A. Crawford “Where Have All the Theorists Gone-Gone to Britain, Everyone? A Story of Two Parochialisms in International Relations” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 222.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 233.

⁸³² Daniel Maliniak, Susan Peterson, and Michael J. Tierney “Inside the Ivory Tower” *Foreign Policy* 151 (November/December 2005), pp. 60.

⁸³³ See for example Jordan et. al., “One Discipline or Many?”.

⁸³⁴ Chris Brown “Fog in the Channel: Continental International Relations Theory Isolated (or an essay on the paradoxes of diversity and parochialism in IR theory)” in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 203-220.

⁸³⁵ Biersteker “The Parochialism of Hegemony”, pp. 308-327 and Alker and Biersteker “The Dialectics of World Order”, pp. 121-142.

⁸³⁶ Wæver “Still a Discipline After All These Debates”, pp. 296.

“American scholars may not be aware that they need a hearing aid. Non-Americans have no doubt of it. You - as authors and too often as editors of professional journals - appear to be deaf and blind to anything that is not published in the USA. Ask yourself when you last quoted an author or a journal outside the US? How many non-American journals do you look at?”⁸³⁷

A number of empirical investigations have been conducted in order to show how non-American scholarship is being essentially ignored by the majority of American academics. Certain studies into citation patterns, academic syllabi and journal content have revealed that American IR remains virtually uninfluenced by non-American scholarship.⁸³⁸ For example, in 1984 Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker conducted an investigation into academic syllabi to generate a picture of IR scholarship being taught. Their results revealed that not only do “most American general theory courses do not do justice to the world-wide variety of substantively and politically significant approaches to international relations”⁸³⁹ there was also a striking tendency of parochialism in the form of self-referentialism. They argued that “most ‘leading’ American instructors of courses on theories of international relations were exceedingly parochial”⁸⁴⁰ because the majority of course readings on syllabuses were written by American scholars.

More recently in 2001 Kim Nossal embarked upon an investigation into the citation patterns of IR textbooks in order to decipher whether the same insular and self-referential characteristics were reflected in IR textbooks that are used to introduce students to the field.⁸⁴¹ His investigation arguably revealed clear evidence of a deep parochialism in American IR texts;

“Nearly all of the textbooks surveyed leave their readers with the unmistakable impression that there is no one writing in English outside the United States on world politics. With but a few exceptions, overwhelmingly the references, the suggestions for further reading, and the selected biographies are the works of American scholars, writing in American journals, or for American publishing houses”.⁸⁴²

The suspected self-referential nature of American IR has been interpreted by the above authors to construct a view of IR as an ethnocentric discipline; a discipline that despite its global nature is dominated by American scholars and their associated worldview.

Whilst this investigation does not examine citation patterns and individual engagement with the literature, it can address the claims of parochialism due to editorial selection. Figure 4.4 shows that 84.5% of authors from the five American journals investigated were affiliated with American institutions. The American journals displayed a strong proclivity for publishing work by scholars from US universities, which indicates one form of American parochialism being exercised. However, the American IR community was not the only IR academy guilty of

⁸³⁷ Strange “1995 Presidential Address”, pp. 290.

⁸³⁸ See for example Alfredo C. Robles “How ‘International’ are International Relations Syllabi?” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 26 (3) (1993), pp. 526-528

⁸³⁹ Alker and Biersteker “The Dialectics of World Order”, pp. 128.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁸⁴¹ Nossal “Tales That Textbooks Tell”, pp. 168.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 171.

promoting national scholarship. According to Gunther Hellmann “parochialism seems to be an almost inevitable and universal characteristic of IR globally”.⁸⁴³ Looking at Figure 4.5 we can see that each journal had a tendency to publish more work from scholars within its associated geographical domain. In other words, the British journals tended to privilege authors affiliated with British Institutions than ‘foreign’ or rather non-British ones, and so on. Parochialism, understood as the practice of promoting national research, was not confined to the US IR community as figure 4.5 illustrates. Whilst the US exhibited a stronger inclination to publish ‘domestic’ research, than other IR communities, this could be due to the increased numbers of American scholarship available. The disciplinary trend for parochialism was even more pronounced in the discipline’s conferences as we can see from figure 4.6.

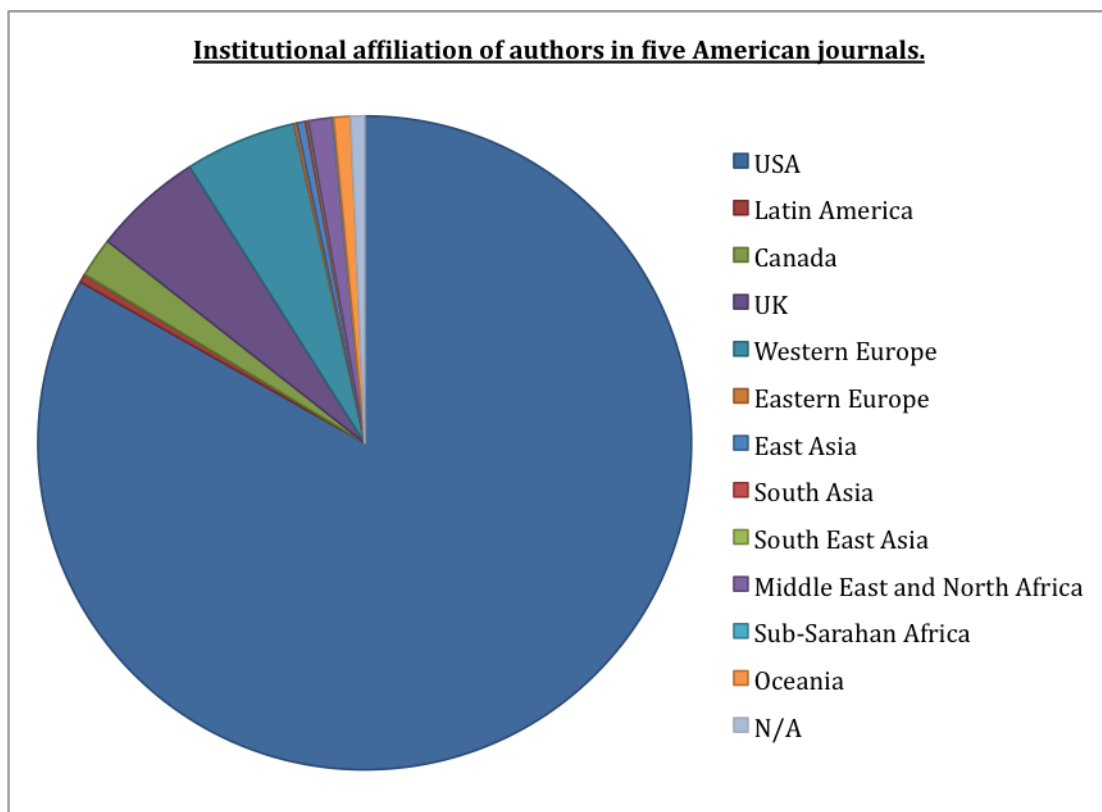


Figure 4.4: Institutional affiliation of all scholars published in *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *International Studies Quarterly* and *World Politics* from 1999-2009.

⁸⁴³ Hellmann “International Relations as a Field of Study”, pp. 5.

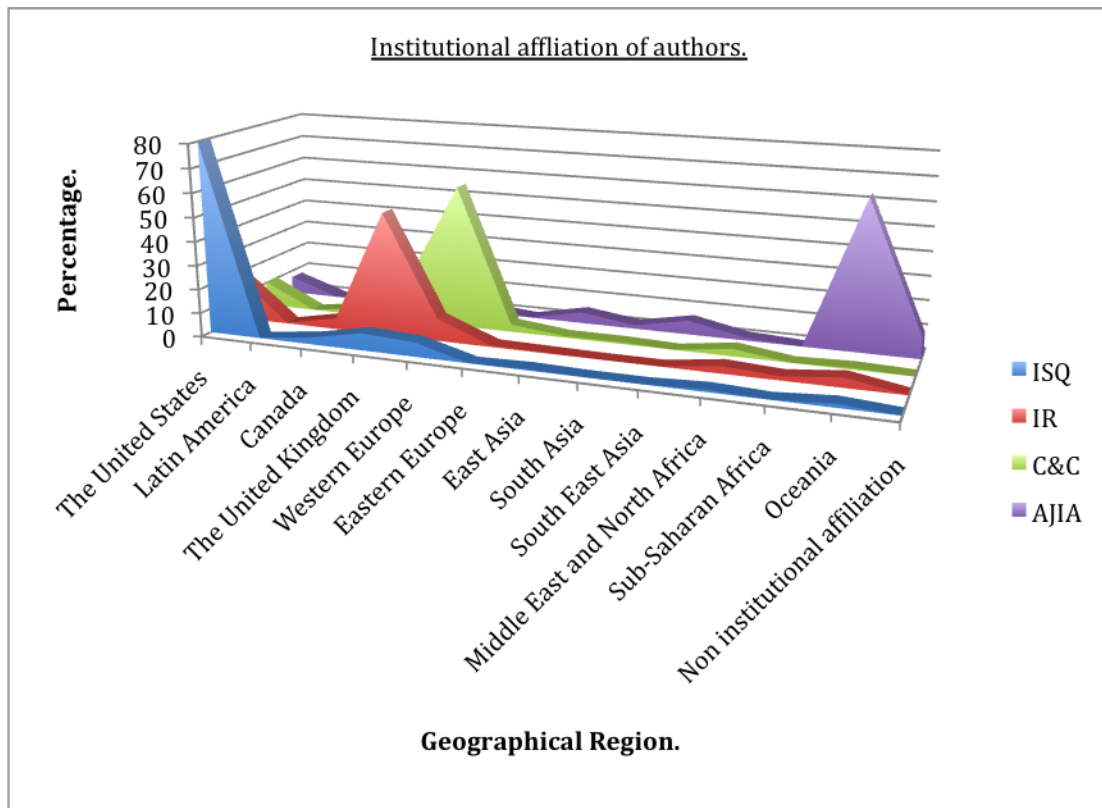


Figure 4.5: Institutional affiliation of authors published in *International Studies Quarterly* (American), *International Relations* (British), *Cooperation and Conflict* (European), and the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (Australian) from 1999-2009.

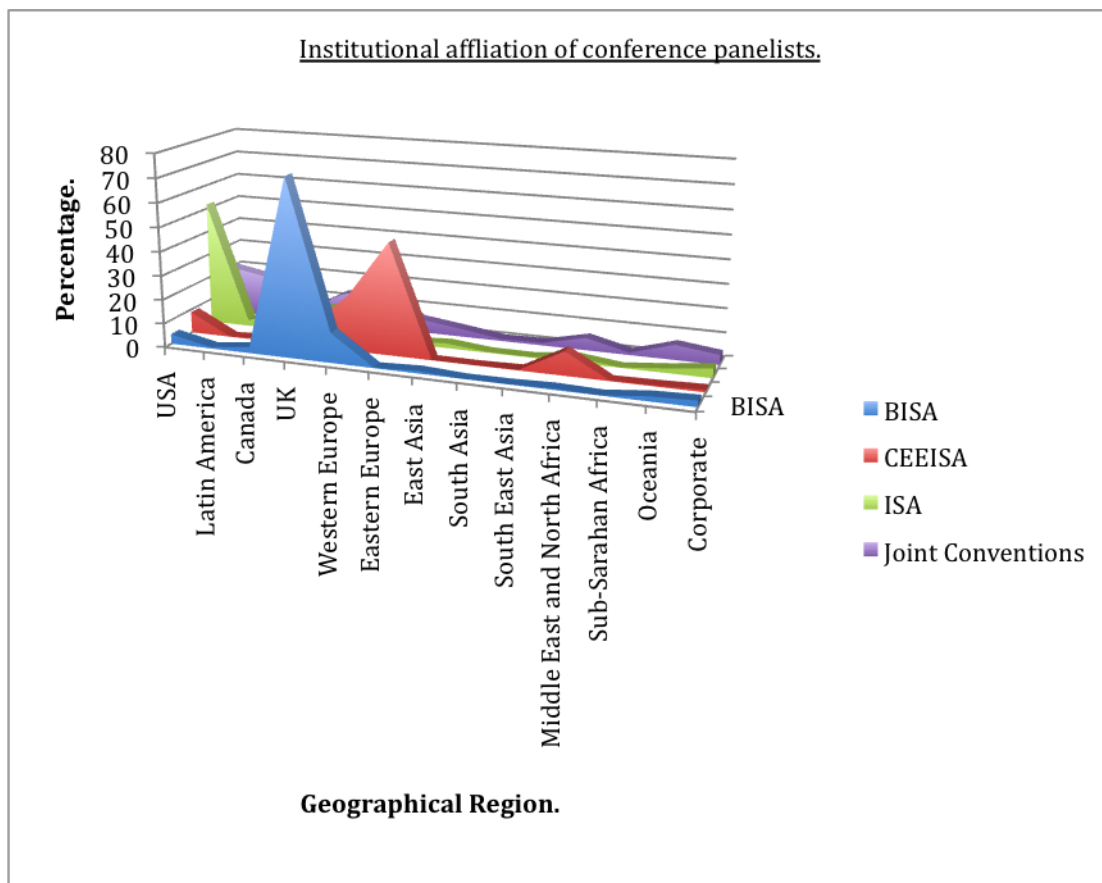


Figure 4.6: Institutional affiliation of participants at the BISA, CEEISA, ISA, and the ISA-Joint Convention conferences from 2005-2011 (Chairs, panellists and paper-givers).

The results of the journal and conference investigations suggest that there may be a logic of parochialism operating at the national level. Rather than the existence of a singular practice of insularity confined to the US IR academy the situation in the US is representative of a more endemic disciplinary situation and mode of academic behaviour. In Richard Whitley's account of the way academic communities operate, he argues that there is a rational sense to being parochial due to the fact academic reputations are much more bound up with your national academic community than the international community.⁸⁴⁴

By exploring his concept of mutual dependence we begin to see how this is so. Academics depend upon the recognition of their work by colleagues, they are bound together by their dependence "to make competent contributions to collective intellectual goals and acquire prestigious reputations which lead to material rewards".⁸⁴⁵ Researchers seek to persuade peers of the importance and relevance of their work; therefore reputations and academic credentials are built on the acceptance of others.⁸⁴⁶ Scholars seek the acceptance from local peers first, which if given then develops outwards nationally. One's reputation is founded in relation to those closest first (which usually means one's research community and institutional colleagues) and then tied to a web of constructed dependence that is centered upon one's national academic community. As research clusters and networks are built, the point of immediacy is the national context and one's entrance into such associations is often reliant upon a fore-grounded recognition that has been granted by one's national peers. This situation is never ending; scholars are in constant need of approval throughout one's career, and this approval tends to originate with those based locally or within our research networks predicated upon national recognition.⁸⁴⁷ International reputations can be crafted but they themselves are dependent upon a previously established national reputation and also the disciplinary hierarchical structure itself. According to Ole Wæver "recognition is the central medium, but recognition from some colleague counts more than from others".⁸⁴⁸ Whether one gains an international reputation is predicated upon the approval of those who have already amounted a prestigious reputation. An endorsement from a scholar who is internationally renowned will immediately establish a merited reputation, yet the foundation of all these mutually dependent relationships is the national community.⁸⁴⁹ Following these arguments one could claim that it makes sense for each

⁸⁴⁴ Richard Whitley *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 88; 92; 97-98. For more on the relationship between an academic and his/her local national and international setting see Pierre Bourdieu *Homo Academicus* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 11-14.

⁸⁴⁵ Richard Whitley "The Development of Management Studies as a Fragmented Adhocracy" *Social Science Information* 23 (4-5) (1984), pp. 777.

⁸⁴⁶ Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 92-93.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25.

⁸⁴⁸ Wæver "Still a Discipline After all These Debates?", pp. 295.

⁸⁴⁹ Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 97-98.

IR community to privilege the national dimension in order to help establish and entrench reputations.

Furthermore, different national IR communities experience different structural constraints, which may affect the relationship academics have with the international sphere. For example, in the UK the government devised the Research Excellence Framework in order to rate academic departments.⁸⁵⁰ This framework encourages British academics to publish in international journals, especially the top ranked American ones. In the UK IR academics tend to strive for an 'international' reputation, however this desire is not necessarily universal. In Brazil for example IR scholars are much more tied to their national context and pressures are placed on publishing in national rather than international journals.⁸⁵¹ Aside from Western Europe, Israel and parts of South East Asia "For much of the rest of the world of IR scholars ... trying to get an article published in a leading journal – unless you actually aspire to a career in the United States or Europe – is not the most relevant or strategic career move".⁸⁵² It seems that not everyone desires to carve out an international reputation, preferring instead to be 'national stars'.⁸⁵³ Moreover, given the pressures that scholars face in terms of language barriers it may be preferred if not deemed the 'moral' choice to publish in ones own language as opposed English, which then would rule out publishing in certain journals.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵⁰ For more on the Research Excellence Framework see <http://www.ref.ac.uk/> (Accessed on the 03/10/12).

⁸⁵¹ Audrey Alejandro "From Globalization to the Internationalization of the Brazilian IR Tradition: A Social Story Featuring Institutions, Public Policy and Career Advancement" Paper presented at the "How IR Became and is What it is?" workshop, University of St Andrews, June 2012, pp. 1-18.

⁸⁵² Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver "Conclusion: Worlding where the West once was" in Tickner, A. B., and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 332.

⁸⁵³ Aydinli and Mathews, "Are the Core and Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 298.

⁸⁵⁴ Anne-Marie D'Aoust "Accounting for the Politics of Language in the Sociology of IR" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15 (1) (2012), pp. 120-131.

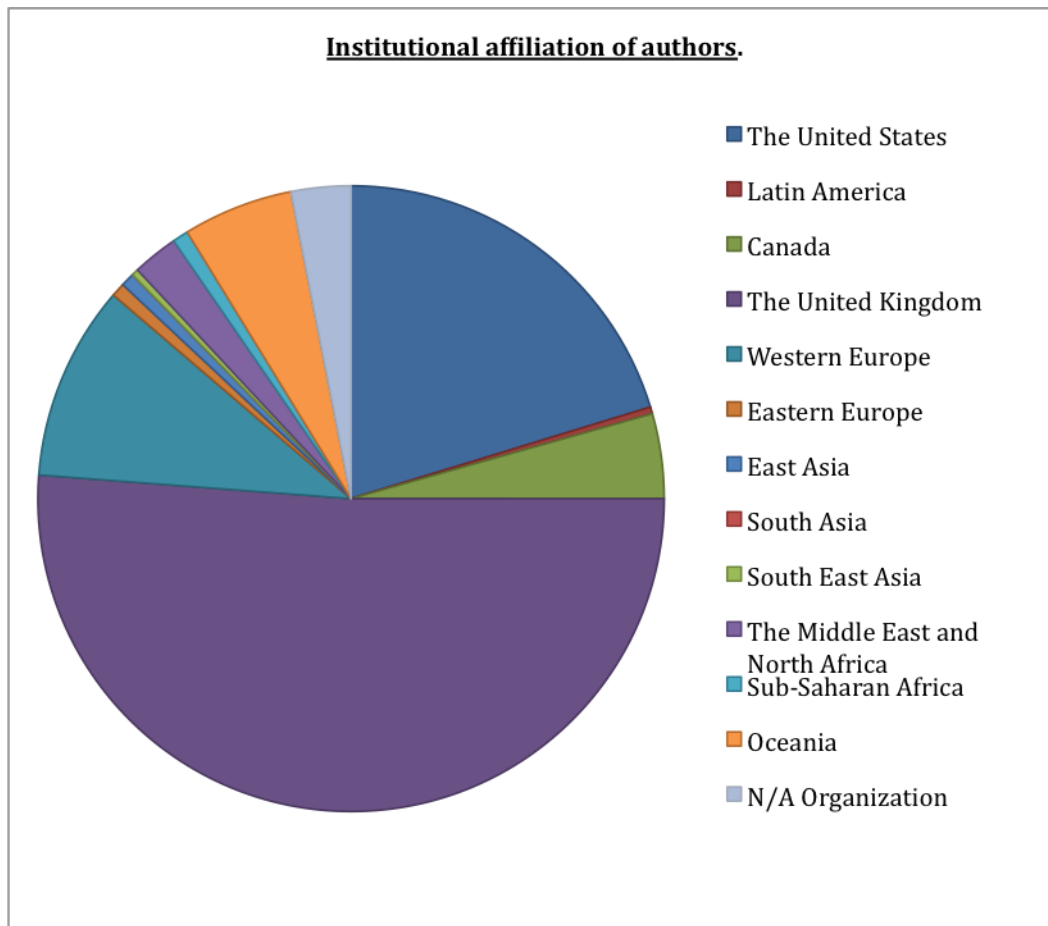


Figure 4.7: Institutional affiliation of all scholars published in the British journals *International Relations* and the *Review of International Studies* from 1999-2009.

Taking the above into account may explain the proclivity for parochialism, and when looked at in the reverse it may account for the high percentage of American scholars publishing in American journals (compare figures 4.4 and 4.7). Work can only be published if it is sent in, and given mutual dependence, national pressures, or language constraints perhaps non-American scholarship is being sent elsewhere, and more specifically to national IR journals. Whilst we may lament the parochial leanings of each journal investigated, especially the American ones, it can make sense to be ‘parochial’ for there are material rewards associated, especially if one is from an academic community that privileges the national as opposed to the international academic realm.⁸⁵⁵ There are no universal standards, and we must remember not to apply our own institutional expectations and pressures on to others. As Wæver argues IR is different in different places,⁸⁵⁶ but also different practices and standards exist, some of which may actively encourage parochialism.

The claims of American dominance do depict the disciplinary reality, however they do not capture all the dynamics occurring. This chapter has so far stressed that there are three

⁸⁵⁵ Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 92-93.

⁸⁵⁶ Wæver, “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline”, pp. 723.

composite dynamics operating in the discipline. At the international disciplinary level IR experiences 1) American dominance and 2) processes of de-Americanization. Furthermore, the tensions between these dynamics raise a number of questions about the future trajectory of the discipline and which dynamic may become more prominent. Whereas at the national level each IR community experiences and even in some cases promotes 3) parochialism. Additionally, another explanatory factor for the comparatively higher degree of parochialism in the US publications could be due to the size of the American IR community and therefore another consequence of the vast number of universities in the USA housing IR faculty. If American parochialism and institutional dominance is an outcome of the structure of the global discipline, and the fact there are more 'American' IR scholars than academics from other national communities, this raises the question of what does this form of dominance mean? Does it shape the discipline to a negative extent because more authors from American universities are published and present in international outlets of academic expression? The situation is multilayered and complex, which is further compounded by the questions raised of what this form of dominance entails for the discipline. This chapter will now focus on these questions and attempt to provide some answers.

What Does American Institutional Dominance Mean for the Discipline?

According to Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews it is irrelevant how many IR courses spring up worldwide and it is immaterial how many research institutes materialise because what really counts is what is being taught and researched.⁸⁵⁷ They have argued that it does not matter if the discipline is truly international in institutional terms if “the fundamental ideas investigated and taught within those departments are the exclusive products of a limited number of scholars”⁸⁵⁸. If the same American 'brand' of IR is taught worldwide and reproduced and cemented this creates the potential for the production of a narrow and ethnocentric global discipline. This understanding also works in the reverse. For instance, if the discipline is dominated institutionally by the US, which I have shown that it is, this could potentially be unproblematic if the material being taught and the research being conducted was diverse and multi-centric. One can imply that in a sense, it does not matter if there are more 'Americans' publishing and presenting as long as what they do produce is pluralistic. This then draws on the notion that some forms of dominance are more meaningful, or in other words, more detrimental to the discipline.

If American institutional dominance is simply a product of the size of the US community, in terms of the fact that there are more self-identified IR scholars then this will and has translated into a higher presence in the discipline's journals and conferences. This only becomes

⁸⁵⁷ Aydinli and Julie Mathews “Periphery Theorising for a Truly Internationalised Discipline”, pp. 694.

⁸⁵⁸ *Ibid., op cit.*

a disciplinary problem, it seems, if this IR community institutionalises its ideas and way of doing IR as the universal template to be adhered to by all IR academics worldwide.⁸⁵⁹ Therefore institutional dominance is only of concern if it goes hand in hand with the other forms of dominance such as adhering to the American agenda, theoretical or methodological dominance, or if this structural preponderance has been generated intentionally through editorial selection and gate-keeping strategies rather than being the product of the sheer volume of American academics when compared to other IR enclaves.

What we need to ask ourselves is what does it mean to be an 'American' scholar? Leaving theoretical, and methodological questions aside for the moment, if being an American IR academic is tied up with a certain way of viewing the world, and a certain set of assumptions borne out of shared experiences and situations then there are serious consequences to American institutional dominance. The preponderance of such an outlook would leave a large portion of the discipline blind to peculiarities,⁸⁶⁰ and open to the problems associated with ethnocentrism, orientalism, and even colonial/imperialism.⁸⁶¹ Certain forms of knowledge would be privileged and others delegitimized, biases would be created within the discipline and the scope for agency and inclusion severely limited.⁸⁶² Through tackling issues in international relations through such an 'American' perspective (if there is one) could lead to 'real world problems' due to the essentialist treatment of phenomena and a dismissal of 'local' knowledge. Whilst my results show (see chapter one) that the discipline is not adhering to the American agenda and is focusing on a wide range of issues, this does not mean to say that these issues are not being dealt with in an ethnocentric fashion due to the embedded nature of the academic within an 'American' outlook. Clearly there are severe potential consequences and repercussions to American institutional dominance.

At this juncture more research needs to be done into the nationalities of academics in order to assess whether there is the dominance of an 'American' outlook. One would need to investigate the biographies of IR academics and to see how 'American' the US academy is and how 'American' other IR departments are worldwide. Coding for institutional affiliation does not provide us with this information. Therefore in order to gain a clearer insight into the movement of scholars and therefore ideas around the globe, to see if Adylini and Mathews fears are realised, we would need to explore individual scholars backgrounds and the formation of their academic identities. Other factors may be more influential than nationality for example, such as where one

⁸⁵⁹ Of course if other scholars are actively being 'shut out' of the American and other journals by processes of editorial selection and gate-keeping strategies then there is a real problem, however this is another form of dominance and will be explored in more depth in the next chapter.

⁸⁶⁰ Mustapha Pasha and Craig Murphy "Knowledge/Power/Inequality" in Pasha, M. K. and Murphy, C. N. (eds) *International Relations and the New Inequality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), pp. 1-6.

⁸⁶¹ Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey "Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations" *Millennium* 31 (1) (2002), pp. 109-127.

⁸⁶² Caroline Thomas and Peter Wilkin "Still Waiting After All These Years: 'The Third World' on the Periphery of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6 (2) (2004), pp. 241-258.

studies for their PhD. Becoming situated within a specific institutional framework and 'way' of studying the discipline could be the decisive force in the generation of a scholarly outlook and the ideas she or he embodies and adopts, more so than nationality. For instance if 'non-American' scholars have been spent time studying or working in American institutions they may have been acculturated in 'American' methods etc. This could lead to the 'American' model of IR being exported around the globe, entrenching and even exacerbating American structural preponderance in the manner that Adylini and Mathews lament. By looking at biographical information, and the movement of academics and ideas around the world would perhaps create a slightly different map of the discipline, one that may be more of less dominated by the US.

If one were to look at the nationality of IR scholars however, we may find that many academics that work in American IR departments are from different nationalities. If this were the case then they would most likely bring with them a host of ideas and traditions, meaning that they might not hold an 'American' worldview, and upon inclusion within an American university may even morph the identities and ideas of others. It can be argued that the situation is in constant flux, and whilst we all operate with our own worldviews, it is quite difficult to establish the determining factors: nationality, education, and so on. All play an influential role, but what we can draw from this insight is that IR communities are not as rigid or as clearly defined as we tend to presuppose. In our discussions and disciplinary mapping exercises we need to be careful of producing homogenous monolithic depiction of IR communities, and look deeper into the dynamics of interaction and movement of scholars in and around the globe. This reflexive exercise, has perhaps posed more questions than it has answered, and it is evident that more research needs to be conducted in order to unpack the claims made here and to provide a more nuanced account of the geographical composition of the discipline. Whilst the results have produced an image of American institutional dominance, they have not been able to depict the specific global positioning of American and non-American scholars, and the associated movement of ideas.

Conclusion.

The results of the journal and conference investigations while depicting a plethora of scholars researching and writing beyond the confines of the US academy also confirms the presence of American institutional dominance. Prefixing dominance with the institutional label, or defining dominance as institutional/structural dominance, there are empirical grounds with which we can describe IR as an American dominated discipline. Stanley Hoffmann's characterization applies to represent the contemporary geographical composition of the discipline; International Relations is a discipline comprised of more American scholars than those emanating from other IR communities. This picture of American preponderance however, is not as clear-cut as initially envisaged and the situation is more complex than such accounts denote. For instance, according to Peter Marcus Kristensen it is not simply the case of American institutional dominance writ

large, but this claim can be refined to include the dominance of a specific region of America.⁸⁶³ Kristensen's research into prominent sites of publication shows the dominance of a certain set of American universities, all residing in the North East caucus of the US. Once again it seems that claims of American institutional dominance need to be refined and expanded upon to capture all the dynamics underway.

Furthermore, this chapter has sought to question whether American institutional preponderance - whether it is American broadly speaking, or a specific group of American institutions - is the real concern. This chapter has suggested that it seems to be the ideas, theories, outlooks and so on that latch on to the geographical preponderance that are the primary concern. Arguably American institutional dominance only becomes a concern and warranted of attention and therefore remedy if this coincides with the dominance of an 'American' outlook or way of viewing the world. If American scholars, or those academics affiliated with American universities are publishing and presenting more research, but this research is diverse, plural and not embedded within a specific ethnocentric foundation then the dominant market size of the US academy is not deemed to be as problematic.⁸⁶⁴ If for example this situation is bought about through gate-keeping and exclusionary practices, or has engendered rampant ethnocentric research then this is another issue and cause for concern. As such this chapter has also sought to raise the following questions and avenues for further research in order to unpack and further re-assess this form of dominance: Who are the non-American universities employing? How 'American' is the American IR community? And what does it mean to be 'American'? The answers to these questions will shape the implications and the extent to which the US is actually institutionally dominant. For example, if non-American universities are employing a relatively large amount of American scholars and it is these scholars who are publishing in the international journals, then the degree to which American is institutionally dominant will be more profound. Conversely, if the American universities themselves are comprised of scholars emanating from different parts of the globe, and are actively drawing on these 'national' experiences and academic literature then the current level of American dominance becomes somewhat diminished. More research clearly needs to be done in order to address the question of American institutional dominance in more nuanced terms, and to see if American institutional dominance has resulted in the dominance of an 'American' outlook and framing of research.

Whilst this chapter has not been able to answer the above questions, it has attempted to provide an explanation as to how America became and remains institutionally preponderant. American institutional dominance is largely due to the vast demographic size of its research community, in terms of the number of academics present in the American IR academy. Thomas Biersteker argued: "At least in part, American intellectual hegemony is a simple product of the sheer volume of American IR scholarship. Whether indicated by the number of universities,

⁸⁶³ Peter Marcus Kristensen "The geography of International Relations - mapping the "American Social Science" Paper presented at the BISA-ISA joint Convention, Edinburgh, June 2012.

⁸⁶⁴ Acharya and Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory?", pp. 293.

think-tanks, or academic and research positions, there are more active IR research scholars working in the US than in any other country in the world.⁸⁶⁵ This chapter has argued that two internal conditions explain this structural reality. In institutional terms the US became disciplinary dominant because of 1) the actual structure and arrangement of the global discipline and 2) the unrivalled resources available in America. These two conditions explain why America was able to institutionalise the discipline and develop a body of scholars earlier than other IR enclaves. According to Richard Little:

“It is simply a fact of life that during the course of the twentieth century the USA was able to devote more resources to research than any other country in the world. As a consequence, it was able to establish the necessary critical mass in large numbers of fields to set the research agenda and to be at the cutting edge of research developments”.⁸⁶⁶

These two factors endowed the US IR community with a ‘big head start’. The question now remains of whether other IR communities can ‘catch up’ or whether the head start has translated into an irremovable irreversible structural bias? Whilst US universities remain at the apex of the career hierarchy and American journals arguably remain the number one destination for scholars seeking to acquire an international reputation⁸⁶⁷ there is evidence to suggest that the growth of other IR communities has resulted in the growth of prestige and stature of non-American universities and journals.⁸⁶⁸ This can be seen by the shift in world university rankings, the journal citation reports and the decreased flow of students to the US. Combined with the growing number of non-American’s publishing in the discipline’s international journals and presenting at the discipline’s global conferences (see figures 4.1 and 4.2) it seems that the discipline is slowly internationalizing. Whilst America may remain institutionally dominant for some time, it seems that IR is on trajectory of internationalization, meaning that overtime we could see a decrease in American institutional preponderance. In exploring these explanatory factors and examining the results of the journal and conference investigation this chapter has sought to illustrate that there is a dual tendency in the discipline. Two dynamics are operating simultaneously and the tensions between the two will shape the future composition of the discipline. At present the discipline is experiencing a process of internationalization at the same time as it experiences American institutional dominance. However, this chapter has also demonstrated that a third dynamic is occurring that of parochialism,

In addition to confirming US institutional dominance, and showing the wealth of non-American IR scholars present through publishing and presenting in the discipline, this investigation also revealed national parochial tendencies. The associated claims of parochialism that go hand in hand with claims of American institutional dominance in the literature were not

⁸⁶⁵ Thomas Biersteker “The Parochialism of Hegemony”, pp. 309.

⁸⁶⁶ Richard Little “Series Editor Preface” in Friedrichs, J. *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2004), pp. iii.

⁸⁶⁷ Hellmann “International Relations as a Field of Study”.

⁸⁶⁸ See for example Kirby “On Chinese, European and American Universities”, pp. 139-146.

specific to the US. Whilst parochial tendencies (measured and defined as promoting national research) may be more pronounced in the United States, the results revealed that there is a broader disciplinary logic underway. The inclination to be parochial was not just an American trait but also a global one. Each regional IR community displayed its parochial credentials. According to Biersteker “All nationally constituted communities of International Relations are parochial in one way or another... while the American International Relations community is most certainly parochial, it is hardly alone in the world for being so”.⁸⁶⁹

Overall, there are many dynamics operating in the field and occur at different levels. Some of these dynamics explain the current American institutional preponderance whereas others call into question its initial significance and meaning. Whilst the results show that the American IR community commands a significant and dominant presence in the institutional structure of the discipline ultimately we need to question how revealing this insight is, and ask whether or not this situation is peculiar to IR. According to Richard Little “Most research, in most disciplines is carried out within the US”,⁸⁷⁰ which raises the question of whether all academic disciplines experience a similar American institutional preponderance? Once again more research needs to be conducted in order to see whether we can continue to employ the use of Hoffmann’s disciplinary characterisation if it is to invoke and signify any deeper meaning.

⁸⁶⁹ Biersteker, “The Parochialism of Hegemony”, pp. 311.

⁸⁷⁰ Little, “Series Editor’s Preface”, pp. iii.

6.

American Dominance as Gate-Keeping?

All academic disciplines are policed to a certain extent, and the discipline of IR is no exception. What is included or excluded into mainstream discourses largely rests upon editorial selection and the political practices of publication.⁸⁷¹ In the case of IR it is argued that entrance into the 'elite journals' or the upper echelons of the global discipline is apparently only guaranteed by adhering to the mainstream's agenda, and apparently the mainstream is American.⁸⁷² Certain academics, such as Arlene Tickner,⁸⁷³ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews⁸⁷⁴, have argued that the United States exercises its disciplinary hegemony through its capacity to maintain the status quo structure of the field with certain gate-keeping strategies. American power is operationalised through 1) granting access to the international disciplinary realm to scholarship that adheres to the American mainstream's preferences, and 2) by constructing barriers to prevent non-American IR scholarship from being included in the global IR conversation. Arguments of American dominance through its gate-keeping abilities however do not capture all the dynamics and gate-keeping practices underway in the discipline. The situation is far more complex than many disciplinary accounts depict, for instance the gate-keeping practices are more varied, as are the gate-keepers themselves. This chapter aims to reveal the actual gate-keeping practices occurring, highlight who the gate-keepers are and question whether they are in fact predominantly American, and in doing so this chapter challenges certain assumptions of American dominance that prevail in the literature.

This chapter will begin by exploring the claims of gate-keeping by the American IR community in more depth and look at how gate-keeping practices are claimed to be exercised. The literature gives two such explanatory mechanisms. Firstly, it is claimed that language is used as a means of excluding non-American, or more specifically non-Western research. The alleged linguistic bias within the discipline has meant that not only have the discipline's borders been policed through using language as a tool of disciplinarity, but also that this penchant for English itself perpetuates US dominance. Secondly, it is argued that it is primarily American scholars who

⁸⁷¹ As previously noted academic reputations are partially dependent on publications-publication rates have a huge impact not only on future publication prospects but also on academic careers. The importance of journal access and the subsequent entrance into the 'international academic arena' is why journal selection processes are viewed as a disciplinary gate-keeping function and demonstration of dominance by some academics.

⁸⁷² Roland Bleiker "Forget IR Theory" in Chan, S., Mandaville, P. and Bleiker, R. (eds) *The Zen of International Relations: IR Theory from East to West* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 44-45.

⁸⁷³ Arlene Tickner "Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World" *Millennium* 32 (2) (2003), pp. 295-324.

⁸⁷⁴ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable? The Curious World of Publishing in Contemporary International Relations" *International Studies Perspectives* 1 (3) (2000), pp. 289-303.

are in positions of power within the discipline. Most journal editors, whose efforts and interventions crucially shape the field, are allegedly American (or rather from American institutions) and therefore advocate accordance with American mainstream's standards. These accounts, as previously mentioned, do not denote all the gate-keeping practices occurring. Furthermore, they also keep the focus primarily orientated around the practices of the discipline's journal editors, which overlooks a number of other actors who shape the field through their gate-keeping roles; the rest of this chapter will therefore attempt to draw attention to these actors.

Secondly, this chapter will draw attention to the way the discipline is shaped through current gate-keeping practices. The image of the field generated by the journal and conference investigations and presented in the previous chapters suggests that the discipline of IR is diverse and becoming more international. The disciplinary plurality and diversity implies that, generally speaking, research is not being excluded on substantive, theoretical, methodological, or institutional grounds. In other words, it seems that one does not have to adhere to the established rules set out by the American mainstream in order to gain access to the international realm through being published or gaining recognition. Instead gate-keeping practices are exercised through the language of standards and whether an article 'fits' with the selected publication. Each journal has its own agenda, which means that journal editors and their reviewers will actively mould the content of each publication and therefore subtly shape the field. There also appears to be a concentrated effort occurring to further 'internationalise' the discipline. Each of the editors interviewed expressed a responsibility to 1) increase the international profile of the discipline through publishing scholarship from a broad range of locations, and 2) to include a diverse array of scholars - in terms of interest areas, gender, theoretical persuasion, and institutional affiliation - on their editorial boards. Overall, it seems that the gate-keeping that takes place is largely not based on where the author is from, and whether the research can be designated as non-American or non-Western but rather the style and to a degree the content of the manuscript.

Thirdly, this chapter will take an in-depth look at who the discipline's gate-keepers are. Thereby questioning the claims surrounding America's disciplinary dominance through its scholars predominantly being in positions of power. The composition of the editorial boards of the 12 journals investigated will be examined, as will the journal editors of these publications. By taking into account the institutional affiliation and theoretical perspectives of this group it seems that whilst American scholars are a prominent group they are not dominant. This chapter will argue that selecting editors and reviewers is a political enterprise and explore the tensions between these two groups and how they shape the contours of the field, thereby highlighting the gate-keeping role of the reviewer, which is often overlooked. Aside from the reviewers, and editors there is another politicized gate-keeping force in operation that this chapter will draw explicit attention to, and attempt to problematise, and that is the role of Thomson Reuters. This chapter will also look at the effect Thomson Reuters - and more specifically its journal citation reports and its determining indicator the journal impact factor (JIF) - is having on the discipline.

This chapter will argue that this indicator is shaping the content of IR's journals, and that Thomson Reuters itself is policing the discipline through its selection criteria and other means.

Overall, this chapter recognizes that gate-keeping practices do take place in IR but that 1) the exercise of the power of inclusion or exclusion does not strictly belong to the American mainstream, and 2) functions in a number of other ways than the literature tends to depict. The power of exclusion is the property of an international group of editors, and Thomson Reuters of which both use the language of standards to potentially marginalize work. The situation is multifaceted and there are numerous different dynamics and tensions occurring, all of which shape the contours of the discipline. The image of the discipline presented here will differ from the prevailing image generated as one in which an elite group of American scholars exercises its dominance through its gate-keeping strategies. This account aims to draw attention to the effects certain actors – actors who often escape being the focus of academic attention – are having on the discipline and the varied ways in which they gate-keep and structure the discipline.

Claims of American Gate-Keeping Explored:

As with all disciplines, in IR there is a hierarchy of journals, publication presses and so on.⁸⁷⁵ Being published in a certain journal can grant the status of 'international' to research and enable scholars to enter the global IR conversation.⁸⁷⁶ Entrance to this 'international realm' is arguably heavily policed and policed by a certain subset of American scholars. According to Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan, America is intellectually hegemonic because it is able to deny the entrance of 'foreign' scholarship into mainstream literary circles.⁸⁷⁷ Because the group of American academics who have the power of inclusion and exclusion have an agenda and operate with a notion of what it considered 'appropriate' or 'acceptable' scholarship, certain works are supposedly promoted and others rejected.⁸⁷⁸ If one adheres to the defined standards allegedly such work will face less resistance from editors or reviewers and stand an increased chance of being published in the top journals and therefore entering the international disciplinary realm. Jörg Friedrichs argues:

“The editorial boards of the leading American and British reviews and publishing houses control the access of scientific articles and books to the international audience. The more a book or article fits into normal American or British patterns of theorizing and research, the more likely it is to reach an

⁸⁷⁵ Ole Wæver “Still a discipline After All These Debates?” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 297.

⁸⁷⁶ Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver “Conclusion: Worlding Where the West Once Was” in Tickner, A. and Wæver, O. (eds) *International Relations Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 332.

⁸⁷⁷ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan “Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction” *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 295-296.

⁸⁷⁸ Steve Smith “The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (3) (2000), pp. 385.

international target group. If a contribution does not agree with the way how scholarship is 'normally' done in the United States or Great Britain, it is danger of being sorted out in the process of editorial lectureship or peer review."⁸⁷⁹

Scholars, like Friedrichs, who argue that IR is an American enterprise claim that the American mainstream has operationalised its power with the following gate-keeping strategies: 1) through making English the lingua franca of the discipline and 2) through holding key positions (journal editors, reviewers) and making sure certain forms of scholarship (scholarship that does not adhere to the preferred agenda) are marginalized from the international realm.⁸⁸⁰ In other words, the barriers to inclusion in the international arena that academics face are primarily language barriers and editorial decisions, with the majority of editors allegedly being American.

Unless research is written in English it arguably stands little chance of being recognized and disseminated on an international level.⁸⁸¹ Non-English language research may attract attention within the confines of the national setting but unless it is translated or originally written in English it is unlikely to be picked up on the international radar and bears little chance of being broadly dispersed.⁸⁸² The dominance of the English language has arguably resulted in the ignorance of non-English language scholarship.⁸⁸³ The discipline suffers from a linguistic bias or what Kim Nossal terms a linguistic imperialism.⁸⁸⁴ The preference for work to be published and written in English has meant that the American mainstream has apparently been able to capitalize on this situation and use language as an exclusionary mechanism.

All the discipline's major/international journals are published in English therefore if one aims to enter into global debates then one is presented with a pressure to publish in English. This clearly places Anglophone scholars in an advantageous position. The privileged position that Anglophone scholars find themselves in means that their research stands a much higher chance of being accepted which effects the international composition of the field and its perspectives. Non-English speaking scholars are presented with an immediate hurdle to overcome in the quest to get their work recognized.⁸⁸⁵ Not only are non-English speaking scholars in an unfair situation and faced with undue pressures, they are also presented with moral and professional dilemmas.

⁸⁷⁹ Jörg Friedrichs, J. (2004) *European Approaches to International Relations Theory; A House With Many Mansions* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 9.

⁸⁸⁰ Thomas Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Tickner, A. B., and Waeber, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 308-327.

⁸⁸¹ Rainer Enrique Hamel "The Dominance of English in the International Scientific Periodical Literature and the Future of Language Use in Science" *AILA Review* 20 (2007), pp. 53-71.

⁸⁸² Anssi Paasi "Globalisation, Academic Capitalism, and the Uneven Geographies of International Journal Publishing Space" *Environment and Planning* 35 (5) (2005), pp. 769-789.

⁸⁸³ Knud Erik Jørgensen "Continental IR Theory: The Best Kept Secret" *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (9) (2000), pp. 31.

⁸⁸⁴ Kim Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell: Ethnocentricity and Diversity in American Introductions to International Relations" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 171.

⁸⁸⁵ Paasi "Globalisation, Academic Capitalism and the Uneven Geographies of International Journal Publishing Space", pp. 769-770.

For instance, does one publish in English to arguably further one's career and enter the international realm and thereby diversify it through bringing in other perspectives, or does one publish in one's national language to aid the vibrancy of one's national IR community?⁸⁸⁶ The issue of language is a politicized one and carries with it numerous consequences and implications, one being to overcome this problematic milieu many students are now frequently taught in English and write in English.⁸⁸⁷ English, according to Thomas Biersteker, has become the *lingua franca* of IR and global academia more broadly speaking.⁸⁸⁸

Not only are the discipline's gate-keepers able to take advantage of this situation they are also able to enforce and entrench it. Kal Holsti in *The Dividing Discipline* noted the dominance of the English language and how it was being used as a blockade to prevent the infiltration of 'foreign' scholarship into the discipline - 'foreign' scholarship that may deviate from the American standards of acceptable scholarship.⁸⁸⁹ Those, like Holsti, who claim that IR is an American dominated discipline because of the ability of the American mainstream to police the borders of the discipline have argued that the current linguistic bias has been embedded and this preference exaggerated in order to exclude and create barriers to non-English speaking scholarship.⁸⁹⁰ This in turn promotes and privileges Anglophone scholarship. The American mainstream is apparently guilty of accentuating this preference through making no effort to translate works or engage with non-English language scholarship. According to Knud Erik Jørgensen, "it is most unlikely that members of the English-speaking IR community should begin to read articles or books in languages other than English".⁸⁹¹ Furthermore, Kim Nossal has argued that the American mainstream is key in facilitating the dominance of English through making sure that students tend "not to be exposed to any IR scholarship that is not written in English in the original, or translated from another language into English".⁸⁹²

⁸⁸⁶ Anne Marie D'Aoust "Accounting for the Politics of Language in the Sociology of IR" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15 (1) (2012), pp. 120-131.

⁸⁸⁷ Heather Murray and Silva Dingwall "The Dominance of English at European Universities: Switzerland and Sweden Compared" in Ammon, U. (ed) *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science: Effects on Other Languages and Other Language Communities* (Berlin: GmbH & CO, 2001), pp. 85-86.

⁸⁸⁸ Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony", pp. 324. The term *lingua franca* is used according to Vassil Anastassov to denote a "similar common means of language interaction as the result of political hegemony". For more see Vassil Anastassov "Knowledge about Language as Knowledge about the Time-Space Location of the 'Ego' in Social Environment" Paper presented for the 6th Pan European *Standing Group of International Relations* Conference, Turin, September 2007, pp. 7

⁸⁸⁹ Kal J Holsti *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985), pp. 104-105.

⁸⁹⁰ Acharya and Buzan "Why is there no non-Western international relations theory?", pp. 295-296.

⁸⁹¹ Jørgensen "Continental IR Theory", pp. 31.

⁸⁹² Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell", pp. 171.

Certain academics in the 'English-speaking core' have attempted to justify the linguistic bias through assuming that English as a lingua franca must make access easier for all.⁸⁹³ For instance Acharya and Buzan argued that:

“Up to a point, there is truth in this assumption, but for those having to work in English as a second or third language, they may feel like a barrier, both because of the additional work necessary to put one’s thoughts into a foreign language and because of the high rejection rates in the leading English-language journals”.⁸⁹⁴

Similarly, Friedrichs argued, formally establishing English as the lingua franca of IR may have some benefits, the primary one being that it will help non-American scholars receive recognition and publication. Because at present he argues “To state the obvious, hardly any study about international affairs ever has an impact at the international level if it is not written in English or translated into English”⁸⁹⁵. Yet John Groom argues that the use of any language privileges a certain mode of thought, a certain culture and a certain way of constructing the truth⁸⁹⁶. The use of English as the linguistic mode for IR scholarship privileges, he states, the Anglophone way of thinking. For example, Groom argues, “Any language by its structure, its metaphors, and its vocabulary imposes a pattern of thought which reflects its parent culture”.⁸⁹⁷ Likewise, according to Friedrich Nietzsche languages are built on sets of prejudices, which are expressed through metaphors and other linguistic devices to exclude certain objects and subjugate others.⁸⁹⁸ Whereas Roland Bleiker argues that we “are all conditioned by decades of linguistically entrenched values” which then “largely camouflages the system of exclusion that is operative in all speech forms”.⁸⁹⁹ According to Groom, Nietzsche, and Bleiker language is an exclusionary mechanism by its very nature, a form of domination, which results in the subjugation in this case of non-native English speakers.

The use of language is one way that the gate-keepers of the discipline are able to exclude scholarship. The American mainstream allegedly endorses the present unilingual construct and remains blind to ‘outside’ developments thereby ensuring the boundaries of the discipline remain intact.⁹⁰⁰ Another means in which America is apparently able to police the discipline is

⁸⁹³ Robert B. Kaplan “English – the Accidental Language of Science” in Ammon, U. (ed) *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science: Effects on Other Languages and Other Language Communities* (Berlin: GmbH & CO, 2001), pp. 17-18.

⁸⁹⁴ Acharya and Buzan “Why is There No Non-Western International Theory”, pp. 296.

⁸⁹⁵ Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 8.

⁸⁹⁶ A. J. R. Groom “The World Beyond: The European Dimension” in Groom, A. J. R. and Light, M. (eds) *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter, 1994), pp. 219-236.

⁸⁹⁷ A. J. R. Groom “International Relations in France: A View From Across the Channel” *European Political Science* 4 (2) (2005), pp. 169-170.

⁸⁹⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche *The Gay Science*, Kaufmann, W. (trans) (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 122.

⁸⁹⁹ Bleiker “Forget IR Theory”, pp. 47.

⁹⁰⁰ Frederick H. Gareau “The Discipline of International Relations: A Multinational Perspective” *The Journal of Politics* 43 (3) (1981), pp. 801.

through the actions and interventions of American editors and the political practices surrounding publication. According to Steve Smith and Ole Wæver the editors of the discipline's leading journals, who are largely American, privilege work by American scholars (and more specifically privilege the work by American rationalist scholars).⁹⁰¹ Work that does not meet the preferences of this set of American scholars and their (often rationalist) standards of what counts as acceptable scholarship, is arguably rejected and does not make its way into the international realm, instead it is sent to the margins of the discipline.

There have been a number of investigations conducted exploring the alleged gate-keeping strategies employed by the American mainstream, which have then been used as grounds to argue that IR is an American dominated discipline. For example, Arlene Tickner investigated the publishing patterns of the discipline's main journals and revealed that the journals under review were heavily weighted against non-American scholars, especially scholars living or working in a Third World country.⁹⁰² Similarly in their journal investigation into the rationale behind the American dominance of IR Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews argued "the overall picture of the IR discipline as revealed over the past decade in its leading scholarly journals remains unchanged, with very little contribution from the periphery being recognized by the core".⁹⁰³ From their results they argued that the processes of editorial selection work to assure that the discipline remains an American one divided along spatial lines. Addressing the issue again in 2008, Aydinli and Mathews continued to state that America remains intellectually hegemonic, demonstrated by the fact that the "leading IR journals still tend to publish the works of scholars primarily from North America or Western Europe, and the most influential scholars working in the field, as selected by their peers, are mostly American".⁹⁰⁴ Marjike Breuning et. al., also focused on the practices of publication to argue that IR is an American enterprise. They also argued that discipline's leading journals operate in a gate-keeping fashion, promoting American scholarship at the expense of other IR communities' research. They also claimed to reveal that the editorial boards select mainly American scholars, and how the knowledge that is produced "focuses on a relatively narrow range of subjects".⁹⁰⁵

According to the aforementioned scholars the leading American journals act as disciplinary gatekeepers, and their parochial selection of articles reflects a missed opportunity; a chance to improve IR scholarship and a chance to make the discipline truly international. These accounts have argued that the preponderant positioning of American scholars as editors has

⁹⁰¹ See Ole Wæver, "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations" *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 687-727 and Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 374-402.

⁹⁰² Tickner "Seeing IR Differently", pp. 301.

⁹⁰³ Aydinli and Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 297.

⁹⁰⁴ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews "Periphery Theorizing for Truly Internationalized Discipline: Spinning IR Theory Out of Anatolia" *Review of International Studies* 34 (4) (2008), pp. 693-694.

⁹⁰⁵ Marjike Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft and Eugene Walton "Promise and Performance: An Evaluation of Journals in International Relations: *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) (2005), pp. 447. However, as their study looked solely at US journals the authors did note that the "relative strong presence of scholars from US-based institutions may be logical in US based publications", pp. 460.

meant that this group of American intellectual elites have been able to enact their agenda and publish work that adheres to their standards, and promote American and Western scholarship. The way American preferences have shaped the content of the discipline's journals through marginalizing certain scholarship has meant, according to Tickner, that the leading journals do not represent the global scholarship available.⁹⁰⁶ Instead, it is argued, they choose to reflect American scholarship, subsequently maintaining the status quo, or in other words sustaining America's hegemonic position. For instance, Tickner argues "Publishing patterns in specialized IR journals indicate the pervasiveness of US and European scholars, and the predominance of rationalist modes of thought".⁹⁰⁷

Anna Agathangelou and L. H. M. Ling using the analogy of a 'House of IR' presented a review of the contemporary structure of the discipline, mapping out the places within the 'House' that certain theories, and geographical bodies of scholarship were forced to adopt. They argued that non-American scholarship is indeed hidden due to the gate-keeping strategies operationalised by the American mainstream.⁹⁰⁸ Such gate-keeping practices have according to Andrei Tsygankov and Pavel Tsygankov shut "out all the 'non-Western' voices sterilizing the field and perpetuating the discipline's hegemonic nature".⁹⁰⁹ It has been claimed that it is not only 'non-Western' works that are hidden; the US IR community also largely ignores European IR. European knowledge and research does exist en force but is supposedly unseen and therefore excluded. Knud Erik Jørgensen argues that European IR theory is what he terms a well-kept secret, and he claims it is likely to remain one because of editorial selections and the linguistic bias in IR.⁹¹⁰

The alleged American composition of editorial boards, the rationalist preferences of American editors, the predilection for English and the ignorance of non-English language research by the American mainstream has arguably resulted in an American dominated discipline according to Jörg Friedrichs.⁹¹¹ The gate-keeping practices of American intellectual elites have arguably generated an image of the discipline as one to which largely only Americans contribute.⁹¹² The implications of American gate-keeping, it is claimed, has limited the range of scholarship available and has created exclusionary barriers for 'peripheral scholars'.⁹¹³ Academics outside of the loosely defined 'core' (usually noted in this instance to either mean the US alone, or Western, English speaking scholars) find structural blockades preventing their work from entering the international mainstream and having an influence. In other words, the

⁹⁰⁶ Tickner, "Seeing IR Differently", pp. 297-298.

⁹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁹⁰⁸ Anna Agathangelou and L. H. M. Ling "The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poisies of Worldism" *International Studies Review* 6 (4) (2004), pp. 21-50.

⁹⁰⁹ Andrei Tsygankov and Pavel Tsygankov (2007) "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR" *International Political Sociology* 1 (4) (2007), pp. 320.

⁹¹⁰ Jørgensen "Continental IR Theory", pp. 31.

⁹¹¹ Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 8.

⁹¹² Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell", pp. 167-186.

⁹¹³ Lucy Taylor "Decolonizing International Relations: Perspectives From Latin America" *International Studies Review* 14 (3) (2012), pp. 389.

discipline supposedly misses out on engaging with a multitude of perspectives that could and do offer new insights and methods of investigation because of the way the American mainstream allegedly policies the discipline.⁹¹⁴

The alleged exclusionary barriers that America has constructed, operate in such a manner as to raise the uncomfortable question of 'what options exist for scholars from the 'periphery'? It is argued that 'peripheral' scholars are left with a stark dilemma. One self-defined peripheral PhD student encapsulated the professed dilemma in an interview with Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews:

"You have to make a choice between being a nobody or being a somebody. Either you're going to work on core issues in which you have less confidence and less chance than others but which offers you the possibility to be a somebody if you can ever publish, or you're going to look to your comparative advantage as an international person, write and publish on a specific area, and be a nobody in the grand scheme of things".⁹¹⁵

Peripheral scholars appear to be presented with two equally unattractive options; 1) to attempt to enter the mainstream through becoming a regional/area specialist or 2) adhering to American standards of what is IR and what is acceptable scholarship. Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan have argued that one of the few ways that 'peripheral' scholars can enter into the mainstream literature is through being a 'local expert'⁹¹⁶ - thus using their peripheral status to their advantage. According to Petr Drulák peripheral scholars 'tend to be invited to international projects as regional experts who can provide local data but from whom no theoretical contributions are expected'.⁹¹⁷ However, in the alleged existing academic hierarchy within IR, area/regional studies are arguably placed in the lower tier, as you only, according to Ole Wæver, become an international star by doing theory.⁹¹⁸ Therefore 'peripheral' scholars may then feel pressured to opt for the second alternative, which could possibly permit entrance into the mainstream as inclusion is facilitated through cooption. Many see cooption as a dangerous state of affairs as the status quo is never challenged, and is actually perpetuated.⁹¹⁹ All the problems

⁹¹⁴ Caroline Thomas and Peter Wilkin "Still Waiting After All These Years: 'The Third World' on the Periphery of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6 (2) (2004), pp. 241-258.

⁹¹⁵ Aydinli and Mathews "Are the Core and Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 298.

⁹¹⁶ Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan "Conclusion: On the Possibility of Non-Western IR Theory in Asia" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3) (2007), pp. 430-431.

⁹¹⁷ Petr Drulák "Introduction to the International Relations (IR) in Central and Eastern Europe Forum" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 170.

⁹¹⁸ Wæver "Still a discipline After All These Debates?", pp. 297. According to Wæver there is a hierarchy in the discipline of IR with regards to academic areas of research and the attention and prestige they each receive. Wæver argues that IR theory is deemed to be the 'top tier', the realm, which gains the most attention and thus he claims you only become recognized, and a 'star' if you 'do' theory. Wæver claims that substantive, or rather empirical work adopts the middle tier, and the area/regional studies form the lower tier.

⁹¹⁹ J. Ann Tickner "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists" *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (4) (1997), pp. 611-632

cooption entails have been discussed in length in the previous chapters. Each chapter has dealt with the implications surrounding promoting the American intellectual agenda in its various composite parts (substantive focus, theory, method and institutional affiliation) and its alleged dominance in-depth. The point I simply wish to stress here, is that the claims surrounding American dominance in its gate-keeping format arguably presents all academics with a stark choice, either adhere to the journal editors' preferences (who are apparently predominantly American and 'rationalist') or face being rejected and therefore not being published in the international journals, thereby inhibiting one's international reputation and the associated material gains.

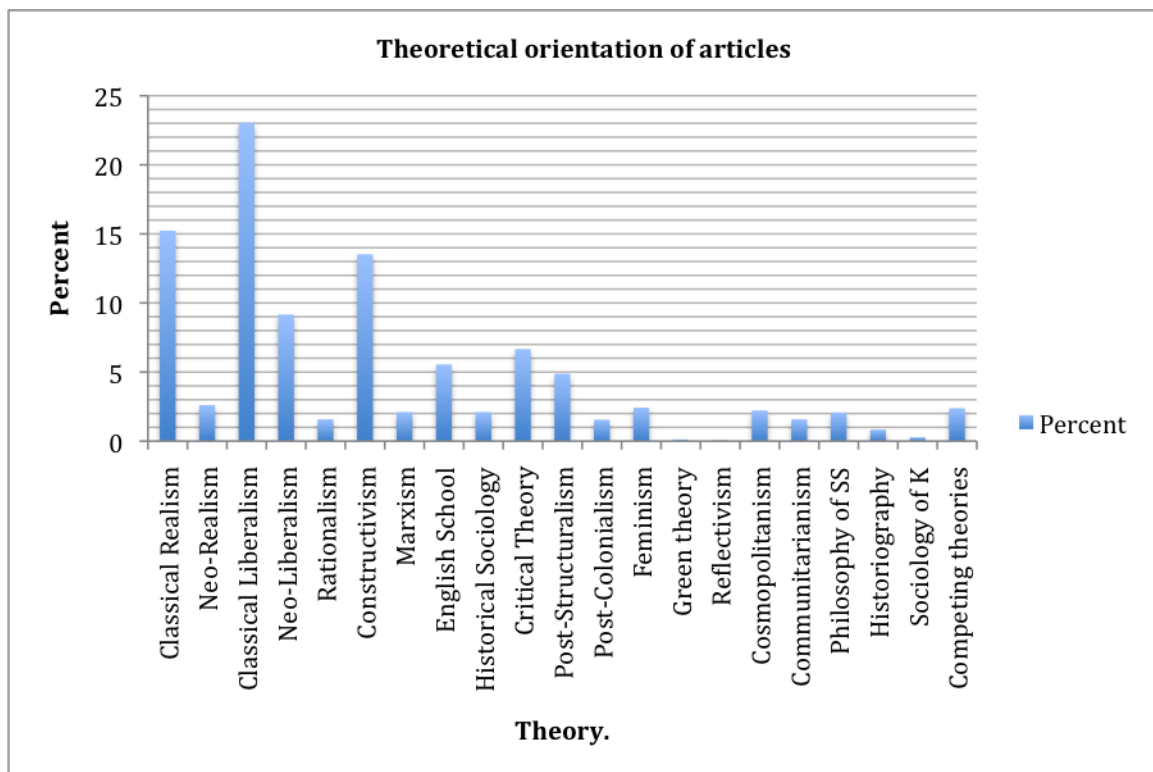
By focusing purely on the dominance of American editors and their rationalist agendas such accounts of American dominance in its gate-keeping form have overlooked; 1) the role of reviewers through focusing on the role of the editor; 2) the role of external actors such as Thomson Reuters; 3) other gate-keeping strategies and 4) the dynamics of diversity and internationalization that also exist. Furthermore, the discipline's journals that were investigated for this thesis did not operate as mirror images of the American mainstream's preferences. The results of study into 12 of the discipline's journal differed from the image of the discipline put forth by Tickner, Adylini and Mathews for example. Rather than adhering to the rationalist mainstream's agenda the journals explored published a wide variety of research from different theoretical perspectives, using a wide range of methodological approaches, by an international group of scholars. The diversity of scholarship published challenges the notions that the US is able to police the discipline to such an extent that non-rationalist scholarship is marginalized. The next section will present the results of the journal and conference investigation, and highlight that other gate-keeping strategies are also employed. In doing so this chapter will suggest that the above claims of American dominance that proliferate in the literature and discipline may be over exaggerated, because they miss the diverse and international inclinations underway and the fact that the academics in gate-keeping roles are not solely or predominantly American.

Pluralism and Internationalism.

Firstly, looking at the overall inclinations in the discipline exhibited by research published in the 12 journals examined the claims of American dominance exercised through its gate-keeping abilities are challenged due to the plural academic environment. Secondly, through investigating the geographical composition of the editorial boards of the 12 journals explored, another diverse image begins to emerge. Instead of a primarily American group the discipline's gate-keepers are 'international' in both their location and 'outlooks'. Finally, the interviews conducted with a number of leading journal editors revealed an existing effort underway to 'internationalise' the field further, not only in terms of academics but also the make-up of the editorial boards. The disciplinary dynamics of diversity and internationalization are highlighted in this section, and in

doing so the image of the discipline that emerges is one a discipline that is plural and gate-kept by an international elite that is equally heterogeneous and aiming to internationalise the discipline. In the process the claim that scholarship is marginalized in terms of where it is from or its theoretical orientation is challenged. Instead this chapter will suggest that the gate-keeping practices occurring are being conducted in a much subtler fashion and by an international, as opposed to American, group. The following section, will then detail the gate-keeping practices underway, and how the manner in which they are occurring in IR is not what the majority of the literature is depicting.

As previously mentioned those who argue that IR is an American discipline claim that through editorial selection research that threatens to disrupt the boundaries of the discipline or deviates from the traditional agenda is arguably rejected and therefore not published in the leading journals.⁹²⁰ What this means is that the American gate-keepers are said to privilege work that is either 1) realist, neo-realist or neo-liberal or conventional constructivist, 2) employs game theoretic or other rationalist methods and 3) is produced by Americans. However, if we look at figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 these assumptions are challenged. If the US is exercising its dominance it is doing it through other means, or employing different criteria for inclusion and exclusion.



Key: P of SS = Philosophy of social science; Sociology of K = Sociology of knowledge.

Figure 5.1: The theories used in 12 of the discipline’s international journals from 1999-2009.

⁹²⁰ For example see Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 374-402; Tickner “Seeing IR Differently”, pp. 295-324; and Wæver “The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline”, pp. 687-727.

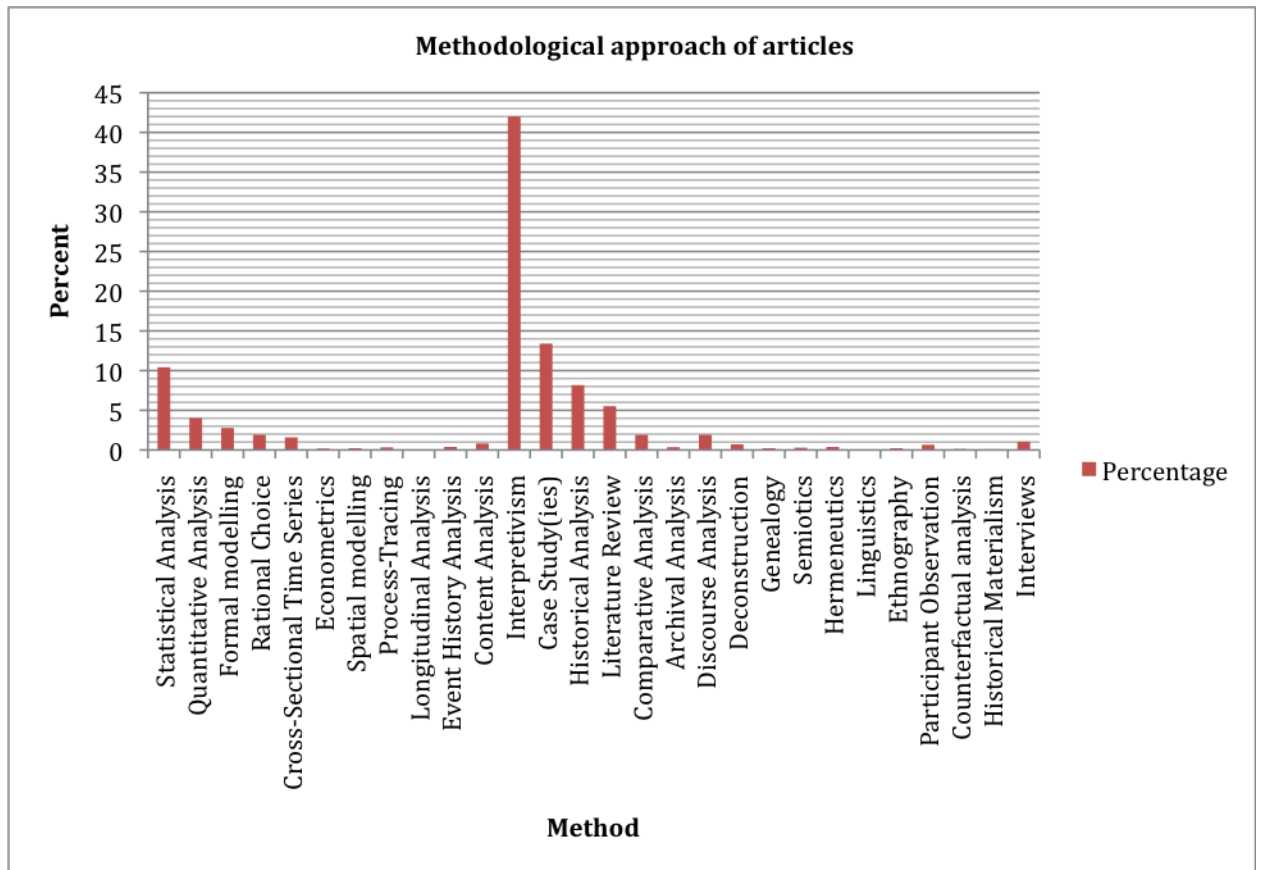


Figure 5.2: The methodologies used in 12 of the discipline’s international journals from 1999-2009.

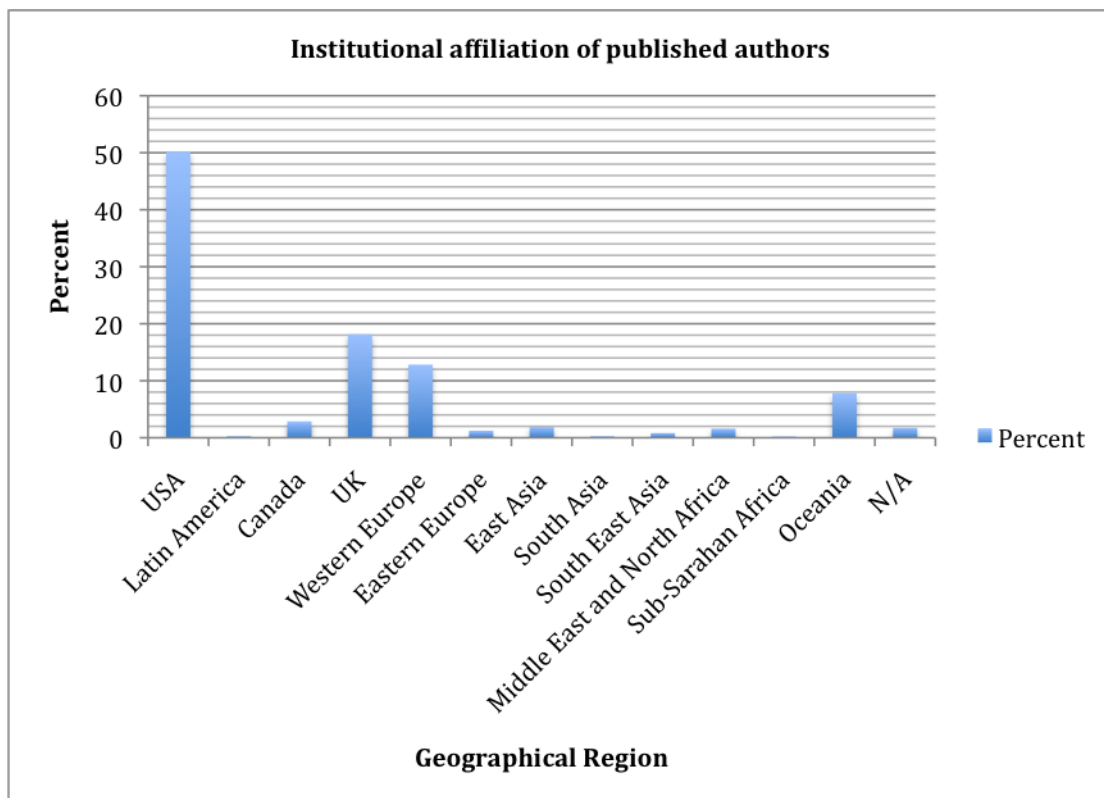


Figure 5.3: The institutional affiliation of academics published in 12 of the discipline’s international journals from 1999-2009.

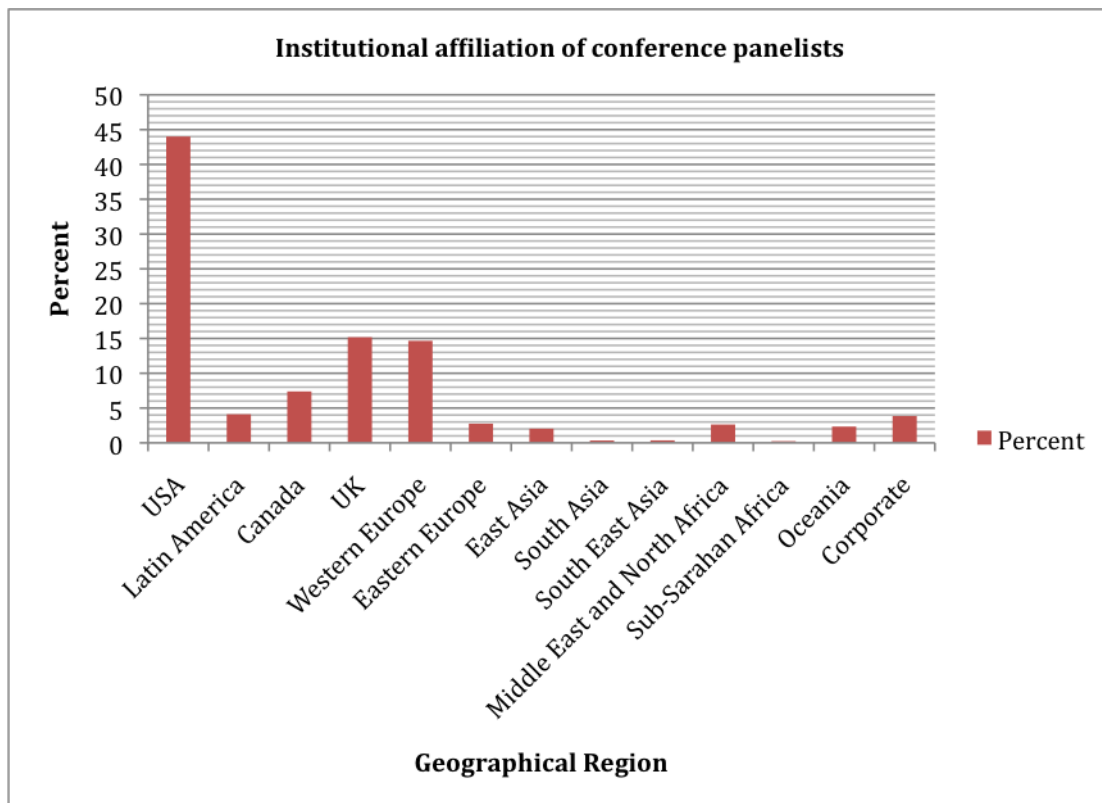


Figure 5.4: The institutional affiliation of participants in the BISA, CEEISA, ISA and ISA-Joint Conventions from 2005-2011 (Chairs, panelists, paper-givers).

The results suggest that the discipline is plural in both theoretical and methodological terms (see figures 5.1 and 5.2) and that the discipline is fairly international in terms of who is being published (see figures 5.3 and 5.4). Whilst the discipline is not as ‘international’ as it could be, over time the discipline has become more international in terms of who comprises the global discipline and who is contributing to debates etc. For example, figures 5.3 and 5.4 show that there is a growing presence of Turkish, Japanese, Chinese, and South American scholars participating and being published in the global discipline, thereby illustrating the growth of non-Western IR communities. Taking the above into consideration and looking at the amount of non-rationalist research taking place and the number of non-Western academics that have made their way into the international realm we can argue that widespread gate-keeping practices and therefore decisions of inclusion and exclusion are not being made on where an article is from or whether it adopts elements of the American mainstream model of IR. The degree of multiplicity and internationalization challenges a number of disciplinary depictions and accounts. It seems that instead of rejecting work based on the institutional affiliation of authors or their theoretical or methodological persuasion as the claims in the literature imply, the general reality is that a different set of guidelines are informing the majority of decisions as to whether an article should be published and therefore enter the international realm.

There was one theoretical silence however, which suggests that one group of scholarship may be being excluded on theoretical grounds despite the seeming trends for diversity. There

was a notable lack of feminist scholarship featured. Figure 5.5 shows the small amount of feminist research that was present in the journals investigated from 1999-2009. When questioned on the paucity of feminist research one journal editor commented, “there is a lot of nasty gate-keeping against feminist scholarship. The marginalization of feminist scholarship has been widely documented and has resulted in feminist scholars establishing their own forums in which to publish.”⁹²¹ Many feminist scholars have argued how their research is ignored, disparaged, and above all excluded from the discipline’s journals.⁹²² As Jill Steans notes “feminist voices continue to be marginalized, ignored or appropriated in the interests of advancing a mainstream agenda”.⁹²³

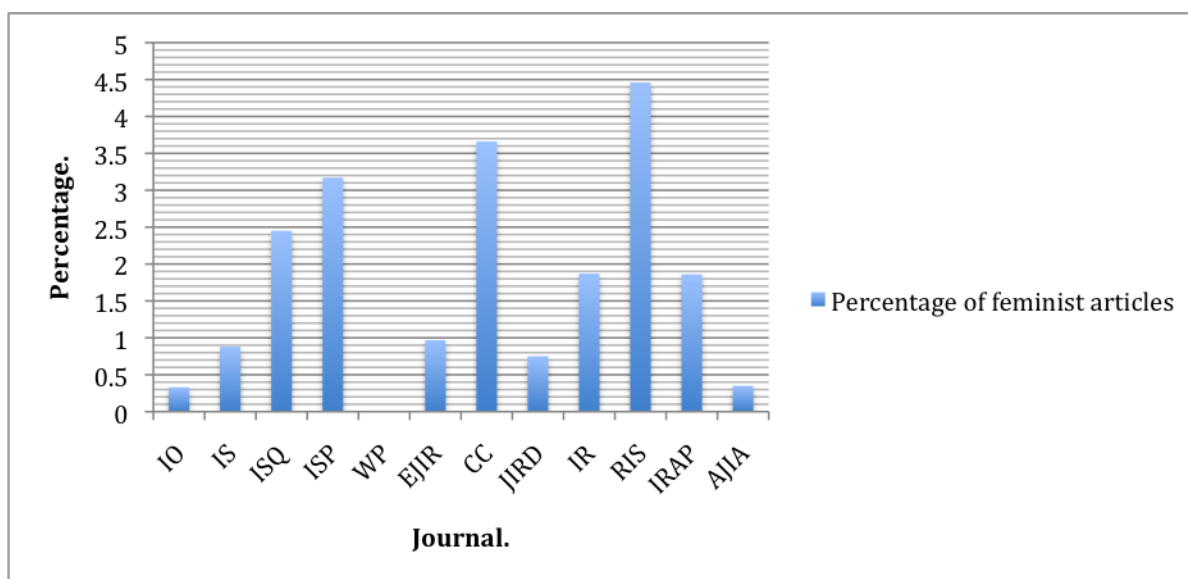


Figure 5.5: The percentage of feminist articles published in 12 international journals from 1999-2009.

Past practices of gate-keeping have resulted in feminists publishing elsewhere and also establishing their own journals such as the *International Feminist Journal of Politics* and *Politics and Gender*. The question is then raised of whether gate-keeping practices against feminist work still exist or whether feminist research is actually being sent into to publications reviewed? According to the journal editors interviewed the low numbers of feminist research being published in the discipline’s journals was due to the small numbers of submissions, most likely because of fears of gate-keeping, rather than the prohibitory practices of editors. All the editors

⁹²¹ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

⁹²² A. S. Runyan “Still Not ‘At Home’ in IR: Feminist World Politics Ten Years Later” *International Politics* 39 (3) (2002), pp. 361-368; V. Spike Peterson “Transgressing Boundaries: Theories of Knowledge, Gender and International Relations” *Millennium* 21 (2) (1992), pp. 183-206; and Marysia Zalewski “Do We Understand Each Other Yet? Troubling Feminist Encounters With(in) International Relations” *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9 (2) (2007), pp. 302-312.

⁹²³ Jill Steans “Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the ‘Mainstream’ of International Relations” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5 (3) (2003), pp. 449.

interviewed when questioned on the lack of feminist articles present in their respective publications from 1999-2009 pointed to the dearth of submissions. One editor stated;

“People think that there is a conspiracy and that we kill the [feminist] piece as soon as it comes in. But the truth is that we just don’t get sent it, and didn’t get it before in the 1990s. My sense is that there is less of it [feminism] being done than people think. Because I don’t know where else it is going, I don’t see it showing up anywhere else”.⁹²⁴

Whereas another claimed;

“The main problem that we have is that people aren’t sending in the stuff. I think it is because a lot of feminist scholars have their own well-established feminist networks of journals and publications and peer reviews and so on ... They have their own spaces for things. When I have asked them [feminists] why they don’t send things to other kinds of places outside that network, they regale me with horror stories of what happened the last time they did”.⁹²⁵

These insights suggest that feminists presume their work will be met with incomprehension and rejected, therefore they send their research to specialized publications. It seems, according to the editors interviewed, that past negative (and at times shocking) experiences of gate-keeping are structuring present choices regarding publication outlets. The fear of meeting resistance from reviewers is arguably conditioning journal content. We can with some certainty argue that the lack of submissions is not because there is little feminist research taking place, for the conference investigation revealed an active feminist IR community engaging in many debates and issues. There were numerous panels taking place in all of the conferences examined, however audience response may not be as receptive as desired.⁹²⁶

Despite the reassurances from the editors interviewed that gate-keeping does not take place, and that feminist work is sent to appropriate reviewers and is not actively marginalized on theoretical grounds, there is of course no guarantee that such practices have ceased. The current pluralistic composition of the discipline however, bodes well for the inclusion of feminist work, if feminist scholars choose to submit their work to certain journals, but of course there is no guarantee that such work will be met with ‘open arms’. Biases indeed may be firmly entrenched and skirmishes between feminist scholars and the mainstream may continue as a result of negative past experiences, harboured resentment and mutual incomprehension. It seems what Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes term the ‘wounds of gender’ are being reopened⁹²⁷ by both parties through reenacting their predefined and expected positions, and consequently inhibiting the amount of feminist research being published.

Looking at the gate-keepers themselves, according to Steve Smith the group of academics in the political positions of editors and reviewers are preponderantly American, and

⁹²⁴ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

⁹²⁵ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

⁹²⁶ Tickner “You Just Don’t Understand”, pp. 612.

⁹²⁷ Judith Squires and Jutta Weldes “Beyond Being Marginal: Gender and International Relations in Britain” *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9 (2) (2007), pp. 192.

this structural dominance is indicative of American disciplinary dominance.⁹²⁸ Upon further examination the reality is that there is a geographically diverse group of academics in these positions of power. Figure 5.6 shows the geographical make-up of the editorial boards of the twelve journals investigated, and that whilst 49.4% of scholars on editorial boards are American 50.6% are not and are from a diverse array of institutions located around the world. Once again the disciplinary actuality after empirical analysis differs somewhat from the widely held assumption in the field.

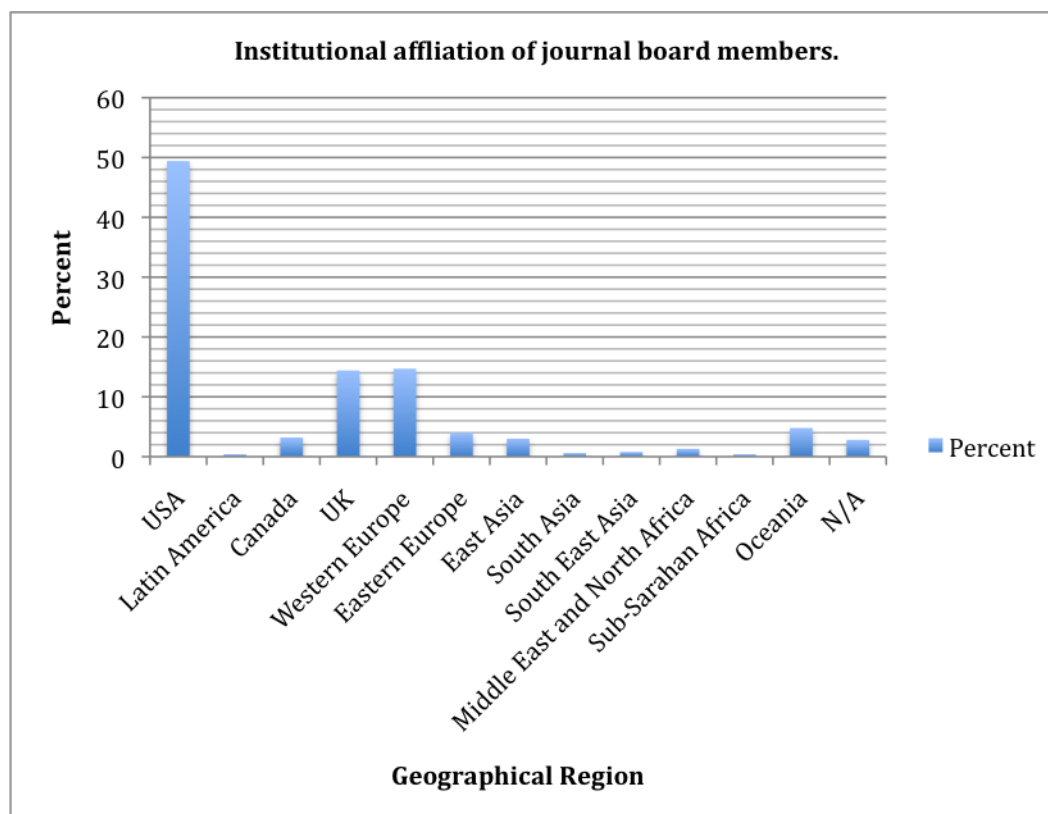


Figure 5.6: The geographical institutional affiliation for members of the editorial boards of 12 of the discipline’s international journals from 1999-2009.

The geographical spread of academics on the editorial boards mirrors the institutional composition of the field in terms of academics published in the discipline’s journals. If we look at figures 5.3 and 5.6 together we see a similar trend in action. The degree to which the same countries populate the discipline is approximately paralleled; the US, Oceania, the UK and Europe feature more prominently but scholars from institutions located elsewhere, especially Turkey, are diversifying the field by holding such pivotal positions. Although American members comprise a majority they are not overwhelmingly dominant, as roughly half of the members of the editorial boards are from non-American universities. Furthermore, the higher percentage of American’s on the editorial boards is most likely due to a number of factors including 1) the greater proportion of American journals included in the sample (5 out of 12); 2) the sheer size of

⁹²⁸ Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 383.

the American IR community in comparison to the others and 3) the relatively new state of certain non-Western IR communities.⁹²⁹ Overall, just as the field seems to be internationalizing in terms of who is publishing the field it is also internationalizing in terms of who makes these decisions.

Taking a closer look at this group of scholars one is able to further challenge the certain notions that are prevalent in the discipline.⁹³⁰ Arguably, if all the members of the editorial boards were 'rationalist' for example, one could still claim that the American IR community is predominant in this manner. However, by crudely bifurcating the discipline I was able to provide an insight into whether the members of the editorial boards adhered to the American scholarly agenda. After investigating the biographies of each member they were then categorized as either 'traditional' or 'critical' in terms of their research agenda. As the information was limited I was not able to ascertain whether these scholars specifically adhered to the American mainstream's notions of acceptable scholarship, so I broadened out the understanding of the American mainstream to incorporate not only rationalists, but also those academics who address issues associated with the traditional concerns of the field in a manner that can be considered 'problem solving' as defined by Robert Cox.⁹³¹ Whereas the 'critical' category was employed as an umbrella term for work that challenges the traditional boundaries of the field, and research that adopts 'critical' theories,⁹³² and an emancipatory agenda.

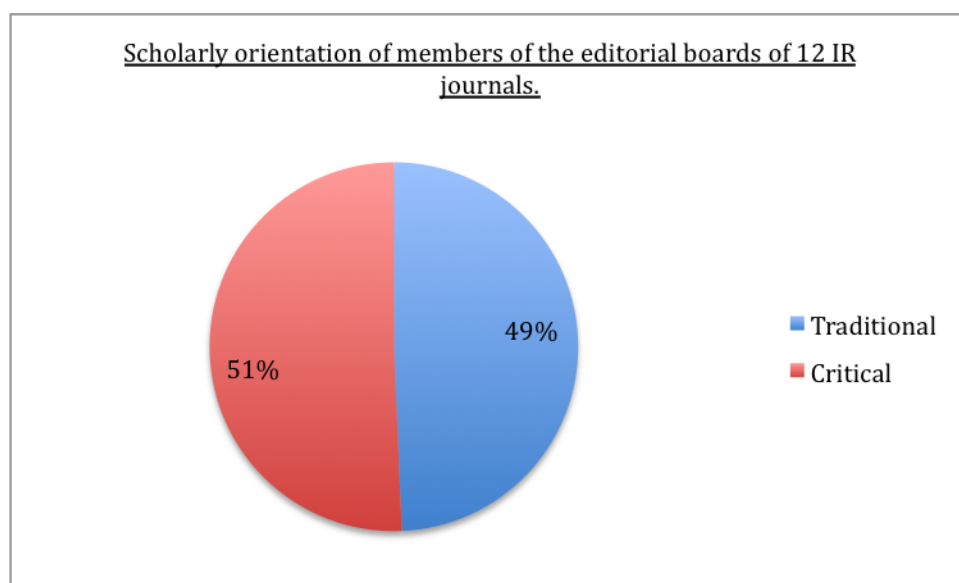


Figure 5.7: Orientation of the research agenda for members on the editorial boards of the 12 IR journals investigated in 2012.

⁹²⁹ For more on the relative size of the US IR community in comparison to others, and the development of non-American IR academies see the previous chapter.

⁹³⁰ The claims made by Tickner "Seeing IR Differently", pp. 295-324; Aydinli and Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 289-303; and Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 374-402 for instance are brought into question.

⁹³¹ Robert Cox "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory" *Millennium* 10 (2) (1981), pp. 128-129.

⁹³² By critical theories I mean all those housed under the 'reflectivist' and 'post-positivist' labels, such as constructivism, Critical Theory, post-Marxism, post-structuralism, post-colonialism, green theory, feminism and historical sociology.

Figure 5.7 shows that 49.3% of the editorial board members of the journal examined are of a 'traditional' scholarly nature whereas 50.7% can be classed as 'critical'. This fairly even split can be used to challenge claims suggesting that there is a 'rationalist' dominance of editorial board members. If one were to gather more information I am fairly certain that the number of 'rationalist' and therefore strictly American mainstream scholars would account for a relatively small number of the 49.3% of academics categorized as 'traditional'. The cursory glance conducted revealed that the majority of those classified as traditional were of a 'classical' variant, meaning operating within the confines of realism and liberalism and focusing on the 'traditional' agenda, as opposed to 'rationalist' understood in the methodological sense. This brief insight into the composition of the discipline's editorial boards shows that the members of the various editorial boards do not comprise a homogeneous group.

Turning our attention to the editors of the 12 journals investigated we can see that this group is also diverse, not only in terms of where they are institutionally based but also their theoretical orientation, which again works to question the claims made regarding the way the discipline is gate-kept. Table 5.1 shows this group comprises 17 different academics, of which only 5 are based at American institutions. Rather than a group of primarily American scholars the discipline's gate-keepers are from a number of different geographical settings with differing academic interests. The reality is that most journals choose editors from the national setting that the journal is linked to, for example the *Review of International Studies* is the flagship journal of the British International Association therefore the editor tends to always be from a British Institution in order to keep with the mandate of BISA.⁹³³

| Journal | Managing Editor(s) in 2011. | Institutional Affiliation of Editor(s) in 2011. |
|--|--|--|
| Australian Journal of International Affairs. | Andrew O'Neil. | Griffith University, Australia. |
| Cooperation and Conflict. | Lee Miles. Jan Angstrom. | Karlstad University, Sweden. Uppsala University, Sweden. |
| European Journal of International Relations. | Tim Dunne. Lene Hansen. Colin Wight. | University of Exeter, UK. University of Copenhagen, Denmark. University of Exeter, UK. |
| International Organization. | Emmanuel Adler. Louis Pauly. | University of Toronto, Canada. University of Toronto, Canada. |
| International Relations. | Ken Booth. | Aberystwyth University, UK. |
| International Relations of the Asia Pacific. | Yoshihide Soeya. G. John Ikenberry. | Keio University, Japan. Princeton University, USA. |
| International Security. | Steven E. Miller. | Harvard University, USA. |
| International Studies Quarterly. | William Thompson. | University of Indiana, USA. |
| International Studies Perspectives. | Douglas A. Van Belle. | Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. |

⁹³³ There are notable exceptions, for instance looking at figure six we can see that Douglas Van Belle from the University of Wellington is the managing editor of the American journal *International Studies Perspectives*.

| | | |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Journal of International Relations and Development. | Patrick Thaddeus Jackson. | American University, USA. |
| Review of International Studies. | Nicholas Rengger. | University of St Andrews, UK. |
| World Politics. | Atul Kohli. | Princeton University, USA. |

Table 5.1: The institutional affiliation of the managing editors for 12 of the discipline’s international journals in 2011.

Not only are the editors from a wide range of institutions located around the world, also the editors in terms of their research interests and theoretical positions are very diverse. Looking at the list of academics above they range in their issue areas from critical feminist security studies, English school theory, international political economy and the philosophy of social science, and cover the theoretical spectrum from realism to post-structuralism. We once again find the dynamic of scholarly pluralism underway.

Moreover, the discipline’s gate-keepers appear to be not only embodying the discipline’s diverse and international composition but also promoting and constructing it. Each of the editors interviewed were aware of the need for their journals to be representative of global scholarship taking place and to be actively ‘international’ in terms of their authorship and internal structure. According to one editor:

“The board is quite committed to internationalizing the journal. We are encouraging submissions from around the world, and this has been partially successful, mostly with the Europeans, less successful with the Asian scholars, but that’s coming, and coming very rapidly. There are a rising number of Asian submissions, and everything is reviewed the same way. The rate of submissions outside of North America is rising, however the number of acceptances has not changed as rapidly as we might have liked”.⁹³⁴

Each editor expressed a commitment to internationalizing their journal in terms of making sure academics from around the world are being published in the respective publications. However, editors can only publish what they receive, as one editor commented, “We can only publish what we get sent. We are not overly proactive, we tend to rely on what the community sends us, and this is why we have to keep an eye on how plural we are”.⁹³⁵ The wish to internationalise the field co-exists with the practical considerations of what gets submitted. Even though the editors seem to be expressing their desire to actively seek and encourage submissions from a broader array of scholars, and in some cases the editors I spoke to have gone out and elicited certain pieces, on the whole editors can only consciously increase the geographical profile of the discipline if the scholarship is sent in.

The expressed efforts underway to internationalize the field challenge the claims in the literature surrounding the notion that journal editors are excluding non-American, and specifically non-Western scholars. As one editor firmly stated, “We don’t discriminate on where

⁹³⁴ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹³⁵ Interviewed journal editor number 1.

people come from, frankly it is unethical and the wrong thing to do”.⁹³⁶ The trend to broaden the discipline in terms of geographical diversity was not confined to the pages of the journals, rather each journal editor seemed committed to also making sure that their editorial boards and committees were also representative of the global community of IR scholars. Whilst one editor noted that “The board is disproportionately American, with more American based scholars” they also argued that “this is beginning to change, increasingly over the last few years there are scholars from the UK, from Germany and from Israel”.⁹³⁷ These insights highlight the dynamics of diversity and internationalism occurring in the discipline and how the discipline’s journal editors are actively claiming to shape the field so that it is more international and diverse not only in terms of what is published but also the structure of the discipline.

Regarding the issue of language the journal editors interviewed were aware of how this presents non-English speaking scholars with a disadvantage. As one editor commented “We try and deal with the English issue as sympathetically as we can, and we will go to great lengths with the publishers to proof read and suggest changes ourselves to bring the English up to the required standards”.⁹³⁸ Another argued, “You have to make the effort sometimes to get the good articles from certain countries up to standards. For example, you get a submission and the content is really good, but the language isn’t great and it needs some work. It is worth putting in that work, also from the journal’s point of view having those international connections is very important”.⁹³⁹ Another admitted to relaxing stylistic standards to help the inclusion of non-Western research.⁹⁴⁰ Despite the efforts of editors to internationalize the field through encouraging submissions and actively helping to overcome the language barrier the issue of standards cannot always be surmounted as one editor noted:

“We do get many submissions from outside of Europe, and some of them make it but unfortunately a lot of it doesn’t. It is the same thing as being a graduate student; you have to learn how to write academic articles and you also have to write for specific journals, and this is a learning process. IR is still young, and social science is still young in certain parts of the world so that learning process is still on going”.⁹⁴¹

IR’s infant state in some countries once again seems to in part explain why the discipline is not as international as it could be. However, as the editor above points out over time we can hope this will change, as IR develops in certain states the composition of the global discipline should reflect this and become even more diverse.

⁹³⁶ Interviewed journal editor number 3.

⁹³⁷ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹³⁸ Interviewed journal editor number 1.

⁹³⁹ Interviewed journal editor number 3.

⁹⁴⁰ Interviewed journal editor number 8.

⁹⁴¹ Interviewed journal editor number 4.

There is no escaping the fact that English is the dominant mode of expression in IR.⁹⁴² However, rather than using this state of affairs to exclude certain scholarship the editors in question appear to be working with authors whose first language is not English to help them become published. The discipline's gate-keepers do not appear to be accentuating the bias in place through excluding research based on poor English language standards and using language as a barrier as Nossal for example argues,⁹⁴³ instead they are facilitating the inclusion of such research.

Taking all the above into account it seems that the disciplinary depictions of IR being dominated by a group of American rationalist scholars does not capture the current state of affairs. The content of the discipline's journals is more diverse and international than is commonly perceived. Furthermore, those in editorial positions were from various institutions around the globe, and that whilst American's were a prominent group they were not predominant as those who argue that America is intellectually hegemonic claim. Editorial decisions it seems are not being founded upon adherence a narrow set of parameters, which marginalizes non-American non-rationalist scholarship. Rather they are made upon the standard of work being submitted and in light of practical considerations. What this means is that other gate-keeping practices are occurring which are not encapsulated by the body of literature that argues the US exercises its disciplinary dominance through policing the discipline's published content. This next section will explore the other and more common gate-keeping practices taking place, and how they are operationalised through the discourse of standards and whether a manuscript 'fits' with a journal. Through exploring the various practices of editorial interventions and the role of reviewers (which is often overlooked) this chapter will show how the discipline is being subtly shaped.

The Gate-Keeping Underway.

There seem to be two prominent ways in which the discipline's gate-keepers can, and do, police the discipline and thus steer the field. Firstly through invoking standards and secondly through efforts to maintain a journal's identity, meaning manuscripts can be rejected if they do not 'fit' with the aims and scope of a journal. Editors can use these grounds to reject articles and can do so in a severe gate-keeping manner, but due to the existing plurality in the publication realm such practices seem to be the exception as opposed to the norm. On the whole those in positions of power seem to be subtly shaping the field rather than acting out a rationalist American agenda.

According to one editor:

⁹⁴² See for instance Jørgensen "Continental IR Theory", pp. 9-42 and Nossal "The Tales That Textbooks Tell", pp. 167-186.

⁹⁴³ Nossal, "Tales That Textbooks Tell", pp. 167-186.

“If an article comes in and we decide it is worth reviewing; as there is an initial screening process. The screening process is light, often it is something that is inappropriate for the journal, for example it may better belong in an economic journal, or it’s an early graduate student paper that was insufficiently vetted by their advisors, in these cases we can’t waste the time of the reviewers. However, this screen does not work on a substantive basis. Nothing gets ruled out on substantive, or ideological, or methodological grounds. If an article comes in and gets passed the screening process we find reviewers that will give constructive yet sympathetic reviews.”⁹⁴⁴

Obviously it is the editors themselves who define and construct the standards and what constitutes a ‘fit’. This can be used in a fashion to marginalize certain forms of scholarship, as one editor commented “In International Relations part of the problem is that everybody has a different view of how the discipline works. Not all editors are equally interested in diversity, for diversity’s sake, but they all have an interest in maintaining qualitative standards according to their interpretations of how International Relations works”.⁹⁴⁵ Articles are ultimately at the mercy of individuals and their interpretations of standards and whether an article is acceptable for review and then perhaps publication. This can either be used in a gate-keeping manner in order for editors to implement their own agenda and publish work that agrees with their assumptions of how world politics operates. If editors were to behave in such a way however and if ‘enough rejection slips were to go out people would begin to talk’,⁹⁴⁶ one could argue that the future of the journal could be placed in jeopardy, as academics could potentially begin to cease sending in their work. Whilst the issue of standards can be used to exclude work, it can also apparently be used in a positive manner. One editor argued:

“At the end of the day the editors make decisions, and we decide what we think should be passing muster. That can be used in gate-keeping way or in a way, that I like to think we do it, is not so much gate-keeping but about making sure there is a certain type of dialogue, and scholarly exchange that is being promoted through the kinds of things we are bringing in”.⁹⁴⁷

Despite fears of gate-keeping it is important that standards are upheld in order for the discipline of IR to function as an academic enterprise.⁹⁴⁸ Editors have to uphold a notion of standards to ensure that their journal is publishing the best research in order to maintain or create their own prestige within the publication hierarchy. In order for the journal system to function standards must be monitored,⁹⁴⁹ and whilst there is no guarantee that work will not be actively marginalized we have to hope that editors behave with a sense of responsibility towards the academic community and use the language of standards to preserve the reputation of a

⁹⁴⁴ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁴⁵ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

⁹⁴⁶ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁴⁷ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

⁹⁴⁸ Richard Whitley *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 155-158.

⁹⁴⁹ Stephen McGinty *Gatekeepers of Knowledge: Journal Editors in the Sciences and Social Sciences* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999), pp. 4.

journal and to benefit the scholarly community. The diversity of research that has been published in the ten years investigated suggests that the standards barrier is being used in a largely appropriate manner, and that the editors in question have not widely used this in a strict gate-keeping manner in order to shape the field according to their preferences. However, there are bound to be cases that are exceptions to this trend as there are no assurances that work sent in will be met with comprehension and treated in a compassionate manner.

Another way that work can be marginalized in the discipline of IR is whether it is in keeping with a journal's identity. If research does not conform to the aims and scope of a publication this can be used as grounds to reject work. As one editor explained:

“If we get a piece that doesn't fit the journal, no matter how good it is, we will reject it at the editorial level and tell the author that is the grounds upon which it has been rejected. Rejections after the refereeing process are always done in consultation with all the editors. We are aware that there are certain things we like as editors and certain things we don't, despite our best efforts at controlling those biases they are often impossible to rule out completely”.⁹⁵⁰

Judgements have to be made, and each journal has its own reputation and is renowned for different things, for example some are theoretically heavy, others are more economically focused, or policy oriented. It is arguably important to maintain the various identities as this ensures that there is space in any given discipline for all types of research and supports the growth of subfields and research networks and communities. Again whilst there is no guarantee that editor's preferences do not come into play and thus exclude work through using the explanation of the 'fit' with a journal, there is an important focus attached to making sure space is carved out in the discipline for all manner of IR research.⁹⁵¹

Moreover, there is also a practical reason for editors to make sure the identity of their publication is maintained. Editors have to take their audiences into consideration when making decisions, as they are accountable for maintaining readerships and this is achieved through satisfying audiences. The editors themselves are partially restricted and do not have complete room for maneuver. According to one editor they described the business of compiling a journal's content and by extension shaping the content of the discipline as an “an intermitted process”.⁹⁵² They argued that it is “not a top-down decision, it is one based on the audience. There's an audience that expects a certain kind of article, you can move the audience a little bit, and they gradually move over time”.⁹⁵³ Despite the common image of a domineering editor shaping the contours of the discipline through acting out their preferences⁹⁵⁴ the reality is that such preferences and behaviours are conditioned and tampered because editors have to meet audience expectations. The gate-keeping that takes place is then partially dependent on the

⁹⁵⁰ Interviewed journal editor number 1.

⁹⁵¹ Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 157.

⁹⁵² Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁵³ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁵⁴ For such an example see Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 374-402 and Aydinli and Mathews “Are the Core and Periphery Irreconcilable?”, pp. 289-303.

community of scholars and readers of specific journals. Each journal has a reputation, which attracts a specific audience; the journal editors must then uphold this reputation in order to satisfy the existing readership. Whilst the reputation can be shifted this must occur at a slight pace in order to meet expectations. The situation is mutually reinforcing and means that whilst gate-keeping does occur, the manner in which it does is not solely due to the editors' whims but their responsibility to their audience, or in other words the academic community. Whilst the editors have the final judgment call, these are often made with the audience in mind.

Gate-keeping practices clearly take place in the discipline, and in some sense they are unavoidable for they serve a crucial function in that they preserve spaces for research, fuel dialogue, and by publishing quality research (however defined) this benefits the community at large. Although these criteria may be employed in a negative rather than positive manner at times, overall due to the diversity and plurality of research published, it seems that the power of exclusion has been wielded in a largely responsible manner. It is through these practices that the field is shaped in a subtle way. Editors can steer the field in certain directions, for example as Robert Keohane argued, "The advantage of being a journal editor is that you are at the centre of this process [constructing the intellectual agenda]. You can see it and you can shape it to some extent".⁹⁵⁵ The extent to which this steering takes place is not universal, the amount of editorial interventions changes from publication to publication. Some of the editors interviewed acknowledged that they were more interventionist than their peers and went out of their way to solicit articles and create certain spaces and conversations. Some relied heavily upon the decisions of the reviewers involved and others outwardly declared that they would not be confined by their reviewers. Each journal seems to have a different approach and attitude to the relationship with their reviewers and how interventionist they as editors should be. This divergent attitude is captured in the following statements:

"We are less interventionist than most. If you don't respect the review process what's the point in having it? The whole reason to have anonymous external reviews is so that the field is not shaped or misshaped by a strong domineering editor".⁹⁵⁶

"Part of our responsibilities as journal editors is not to be completely enslaved to our reviewers. Where, for example, the reviewers might be really negative about an article, but we think it has promise, so we will try and push the article and give the author another chance to improve".⁹⁵⁷

There is a delicate balance in operation between the decisions of reviewers and those of the editors and it is through these processes and their outcomes that the field is shaped and constructed.

⁹⁵⁵ Robert Keohane in an interview with Harry Kriesler, *Conversations with History*, interview series hosted at the University of Berkeley, November 2004.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5foxGFXNI-s> (Accessed on the 04/03/12).

⁹⁵⁶ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁵⁷ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

Whilst editors have the first and final decision it is often the reviewers who decide the fate of an article. Reviewers have a large role in molding the field, however the extent to which they actually do depends on the editor in question. One editor who described themselves as interventionist stated that “We’ve been hands on about how we go about editing our pieces and shepherding reviewers and mediating what the reviewers say and so on”.⁹⁵⁸ Whereas others described their role as primarily liaising between authors and the reviewers and basing their decisions on those of the reviewers, and only intervening when the reviewer reports disagreed. Many of the editors interviewed claimed they primarily went with the decision of the reviewers instead of against them due to the fear of irritating reviewers because as one editor commented “it is getting increasingly difficult to acquire the reviewers”.⁹⁵⁹ One editor stated that “I do think what is more important in terms of contributing to the discipline is reviewing”⁹⁶⁰ owing to the decision making power they exert. Reviewer’s comments obviously shape articles and what is published most of the time is dependent on their decisions. What is evident is that there is no uniform process, and with each editor the balance between the editors and reviewers can tip either way. Even though some editors are more interventionist than others, it is the reviewers who have a large part in deciding what is published, as one editor noted “what makes it through this process [publication] is not determined by the editors, but the reviewers”.⁹⁶¹ Whilst the editors seem to attract more scholarly attention in the debates over gate-keeping the role of the reviewer should not be overlooked, and therefore individual reviewing practices questioned and reflected upon. Reviewers have a crucial responsibility to the academic community and especially in providing guidance to young career academics. The situation is therefore not as simplistic as many accounts depict, the reality of the politics surrounding publication is a balance between editors, reviewers and the audience, the outcome of which sculpts the field. As one editor commented:

“Do you want to be seen as contradicting the reviewers? No, we want to be seen as taking the wisdom of both reviewers and then deciding to side with one or the other, and as such we are advising the following. Do we have a subtle steering at this point? Yes, it is what makes the job interesting. Do we have a subtle role to play in steering final drafts? Yes, absolutely. Would I say this was interventionist? I would rather say there is room for judgement to be used, and you can as a consequence shape articles and you do so by not misshaping them”.⁹⁶²

Another way in which editors can subtly steer the field is through compiling special issues or forums for instance. Editors have the power to construct certain spaces through publishing special issues, thereby raising the profile of a scholarly issue or an area of interest. Furthermore through the use of forums editors are able to promote certain conversations and debates. As one editor stated; “One of the things that we did deliberately with the journal is that

⁹⁵⁸ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

⁹⁵⁹ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

⁹⁶⁰ Interviewed journal editor number 3.

⁹⁶¹ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁶² Interviewed journal editor number 5.

the team went in with the idea that we would actively solicit certain types of special issues and certain kinds of short intervention forums because we really wanted to try and create certain kinds of spaces”.⁹⁶³ Once again there is no universal conduct with regards to publishing special issues, just as there is no universal relationship with reviewers in practice. Not all journals publish special issues, for example some association journals do not have the mandate to do this, and some editors choose not to. In most cases the decision to put together and publish a special issues has to be negotiated with the publisher, and in regards to whether such an issue would attract readers.

The question of special issues and forums etc is important because they allow editors to operate outside of the review process and can therefore seek out or agree to publish items that are more in line with their preferences or points they wish to make. It is through this arena that editors can more explicitly shape the discipline. However, most editors interviewed when questioned on the matter of special issues etc argued that if they did them it was for the purposes of 1) highlighting a timely debate, or responding to a contemporary issue for example 9/11 or 2) trying to engage more readers. One editor’s response is as follows:

“The only thing I have done to try and rig what the issues look like is that I am starting to introduce interventions that are outside of the review process. So I look for things that make people unhappy and I try and get them into the journal so people will pay attention. ... That’s the sole intervention on the part of the editors to the natural process of simply taking what comes in. I am doing it for strictly mercenary reasons to try and get more people to read the journal, and if cartoons would work I would throw in cartoons”.⁹⁶⁴

Not only does a journal have a responsibility to the academic community they are also responsible to their respective publishers and therefore making sure that the journal continues to attract new readers and subscriptions. This has led to a concern with rankings and making sure one’s journal performs well, which in turn has also steered the field as special issues or articles are often published in order to help boost a journals impact factor. As one editor explained: “I tend to be a bit more proactive in that sense if I don’t think an article is going to appeal to the readership, and I don’t think it is going to help our rankings, our citation and impact factor, I will reject the article”.⁹⁶⁵

The discipline’s journal editors do have the capacity to mould the contours of the field and do so through their interventions either in the review process or through soliciting articles or special issues. They create certain spaces, promote dialogue and can privilege certain debates. Editors and their reviewers are however, not the only forces in operation that shapes the content of IR’s journals and therefore the published content of the discipline. The amount of academic attention paid to the annual Journal Citation Report published by Thomson Reuters, and how

⁹⁶³ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

⁹⁶⁴ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

⁹⁶⁵ Interviewed journal editor number 3.

where one publishers as ranked by impact factor can determine career prospects, has meant that this indicator has begun to effect editorial decisions. This final section will focus on another set of gate-keeping practices that are taking place within IR, and seek to problematise the role of Thomson Reuters.

Gate-Keeping Behind the Scenes: Thomson Reuters.

This section aims to demonstrate how the politics of publication are taking place even before editorial selection and the reviewing process because another set of gate-keeping strategies are already in place and monitored by Thomson Reuters. As the field of IR has grown exponentially over the last few decades so too has the competition for scholarly posts, notoriety and prestige.⁹⁶⁶ One-way of determining the allocation of jobs and tenure has been to look at the publication records of academics and more specifically *where* scholars are being published, resulting in an increased amount of attention being placed on the annual Journal Citation Report (JCR) and its decisive indicator; the Impact Factor.⁹⁶⁷ According to Cam Ha et. al., much has come to depend on the JCR and the impact factor, because in certain countries and academic communities the impact factor has become a measure for grant applications, job applications, promotion and bonuses,⁹⁶⁸ and often it is used as a criterion for the assessment of departments, research funding, and the appraisal of staff performance.⁹⁶⁹ One journal editor commented explicitly on how more and more is coming to hinge upon the journal impact factor “because the rankings have been locked in to so many other evaluation processes”⁹⁷⁰ whereas another stated:

“More and more, the academic career system is dependent on these measurements. When you evaluate someone for a position the quality of the article doesn’t really matter but it is where is it published. You ask whether they are publishing in the top ten journals or others. All the incentive structures are geared around publishing in the top ranked journals”.⁹⁷¹

The increased concern with rankings has begun to effect editorial practices and what is included in a given publication. Furthermore, because Thomson Reuters operates with its own parameters

⁹⁶⁶ Kim Nossal “Home-Grown IR: The Canadianization of International Relations” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35 (1) (2000), pp. 96.

⁹⁶⁷ J. C. Sharman “Benchmarking Australian IR: Low Impact, a Bookish Lot or a Very British Affair?” *Australian Journal of International Relations* 62 (4) (2008), pp. 529-531.

⁹⁶⁸ Tam Cam Ha, Say Neng Tan and Khee Chee Soo “The Journal Impact Factor: Too Much of an Impact?” *Annals Academy of Medicine* 35 (12) (2006), pp. 911.

⁹⁶⁹ Simon Hix “A Global Ranking of Political Science Departments” *Political Studies Review* 2 (3) (2004), pp. 293-313; Pantelis Kalaitzidakis, Theofanis P. Mamunear and Thanasis Stengost “European Economics: An Analysis Based on Publication in the Core Journals” *European Economic Review* 43 (4-6) (1999), pp. 1150-1168 and Larry Goodson, Bradford Dilman and Anil Hara “Ranking the Presses: Political Scientists’ Evaluations of Publisher Quality” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 32 (2) (1999), pp. 257-262.

⁹⁷⁰ Interviewed journal editor number 3.

⁹⁷¹ Interviewed journal editor number 7.

and definitional practices, this has resulted in some forms of research being promoted at the expense of others.

In order to explore the gate-keeping role of Thomson Reuters, firstly, how the Journal Impact Factor is formulated will be explained and in doing so this section will briefly touch upon some of the problems with this formulation. Secondly the way the selection criteria to be included in Thomson Reuter's Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) - and therefore for a journal to be eligible for ranking - will be explored. It will be argued that these criteria privilege certain forms of scholarship and delegitimise others, thereby policing the field of IR. Finally, this section will look at how the ranking system has become tied into many other forms of evaluation and how this has begun to effect editorial decisions and resultantly journal content.

The JIF was formulated specifically for the annual Journal Citation Reports and measures the number of citations a journal receives on average for each article published in a specific time frame. Therefore the JIF is a measure of the frequency with which the average article in a journal has been cited in the JCR year. The impact factor is calculated by dividing the number of citations in the JCR year by the total number of articles published in the previous two years. As described by its creator Eugene Garfield the journal impact factor is calculated based on two elements: "the numerator, which is the number of citations in the current year to items published in the previous two years, and the denominator, which is the number of substantive articles and reviews published in the same two years. The impact factor could just as easily be based on the previous year's articles alone, which would give greater weight to rapidly changing fields".⁹⁷² Currently, the impact factor of journal A in year B would be calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{Impact Factor} = \frac{\text{all the citations in B to articles in A during (B-1) + (B-2)}}{\text{all substantive articles and reviews in A during (B-1) + (B-2)}}$$

This means for example that a journal with an impact factor of 3.5 will in the last two years had it's individual articles cited, on average, three and a half times. Citing may be from the same journal, however most are claimed to be from different publications. According to Michael Giles and James Garand journal impact factor "measures the citations a journal receives on average for each article published during a set time-period. Journals with higher impact scores are viewed *ipso facto* as more influential in scholarly discourse than journals with lower impact scores".⁹⁷³

Despite its consistent use, the widespread attention and praise that the JCR and the JIF have received as means to sort journals in terms of quality, they are nonetheless widely criticized tools of scientific evaluation, and subject to a number of faults and biases. Numerous criticisms have been levied against the use of the impact factor and many questions have been posed as to

⁹⁷² Eugene Garfield "The History and Meaning of the Journal Impact Factor" *Journal of the American Medical Association* 295 (1), (2006), pp. 90.

⁹⁷³ Michael W. Giles and James C. Garand "Ranking Political Science Journals: Reputational and Citational Approaches" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 (4) (2007), pp. 741.

the accuracy of the journal rankings produced. Referring to the impact factor one journal editor commented that “It is simply a flawed indicator”.⁹⁷⁴ Whereas another stated;

“Most people who understand how it is calculated realize how capricious the measurement is, how it is mainly designed for the natural sciences, and how it can be gamed a little bit. It is a model that has come from the natural sciences, and it doesn’t fit perfectly with the social sciences”.⁹⁷⁵

Addressing some of the frequently raised criticisms briefly, the journal impact factor has been deemed inaccurate due to the way the figure can be manipulated and concerns with its underlying premise.⁹⁷⁶ It is claimed, by Tam Cam Ha et al., for example that the way the journal impact factor is calculated results in the 80/20 phenomenon, or in other words a skewed distribution of citations in most fields.⁹⁷⁷ The JIF as well as being misleading is also open to manipulation through the process of self-citations. By citing one’s self and the use of in-house citations and flattery a journal’s impact factor can be significantly boosted.⁹⁷⁸ As one editor noted “We in the journal discussed how easy it would be to play a game which would ensure a rapid rise up the league table. It would not take too much implementing”.⁹⁷⁹ Moreover, the credibility of the JIF and its suitability to the social sciences can be challenged due to the foundation upon which it is formulated. The JIF is calculated on the premise that citations represent a mark of approval by others and stand for the acknowledgement of influential work. However, some citations, especially in the social sciences, are not for the purpose of praise but rather critique. In other words controversial or deplorable papers may be highly cited due to disapproval thereby distorting impact factor.⁹⁸⁰ These criticisms and countless others, have led many to consider the rankings produced by the JCR as inaccurate, arbitrary and limited.

Considering how much has come to depend on the JCR and its impact factor it is worrying that the figure can be manipulated and subject to alarming inaccuracies. These worries are compounded by its gate-keeping role. The gate-keeping practices come into force with the

⁹⁷⁴ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

⁹⁷⁵ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁷⁶ For more in-depth critiques of the citational approach to ranking journals and the impact factor see James Garand “An Alternative Interpretation of Recent Political Science Journal Evaluations” *Political Science and Politics* 23 (3) (September 1990), pp. 448-451, James Garand and Michael Giles “Journals in the Discipline: A Report on a New Survey of American Political Scientists” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36 (2) (2003), pp. 293-308, Stephen P. Harter and Thomas Nisonger “ISI’S Impact Factor as Misnomer: A Proposed New Measure to Assess Journal Impact” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 48 (12) (1997), pp. 1146-1148, and Thomas Plümper “Academic Heavy-Weights: The ‘Relevance’ of Political Science Journals” *European Political Science* 6 (1) (2007), pp. 41-50.

⁹⁷⁷ Cam Ha et al., “The Journal Impact Factor”, pp. 911-916.

⁹⁷⁸ Garand and Giles “Ranking Political Science Journals”, pp. 745. For more on the effects of self-citation see Guang Yu, Dong-Hui Yang and Hi-Xiu He “An Automatic Recognition Method of Journal Impact Factor Manipulation” *Journal of Information Science* 37 (3) (2011), pp. 235-245 and Jong Foo “A Study of Journal Self-Citations and Intra-Citing within the Subject Category of Multidisciplinary Sciences” *Science and Engineering Ethics* 15 (4) (2009), pp. 491-501.

⁹⁷⁹ Interviewed journal editor number 8.

⁹⁸⁰ David F. Hendry “Research Assessment Exercises” quoted in Garand and Giles “Ranking Political Science Journals”, pp. 741.

way Thomson Reuters is able to designate some journals as 'acceptable' and 'approved' whereas others are denied the gold standard awarded by being included in the SSCI and therefore becoming eligible to be ranked. The fact that certain journals are not awarded an impact factor due to their 'outsider' status not only conditions academic behaviour - in that it effects where scholars send their work - it also has implications on the way research is perceived by the academic community which then has further implications in terms of career progression. This is because work published in a non-ranked journal is not considered as merited as an article in a JCR ranked publication because in certain circles manuscripts published in non-ranked journals carry less value and academic notoriety.⁹⁸¹ It is this power to grant inclusion and the authority it entails that enables Thomson Reuters to act as an agent of control and shape the discipline of IR.

Currently Thomson Scientific lists and subsequently ranks 81 journals as 'International Relations'. In other words out of all the IR journals that are presently published Thomson Reuters recognizes only 81, meaning that a number of publications are either excluded completely or are classified as something other than IR. Many journals are not included in the ISI citation indexes and therefore are not evaluated and ranked using impact factor, whilst others are included in other subject categories.⁹⁸² There are two exclusionary mechanisms in operation here; 1) the selection criteria employed and 2) definitional practices. The selection processes and definitional processes work to ensure that the SSCI is 'comprehensive but not all-inclusive'⁹⁸³ and resultantly journals that are excluded are not promoted and are subsequently marginalized to a certain degree. Whilst there is unfortunately not the space here to delve too deeply into the biases in operation through the selection processes at work, I will however focus on how Thomson Reuters privileges 'Western' journals through its preference for journals to be published in English before examining the exclusionary definitional processes.

Thomson Reuters's selection process for the journals it covers is based on three key elements: Citation Data, Journal Standards and Expert Judgment. ⁹⁸⁴ Even when certain journals do manage to obtain sufficient citation data they can still be excluded using the other criteria. For example Garfield noted "Many Third World editors have asked us why their publication is not covered by the ISI when it's impact, although low, is comparable to other journals that we do index".⁹⁸⁵ The 'journal standards' criterion is comprised of a number of different factors: timeliness, international editorial conventions, English-language bibliographic information, and peer-review,⁹⁸⁶ and it is the preference for journals to be *completely written* in English hidden within the bibliographic information standards that reveals Thomson Reuters bias towards

⁹⁸¹ Sharman "Benchmarking Australian IR", pp. 532.

⁹⁸² For instance the journal *Ethics and International Affairs* is not included in the citation index and the journal *Third World Quarterly* is not categorized as an IR journal, and instead appears under the classification 'Planning and Development'.

⁹⁸³ Eugene Garfield "How the ISI Selects Journals for Coverage: Quantitative and Qualitative Considerations" *Current Contents* 22, (1990), pp. 186.

⁹⁸⁴ Garfield "How the ISI Selects Journals for Coverage", pp. 185.

⁹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 189.

⁹⁸⁶ James Testa "The Thomson Scientific Journal Selection Process" *Contributions to Science* 4 (1) (2008), pp. 70.

English language journals, thereby automatically striking out a number of journals that are produced outside the 'Anglosphere'.

The selection criteria asks for a clear minimum of abstracts or summaries in English, and all the bibliographic information. However, Thomson Reuters' penchant for the full text to be in English is revealed by both James Testa (the Director of Editorial Development and Publisher Relations for Thomson Scientific) and Garfield; Testa acknowledges that Thomson Scientific "tries to focus on journals that publish their full text in English",⁹⁸⁷ whereas Garfield states, "If editors truly want wider notice of their journals by the international research community, they ought to publish articles, titles, abstracts, and cited references in English".⁹⁸⁸ The predilection towards journals published in English has also been acknowledged by Cam Ha et. al., who argued that the SSCI database is dominated by North American publications.⁹⁸⁹ It appears that Thomson Reuters is using English as a mechanism for exclusion, and capitalizing on the linguistic prejudice already present in the discipline,⁹⁹⁰ Thomson Reuters' seems to be perpetuating this predisposition whilst simultaneously downplaying local fields of knowledge and promoting predominantly American and 'Western' journals.

Looking at the second exclusionary mechanism in operation, certain journals are featured in SSCI, such as *Third World Quarterly* for instance, but are not categorized as IR journals, this raises the question of who is making the decision for what counts as International Relations? Who is disciplining the discipline through creating definitional boundaries? The definition of what constitutes IR employed by Thomson Reuters could explain why certain journals are excluded, instead of an omission on the grounds of quality or agenda compliance, some journals that are broadly conceived to be within the realm of International Relations could be marginalised because they fall outside the boundary created by Thomson Reuters. Currently Thomson Scientific classifies IR journals as those covering "resources concerned with foreign policy, comparative world politics, world commerce and trade, international legal issues, peace studies and conflict resolution, military alliances and strategic studies".⁹⁹¹ This definition revolves around the traditional focus and core of the discipline: cooperation and conflict. Consequently, this means that Thomson Scientific employs a rather narrow, state-centric and reductive view of the discipline. This could explain why a number of self-defined IR journals, such as *Global Networks*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *Ethics and International Affairs* could be missing from the IR category for they could be counted as too interdisciplinary, and too broad. Furthermore, the traditional nature of the classification could also explain why publications focusing on migration, gender, internal conflicts, the environment etc, or journals based on newer and more critical theoretical approaches to the discipline, and different geographical foci could also be absent and omitted for they are not counted as IR, but rather 'doing' or focusing on

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

⁹⁸⁸ Garfield, "How the ISI Selects Journals for Coverage", pp. 192.

⁹⁸⁹ Cam Ha et. al., "The Journal Impact Factor", pp. 912.

⁹⁹⁰ See previous section and Jørgensen, "Continental IR Theory", pp. 9-42.

⁹⁹¹ Thomson Reuters "International Relations: Category Description" *Scope Notes*, ISI Web of Knowledge. Available at <http://admin-apps.isiknowledge.com> (Accessed on 06/02/11).

something else, something deemed to be outside the realm of what has been defined as 'IR' by Thomson Reuters. Interestingly what is and isn't included is at the definitional discretion of Thomson Reuters experts, who remain unidentified to the public. The definition employed by the Thomson Reuters clearly operates as a disciplinary gatekeeper as it works to exclude a number of publications from being promoted as IR, and demarcates them as doing another form of disciplinary scholarship. Yet who is making these gate-keeping decisions remains a mystery, a hidden mechanism of disciplinarity, for the constructed definitional boundary clearly endorses certain forms of knowledge, whilst marginalizing others.

It is apparent that Thomson Scientific promotes certain journals, and simultaneously advocates certain knowledge and academic productions. By awarding a number of journals with a gold standard Thomson Reuters has generated a limited list and ranking of 'approved' journals. Meaning that the small number of permitted journals "requires that publications not included in the rankings do not qualify as research".⁹⁹² Thomson Reuters inadvertently controls and facilitates access to the discipline's international arena due to its various processes of inclusion and exclusion and operates as a manufacturer of dominance behind the scenes. It is not involved with the process of specific editorial selection, meaning the decision to individually leave out or incorporate authors, but rather it operates on another level of gate-keeping, a level where it can delegitimize whole journals and promote whole bodies of scholarship. Not only does Thomson Reuters gate-keep the discipline's journals by approving some and not others, through the murky definitional practices employed it is also able to label and promote some journals as IR journals and exclude others. Through arbitrarily at times labeling certain journals as IR⁹⁹³ or not it is worryingly evident that Thomson Reuters has the capacity through its so-called experts and its JCR to hinder the dissemination of certain outlets of scholarly knowledge from reaching a wider audience. These exclusionary mechanisms are important because of the impact they have on scholarly reputations. Work published in a non-Thomson Reuters 'approved' journal arguably do not carry the same prestige and can be viewed as adhering to lower academic standards than articles featured in JCR ranked publications.⁹⁹⁴ This situation is made all the more problematic by the dearth of disciplinary attention paid to this disciplining organization,⁹⁹⁵ Thomson Reuters, and its methods of selection, or rather gate-keeping. As it stands the focus remains largely on editorial practices and decisions. Unfortunately, however, the disciplining practices do not end here, the JCR and its impact factor is also beginning to affect the published content of ranked journals. The situation of citational dependence means that indirectly Thomson Reuters is

⁹⁹² Cam Ha et. al., "The Journal Impact Factor", pp. 912.

⁹⁹³ For instance the Cornell International Law Journal is classed as an IR journals whereas the Harvard International Law Journal is not. Another example of the arbitrary categorizational processes comes in the form of Market Policy, which is counted as an IR journal, and Defense and Peace Economics is not.

⁹⁹⁴ Cam Ha et. al., "The Journal Impact Factor", pp. 912. Also see Paasi "Globalisation, Academic Capitalism and the Uneven Geographies of International Journal Publishing Space", pp. 769-789.

⁹⁹⁵ There are a few exceptions, one being Sharman's article "Benchmarking Australian IR", pp. 529-540. More attention is paid to Thomson Reuters in other fields including Political Science, but within IR the attention this organization receives is fairly minimal.

influencing what is substantively included in a publication as the concern with the rankings is beginning to partially influence editorial decisions.

Not only does the JCR discipline the discipline of IR through its powers of categorization and exclusion, it also has a disciplining affect on the content of the journals it indexes. As one journal editor frankly stated, “Is this measurement affecting life in the journals? Yes, it is”.⁹⁹⁶ The concern with rankings has meant that journal editors are becoming less likely to include articles of a certain persuasion because of their poor citational potential. The majority of journal editors interviewed have lamented this situation, as one editor explained; “you’ve got to keep an eye on those indicators, and keep the esteem of the journal going. Its’ unfortunate really because you do end up rejecting stuff that is a good and interesting read, in favour of stuff that is theoretical and more academic/ivory tower focused. As an editor you have to make those choices”.⁹⁹⁷ This situation was echoed by another journal editor, who expanded on the type of scholarship that would potentially become more and more marginalized:

“I think the JCR and the JIF are going to become more important, and that journal editors are going to have to pay more attention to these factors ... It’s distressing, because it means that certain pieces, like philosophy of social science articles will become less attractive because they don’t get cited as much, because there aren’t that many people doing the philosophy of IR. So there aren’t that many people to cite, and certainly not when compared to other areas of research”.⁹⁹⁸

The attention paid to the JCR by journal editors, and especially their respective publishers, has meant that editors are making certain choices regarding submissions due to the pressure created by a concern with maintaining or increasing a journals ranking. A fixation with citations means that research in areas of IR that do not attract as much attention, such as the philosophy of social science, or historiography, risk being rejected on the grounds that they will not be heavily cited and therefore will not aid a journal’s impact factor. Such scholarship faces being marginalized due to the structural forces of Thomson Reuters. This emergent situation also appears to be working in the reverse; an increase in impact factor is influencing what work is being sent where. One journal editor noted that the increase in their impact factor corresponded with an increase of large-N quantitative studies, whereas another noted a general overall increase in submissions.⁹⁹⁹ The JCR seems to be conditioning journal editors and academics alike and in a more pronounced fashion over time.¹⁰⁰⁰ The more focus the JCR has received has resulted in Thomson Reuters have a more disciplining effect on content due to the publishers and editors concerns with the figures, and this situation shows no sign of abating any time soon. According to one editor “These things are measured imperfectly, yet does the figure matter? Yes, increasingly this factor seems to matter”.¹⁰⁰¹ The disciplining role that Thomson Reuters has is not only a

⁹⁹⁶ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

⁹⁹⁷ Interviewed journal editor number 3.

⁹⁹⁸ Interviewed journal editor number 2.

⁹⁹⁹ Interviewed journal editor’s numbers 1 and 2.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Interviewed journal editor number 8.

¹⁰⁰¹ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

distinct disciplinary reality it also looks to be a future one. If the discipline remains fixated with rankings and performance indexes this will result in further marginalization and sterilization of the field, which will only hamper intellectual production, and dynamism of the discipline. As H. F. Moed somewhat prophetically noted in 2002 “The use of impact factor compiled by the ISI may have ‘inappropriate and counterproductive consequences’”.¹⁰⁰²

Conclusion.

This chapter has sought to reveal the complex workings of different actors and structural forces and how these all shape the field of IR. In demonstrating the range of dynamics, gate-keeping strategies and gate-keepers this chapter has attempted to reveal how the disciplinary accounts that argue that IR is an American dominated discipline due to its gate-keeping abilities do not capture all the dynamics and mechanisms in action. Certain actors, such as reviewers and Thomson Reuters, have been largely overlooked, due to the focus on the discipline’s journal editors. Furthermore the processes of editorial selection and the content of a given publication are largely presented as a top down process, yet the reality is a negotiated space between editors, reviewers, the target audience and the publishers. Also, throughout this chapter the dynamics of diversity and internationalism that were also highlighted work to challenge certain notions regarding the way the US allegedly dominates the discipline.

This chapter began by reviewing the claims in the literature that argues that the US IR community is intellectually hegemonic due to its gate-keeping abilities. This body of scholarship states that IR is an American enterprise because a group of American elites are able to control access to the discipline’s international arena (and therefore the global IR conversation) and marginalize non-Western scholarship. By 1) using language as an exclusionary barrier, and 2) parochial editorial decisions made by an overwhelming American set of academics scholars such as Kim Nossal,¹⁰⁰³ Knud Erik Jørgensen,¹⁰⁰⁴ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews¹⁰⁰⁵ have argued that the American IR community is able to dominate the discipline through excluding non-rationalist and non-Western/American research. The result of these two gate-keeping strategies is arguably a discipline that reflects the American mainstream’s rationalist preferences, a discipline that is controlled by Americans, and therefore the discipline is largely written and published by Americans. The rest of this chapter, however, proceeded to show how these prominent claims are not only over-exaggerated but they also overlook other gate-keeping practices and gate-keepers.

¹⁰⁰² H. F. Moed “The Impact Factor Debate: The ISI’s Uses and Limits” *Nature* 415, (2002), pp. 731-732.

¹⁰⁰³ Nossal “Tales That Textbooks Tell”, pp. 167-186.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Jørgensen, “Continental IR Theory”, pp. 9-42 also see Knud Erik Jørgensen “Towards a Six-Continents Social Science: International Relations” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 6 (4) (2003), pp. 330-343.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Aydinli and Mathews “Are the Core and Periphery Irreconcilable?”, pp. 289-303.

The results presented have suggested that the discipline of IR is a plural and internationalizing discipline. Firstly, because of the diverse array of academics publishing from different geographical locales it seems that research is not generally being excluded because of where it emanates from. Secondly, the breadth of divergent theoretical and methodological perspectives present in the 12 journals examined over a ten-year period, from 1999-2009, highlights how the American rationalist agenda is not being adhered to; therefore it is difficult to substantiate the claim that research is being marginalized in IR on substantive grounds. Furthermore, the inquiry into the editorial boards of the 12 journals showed that the academics in gate-keeping positions are not overwhelming American, and these scholars comprise a diverse group, not only in terms of their institutional homes but also in their research interests and perspectives. Finally, the discipline's gate-keepers interviewed, expressed an interest in further internationalizing the field, and instead of accentuating the linguistic bias in the field, the journal editors appeared to be aware of language difficulties and claimed to be working with authors rather than against them to help with the pressures to publish in English. Taking the three lines of inquiry into account (journal content, composition of editorial boards, interviews with journal editors) the results challenge the claims of American dominance because it does not seem that a preponderant American set of scholars control access to the international realm and publishes work that matches their rationalist preferences.

This chapter has tried to stress that other gate-keeping strategies are taking place. Whether an article is published in a given journal largely rests upon two criteria; 1) the standard of the manuscript in question and 2) whether that manuscript 'fits' with the aims and scope of the publication. The discipline's journal editors can exercise their decision making power in a negative gate-keeping manner using the above grounds to do so. There is no guarantee that editors will not enact their own agenda by only publishing work that adheres to their preferences and ideas of what constitutes 'good IR scholarship' and can therefore exclude non-Western scholarship. The diverse array of scholarship published by scholars from around the globe, as illustrated by the data presented, suggests that in general the discipline's gate-keepers are largely behaving in a responsible manner and are promoting diversity and pluralism. The gate-keeping that predominantly occurs is operationalised in a much more subtle manner than the literature depicts. It seems the field is gently steered in certain directions by each editor rather than widespread practices of exclusion of certain bodies of scholarship conducted by a domineering editor. Obviously there will be exceptions and cases where scholars feel that their research has been rejected on unfair grounds, and the criteria of standards and 'fits' exercised in a negative rather than positive manner. Sadly there are no guarantees that such practices will never occur but pragmatically rejections need to occur in order for the journal system to function. Standards have to be put in place and decisions made in order to facilitate good academic practice and ensure and preserve space for certain forms of research and the vibrancy of sub-fields and research communities. Whilst this may not be of much comfort to those who feel marginalized and unfairly excluded, the data however does suggest that such decisions are

on the whole made in good faith and instances of dominating editorial preferences are the exception as opposed to the norm.

Throughout the course of this investigation what I found particularly puzzling was that most claims of gate-keeping and therefore promoting American IR scholarship at the expense of other non-American, and more specifically non-Western, research were directed primarily at the journal editors alone. Yet reviewers have just as much, if not more in some cases, gate-keeping potential. The fate of an article is often based on the reviewer reports, and these reports have the ability to shape an article itself. Whilst there is no universal policy as to the relationship between editors and reviewers in action most of the editors interviewed seemed to respect the decision of the reviewers. However, as it is the editors themselves who select the reviewers of a manuscript it can be claimed that the editors are misshaping the field through choosing unsympathetic reviewers. As one editor noted “One might also suggest that referees act as gate-keepers on behalf of editors”.¹⁰⁰⁶ When challenged on this issue the editors interviewed emphatically declared that this was not the case. For instance one editor argued, “If an article comes in and gets past the screening process we find reviewers that will give constructive yet sympathetic reviews. We are not going to send an article to someone who hates that particular approach”.¹⁰⁰⁷ But in the quest to select reviewers each editor also commented upon the increasing difficulty of finding reviewers. Given the rapid expansion of the discipline, the dramatic rise in the number of IR journals over the last couple of decades¹⁰⁰⁸ and the increasing number of submissions to each journal it appears each reviewer is generally asked to do more reviews and growing pressures have lead, it seems, to increasing refusals to review manuscripts. According to one editor: “There used to be an idea that if you did research you owed the business the ability to do reviews because otherwise the business would collapse, that norm is out, I don’t think it exists anymore. People are much more utilitarian and look at what is in it for them”.¹⁰⁰⁹ The growth of the discipline worldwide has bought with it new pressures and implications for the publication sphere, which further highlights the crucial role of the reviewer in the shaping the field.

What is included or excluded in the international disciplinary realm is not solely at the decision of a collection of editors, but also reviewers and even the academic community itself. As noted previously in this chapter the decision to publish an article or not is also made by taking the audiences’ exceptions of the journal into consideration and whether an article ‘fits’ with the aims of the journal and it’s reputation for being a hub for specific research. As such this chapter has aimed to reveal the numerous gate-keeping strategies in place and how the situation is multi-layered and much more complex than commonly perceived. Instead of a domineering editor who single-handedly controls the published content of a journal, the reality is that what is published is the outcome of a top-down and bottom-up process, the product of which moulds the contours of

¹⁰⁰⁶ Interviewed journal editor number 8.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Interviewed journal editor number 5.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Gunther Hellmann and Harald Müller “Editing (I)nternational (R)elations: A Changing World” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 6 (4) (2003), pp. 372-389.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

the discipline. Furthermore, this chapter has also aimed to show there are other disciplining forces in action that are conditioning academic behaviour and policing the discipline's borders.

The final section of this chapter has sought to problematise the exclusionary mechanisms employed by Thomson Reuters and draw attention to how it is disciplining the discipline of IR. Through its selection criteria for inclusion in the Social Science Citation Index, Thomson Reuters legitimizes certain forms of scholarship and brands some journals with the status of 'approved scholarship' whilst marginalizing others. It also has the power to label and demarcate what scholarly outlets count as 'IR' and which come under other subject headings. It is through these mechanisms that Thomson Reuters acts as a disciplining agent and has the ability to gate-keep *whole* publications. Furthermore, the increased attention paid to Thomson Reuter's annual JCR has not only disciplined academics (in terms of deciding where to send their work) because in part their career prospects are coming to depend on publishing in ranked journals, it also has begun to affect the content of journals. The interviews held showed how journal editors were beginning to favour articles that were likely to be cited over those that weren't and how they were also aware of the benefits of publishing a widely controversial paper in order to boost citations and therefore rankings. Operating behind the scenes and before editorial decisions are being made Thomson Reuters and its Journal Citation Report has a disciplining effect on IR. Moreover, a continued and heightened concern with rankings has only compounded the conditioning effects of Thomson Reuters on the discipline and begun to influence editorial decisions and determine individual career prospects. As one editor noted "The discipline's journals certainly are gate-keepers, particularly given the close relationship between promotion prospects and publishing in high-quality journals. We are well aware that a publication in our journal could make someone's career if it is the right piece".¹⁰¹⁰

Overall this chapter has shown that there are a host of agential and structural factors shaping the field of IR. Gate-keeping practices of some form are inevitable in every academic discipline, and there will always be forces and dynamics in operation that mould and steer the discipline in question. There will also always be those who are in a position to exercise the power of exclusion. In the contemporary discipline of IR, however, those in such positions are not overwhelmingly American.

¹⁰¹⁰ Interviewed journal editor number 1.

7.

Conclusion: Diversity and Dominance in International Relations.

The issue that is at the core of this thesis and what it has attempted to show is that it is not simply a matter of arguing or demonstrating whether International Relations can be perceived to be an American dominated discipline, the question that we need to be asking and exploring is, in what *ways* and *how* does the US dominate? By changing the focus of the analysis to the means and exercise of dominance we can begin to capture all the different dynamics occurring in the discipline that shape the contours of the field and impact upon IR academics. One of the central arguments of this thesis has been that if we solely focus on the question of American dominance in a yes or no fashion, and define dominance in an ambiguous unspecified manner, we tend to overlook certain disciplinary realities and project inaccurate and deterministic images of the discipline which resultantly condition certain forms of marginalizing academic behaviour.

In order to produce a detailed account of the current trends and inclinations in the discipline and to see to with what degree and how the US dominates the discipline of IR this thesis began by disaggregating the term dominance. By unpacking the term and looking at five prominent ways in which American dominance is claimed to be operationalised in the literature a number of disciplinary self-images emerged. Each self-image claimed to demonstrate the exercise of American disciplinary dominance. Yet, after extensive empirical analysis into different academic arenas this thesis has shown that the United States dominates in some ways and not others thereby challenging certain prominent claims regarding the composition and orientation of the discipline. Meaning, depending on the perspective used one would arrive at a different answer to the question of 'is the discipline of IR dominated by the United States'? It is because academic communities can exercise their dominance in multifarious ways and dominate in certain forms and not others that we must begin to question the use and accuracy of certain disciplinary accounts and depictions. Furthermore, we must begin to talk about disciplinary dominance by specifying the way in which an academic community may dominate. In doing so this thesis has argued that we will be able to reveal the plural and diverse working within the discipline of IR that exist alongside certain American dominant dynamics.

This thesis has drawn on the work of Antonio Gramsci, and his conception of dominance.¹⁰¹¹ According to Gramsci a dominant actor becomes the 'model' for others to follow and emulate.¹⁰¹² This thesis was then premised upon emulation being the primary measurement

¹⁰¹¹ For more see Steve Jones *Antonio Gramsci* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 41-56; Chantal Mouffe "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci" in Mouffe, C. (ed) *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (London: Routledge, 1979), pp. 168-203; and Antonio Gramsci *Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1976), pp. 55-57.

¹⁰¹² Antonio Gramsci quoted in David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 36.

for dominance. This meant that in each definition and means of dominance this study was looking to see if the American mainstream's intellectual agenda had been emulated and subscribed to by the majority of IR scholars.¹⁰¹³ However, there was little emulation in action in this study. Rather than replicating what is conceived to be 'good' or 'approved' IR scholarship by the American mainstream, the discipline displayed its pluralist tendencies in numerous ways.¹⁰¹⁴ The results of the journal and conference investigations have shown that the discipline is more plural and diverse than is commonly accounted for. As such throughout the course of this thesis each chapter questioned the prevailing knowledge and assumptions in the field.

This study has attempted to show that within the discipline there exists a wide range of theories and methods being used to question/approach/investigate an equally broad range of research interests. The discipline's pluralism (substantive, theoretical and methodological) represents itself as what Colin Wight terms an 'engaged stance' rather than a situation where Paul Feyerabend's 'anything goes' attitude is adopted.¹⁰¹⁵ Instead of being diverse for diversity's sake the discipline's pluralistic efforts have been in order to expand the discipline's horizons, make the discipline more relevant to those in the 'Third World', be better able to respond to pressing international problems and growing inequalities, enrich scholarly efforts, and to move away from potential theoretical and methodological dogmatism. The reality of this diverse academic environment challenges the widely held perceptions in the discipline of IR being dominated by Realist/Neo-Realist/Neo-Liberal/Conventional Constructivist research,¹⁰¹⁶ rational choice approaches,¹⁰¹⁷ and having an American-centric focus,¹⁰¹⁸ all of which have apparently been maintained and perpetuated by a set of American disciplinary gate-keepers.¹⁰¹⁹ These prevalent disciplinary depictions have been challenged by the data presented.

This concluding chapter will recap on the findings of each of the previous chapters in order to show the various trends and inclinations in the contemporary discipline, and how the discipline's plural and diverse tendencies co-exist with American theoretical and institutional dominance. This concluding chapter will then embark on a reflexive exercise and contextualise

¹⁰¹³ Pinar Bilgin "Thinking Past 'Western' IR?" *Third World Quarterly* 29 (1) (2008), pp. 5-23.

¹⁰¹⁴ Also see for example Michael Wesley "The Rich Tradition of Australian Realism" *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 55 (3) (2009), pp. 325.

¹⁰¹⁵ Colin Wight *Agents, Structures and International Relations: Politics as Ontology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 230.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ole Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations" *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 703.

¹⁰¹⁷ Chris Brown "Fog in the Channel: Continental International Relations Theory Isolated (or an essay on the paradoxes of diversity and parochialism in IR theory)" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 215.

¹⁰¹⁸ Steve Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations: Hegemonic Country, Hegemonic Discipline" *International Studies Review* 4 (2) (2002), pp. 67-85.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ersel Aydinli and Julie Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable? The Curious World of Publishing in Contemporary International Relations" *International Studies Perspectives* 1 (3) (2000), pp. 289-303.

the claims being made in light of their institutional basis.¹⁰²⁰ This chapter will then seek to briefly examine the virtual reality that has been created by IR academics which generates certain self-disciplining practices. According to Jörg Friedrich's "American hegemony over the discipline should be seen as a social rather than as a brute fact. This is because the dominant self-understanding of the discipline as an American social science is more of a social construction than an objective truth".¹⁰²¹ Therefore, this chapter will also look at the implications of this widely held belief and how it is conditioning academic behaviour, especially in relation to the treatment of 'peripheral scholarship'.¹⁰²² This chapter will then unpack the foundational premise of this thesis, that IR is a discipline. This underlying and framing assumption is often challenged, hence this section will briefly argue and demonstrate that IR is a discipline and argue that this thesis itself captures the workings of IR as a discipline. This chapter will then conclude by drawing all the elements together and presenting avenues for further research. Overall, this concluding chapter aims to 1) illustrate the current plural disciplinary state of affairs; 2) encourage academics to be more reflexive and nuanced with the way the discipline is depicted and dominance conceptualized; 3) prevent the seamless and unquestioning reproduction of the image of IR as an American dominated discipline; and 4) present some suggestions for future research.

Pluralism, the Empirical Reality.

As previously mentioned, the self-image of American intellectual hegemony in IR has become ingrained and functions as a quasi-fact, and through focusing on dominance the dynamics of pluralism are often negated. In demonstrating IR's pluralist tendencies and empirically demonstrating the diversity of scholarship taking place each chapter has in turn challenged and even overturned certain prominent assumptions, especially those regarding the theoretical and methodological orientation of the discipline.

Chapter one demonstrated the discipline's pluralist subject matter. Instead of the discipline's focus being synonymous with the foreign policy concerns of the US administration, the field is actually preoccupied with investigating a wide array of issues. The discipline it seems has moved beyond the traditional state-centric agenda and American affairs and is researching a broad array of foci.¹⁰²³ The data presented in the chapter on dominance defined as agenda setting demonstrated that the ontological scope of the discipline of IR goes beyond traditional concerns

¹⁰²⁰ Matthew Eagleton-Pierce "Advancing a Reflexive International Relations" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 805-823.

¹⁰²¹ Jörg Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory: A House With Many Mansions* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 10.

¹⁰²² Donald Puchala "Some Non-Western Perspectives on International Relations" *Journal of Peace Research* 34 (2) (1997), pp. 129-134.

¹⁰²³ Steve Smith "Introduction; Diversity and Disciplinarity in IR Theory" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 7.

and addresses a plural range of international issues ranging from environmental concerns, gender relations, to poverty, hunger, torture and so on. This plurality contradicts the popular image of the discipline that has been created by Stanley Hoffmann¹⁰²⁴ and reproduced by Steve Smith¹⁰²⁵ and others.¹⁰²⁶ Whilst the discipline in the 1970s may have revolved itself around the wants and needs of American policy-making elites this is no longer the case.¹⁰²⁷ This chapter argued that the discipline has exercised its critical distance and is investigating a host of issues, such as forms of inequality that have previously been ignored.¹⁰²⁸ However, the popular narrative of American dominance due to its agenda setting capabilities still pervades the collective disciplinary mindset.¹⁰²⁹ For example, according to Smith the effect of US disciplinary dominance is witnessed and exercised through the US's ability to "skew the discipline towards the policy concerns of the US, and to ensure that the available theories for studying these concerns are theories that fit the US definition of 'proper' social science".¹⁰³⁰ Yet the results presented show this not to be the case, the discipline has not been orientated around US concerns. Furthermore, the theories that the discipline has used to research the diverse arrange of topics that come under the rubric of international relations, are not primarily those deemed 'proper' by the US mainstream.

Chapter two challenged another, and perhaps even more entrenched set of disciplinary depictions. Rather than a discipline dominated by either realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism or conventional constructivism the journal investigation suggests that IR is theoretically plural. Whilst Ole Wæver argues there is US hegemony in IR and this is demonstrated through the dominance of neo-realism and neo-liberalism,¹⁰³¹ after extensive examination into 12 of the discipline's international journals this is not the current situation. Neither were classical realism or constructivism found to dominate the discipline as Kenneth Waltz¹⁰³² and William Wohlforth¹⁰³³ argue they do. Instead of the existence of an American theoretical orthodoxy in either its realist, neo-neo or constructivist variant, the journal investigation revealed a diverse

¹⁰²⁴ Stanley Hoffmann "An American Social Science: International Relations" *Daedalus* 106 (3) (1977), pp. 41-60.

¹⁰²⁵ Steve Smith "The Discipline of International Relations: Still an American Social Science?" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2 (3) (2000), pp. 374-402.

¹⁰²⁶ See for example Brandon Valeriano "The Lack of Diverse Perspectives in the International Relations Field: The Politics of Being Alone" *International Studies Perspectives* 9 (4) (2008), pp. 450-454.

¹⁰²⁷ Steve Smith "Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science" *Millennium* 16 (2) (1987), pp. 189-206.

¹⁰²⁸ Mustapha Kamal Pasha and Craig N. Murphy "Knowledge/Power/Inequality" in Pasha, M. K. and Murphy, C. N. (eds) *International Relations and the New Inequality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2002), pp. 1-6.

¹⁰²⁹ For instance see Gerald Chan *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations: A Framework for Analysis* (London: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 180.

¹⁰³⁰ Smith "The United States and the Discipline of International Relations", pp. 80.

¹⁰³¹ Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 687-727.

¹⁰³² Kenneth Waltz "Interview with Ken Waltz: Conducted by Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg" *Review of International Studies* 24 (3) (1998), pp. 371-386.

¹⁰³³ William Wohlforth "No One Loves a Realist Explanation" *International Politics* 48 (4/5) (2011), pp. 441-459.

and plural theoretical environment. The American mainstream still may be advocating the use of realism, neo-realism, neo-liberalism and/or conventional constructivism and declaring that such approaches constitutes 'proper' IR research¹⁰³⁴ but it seems the global discipline does not agree. The data presented revealed the diverse array of theoretical endeavours being undertaken, and this diversity displayed itself in the American journals as well as the non-American ones. Crucially, the theoretical plurality was not confined to the non-American sphere; it seems it is a global disciplinary reality. However, the prominent notion in the discipline is still that realist, neo-neo and conventional constructivist research comprises the majority of global academic output, due to scholars emulating the American theoretical preferences in order to gain entrance into certain publications and gain international scholarly recognition.¹⁰³⁵ Consequently, chapter two can be depicted as serving a myth-breaking function; for it challenges a number of the widely held assumptions regarding the theoretical composition of the global discipline through illustrating the discipline's plural inclinations.

Despite the plural theoretical environment American theories writ large still dominate the discipline, therefore in a certain sense the US IR community is still theoretically dominant. Whilst this dominance does not exercise itself in the form of a theoretical orthodoxy and consequently theoretical dogmatism, the American IR community produces the greatest volume of theoretical research, therefore one can still stake a claim that America is theoretically dominant.¹⁰³⁶ It can be argued that certain theoretical approaches such as liberalism, constructivism, and historical sociology for instance can be classified as 'American'. Given the alleged dependence of other IR communities on American theoretical texts we can argue that the US is theoretically and in this sense disciplinary preponderant. However, this chapter concluded by raising a number of questions regarding whether we can label a theory as belonging to academic community X. This chapter asked what does it mean for a theory to be classed as American, given the fact that all theoretical works draw on numerous influences and are suffused with American, non-American, Western and non-Western elements.¹⁰³⁷ Moreover, taking into account the numerous works published recently that have looked for, promoted, and encouraged further developments of non-Western IR theory,¹⁰³⁸ it may be the case that non-American IR

¹⁰³⁴ Brown, "Fog in the Channel", pp. 203.

¹⁰³⁵ Roland Bleiker "Forget IR Theory" in Chan, S., Mandaville, P. and Bleiker, R. (eds) *The Zen of International Relations: IR Theory from East to West* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 37-67.

¹⁰³⁶ Kal J. Holsti *The Dividing Discipline: Hegemony and Diversity in International Theory* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985) and Amitav Acharya, and Barry Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory? An introduction" *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 7 (3), (2007), pp. 287-312

¹⁰³⁷ Bilgin, "Thinking Past 'Western' IR?", pp. 5.

¹⁰³⁸ See for example Rosa Vasilaki "Provincialising IR? Deadlocks and Prospects in Post-Western IR Theory" *Millennium* 41 (1) (2012), pp. 3-22; Robbie Shilliam *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011); and Arlene B. Tickner and David L. Blaney (eds) *Thinking International Relations Differently* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

communities are becoming less dependent upon US theoretical works.¹⁰³⁹ Overall, this chapter sought to highlight the numerous dynamics in operation that exist alongside exist other. Theoretically the discipline is both plural, dominated by the US and experiencing a non-Western theoretical influx. Overall, the situation is a lot more complex and fluid than many previous state of the discipline articles have captured.

Chapter three aimed to highlight the discipline's pluralist tendencies methodologically speaking. This chapter sought to challenge a number of claims in the literature regarding the way the US IR community allegedly exercises its dominance methodologically. One frequently hears scholars deploring the dominance of rationalism and rational choice, game theoretic, and formal modeling methods in the discipline of IR.¹⁰⁴⁰ Numerous articles either in passing or as an object of sustained critique problematise and bemoan the dominance of a particular set quantitative methods,¹⁰⁴¹ because this suspected methodological dogmatism has resulted in the marginalization of historical and interpretive research. Yet the results presented showed how the popular narrative fails to represent the current methodological trends in the discipline. Rather than a preponderance of research using rational choice, formal modeling, and other popular economic methods the field was more qualitative in its methodological orientation and furthermore the majority of scholars were using interpretivism as the means of analysis. Instead of methodological totalitarianism, and adherence to the American mainstream's blueprint for 'proper' social science conduct, the discipline once again displayed its pluralistic inclinations thereby challenging another prevalent disciplinary self-image.

The actual paucity of quantitative research of the sort advocated by mainstream component of the US IR community adopted outside of the US raised the question of why some ideas travel and are disseminated readily by other academies and others do not? Chapter three concluded by questioning whether the sheer scarcity of rationalist research found in the journals investigated could be due to the fact that certain IR enclaves have not readily received such ideas and in fact rejected them.¹⁰⁴² This chapter suggested that because of their incompatibility with

¹⁰³⁹ Kim Hutchings "Dialogue Between Whom? The Role of the West/Non-West Distinction in Promoting Global Dialogue in IR" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 639-647.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For instance see Darryl S. L. Jarvis "International Relations: An International Discipline?" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 369-380 and Caroline Kennedy-Pipe and Nicholas Rengger, N. (2006) "BISA at Thirty: Reflections on Three Decades of British International Relations Scholarship" *Review of International Studies* 32 (4) (2006), pp. 665-676.

¹⁰⁴¹ For example see Nicholas Guilhot "The Realist Gambit: Postwar American Political Science and the Birth of IR Theory" *International Political Sociology* 2 (4) (2008), pp. 281-304; Patrick Thaddeus Jackson *The Conduct of Inquiry in International Relations: Philosophy of Science and its Implications for the Study of World Politics* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011); and J. Ann Tickner "Dealing with Difference: Problems and Possibilities for Dialogue in International Relations" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 607-618

¹⁰⁴² Morten Valbjørn "Blank, Blind or Blinded? Cultural Investigations in International Relations" in Jørgensen, K. and Knudsen, T. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 203. and Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations*, pp. 14.

certain national intellectual persuasions, historical context¹⁰⁴³ and the type of questions being asked by scholars in non-American IR communities rationalist methods had not been used more generally. The lack of 'fit' has meant that America has not been able to exercise its dominance methodologically, as other scholars have opted for a plethora of other methods, methods that enable scholars to address the questions they are asking. Once again the aim of this chapter was to reveal the various interactions taking place and to question the applicability of certain universal characterizations of IR, especially those regarding the field's methodological inclinations.

Chapter four showed that American scholars, defined as scholars from American institutions, command an overt presence in the discipline, in terms of numbers of scholars being published and participating at conferences. More American IR scholars were found to be present in the discipline's forums than academics affiliated with universities from other geographical regions. As such the data detailed supports the various claims put forth in the literature that IR is an American dominated discipline if we define dominance institutionally.¹⁰⁴⁴ In this realm of dominance the empirical reality matched the prominent conceptualization. However, in seamlessly reproducing this disciplinary self-image one runs the risk of diverting attention away from the large number of non-American scholars participating in the global discipline.¹⁰⁴⁵ In a sense American institutional dominance is only one side of the disciplinary reality, it co-exists alongside non-American scholarly efforts. If one simply talks of US institutional hegemony this gives the impression that no one is publishing outside of the US,¹⁰⁴⁶ and as the results show this is not the current state of affairs. The data suggests that the discipline is internationalizing itself; for instance the journal editors interviewed noted the "increase in submissions from further afield".¹⁰⁴⁷ If the discipline continues along this trajectory we could potentially see a decrease in the present American institutional stronghold as other IR communities develop and increase their prestige.¹⁰⁴⁸ This chapter also argued that American institutional dominance is nowhere near as damaging in terms of its associated parochialism as the literature tends to depict.¹⁰⁴⁹ As

¹⁰⁴³ Pierre Bourdieu "The Social Condition of the International Circulation of Ideas" in Schusterman, R. (ed) *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1999), pp. 220-228.

¹⁰⁴⁴ For example see Thomas Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony: Challenges for 'American' International Relations" in Tickner, A. B., and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 309 and J. C. Sharman "Benchmarking Australian IR: Low Impact, a Bookish Lot or a Very British Affair?" *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 62 (4) (2008), pp. 531.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Bilgin, "Thinking Past 'Western' IR?", pp. 5-23.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Donald Puchala "Third World Thinking and Contemporary International Relations" in Neumann, S. G. (ed) *International Relations Theory and the Third World* (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 133-157.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Interviewed journal editor number 6.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Gerard Holden "Approaches to IR: The Relationship Between Anglo-Saxon Historiography and Cross-Community Comparison" in Jørgensen, K. and Knudsen, T. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 232.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker "The Dialectics of World Order: Notes for a Future Archeologist of International Savoir Faire" *International Studies Quarterly* 28 (2) (1984), pp. 121-142; Kim Nossal "Tales That Textbooks Tell: Ethnocentricity and Diversity in America.

such chapter four broached the question of whether some forms of dominance are more destructive for the discipline than others. This chapter argued that it seems that institutional dominance is only a major disciplinary concern if it brings about the preponderance of a certain theory, method, focus, which subsequently results in either dogmatism or ethnocentrism. If scholars from American institutions dominate the discipline but they constitute an eclectic and diverse group then the associated concerns in the literature seemed somewhat diminished.¹⁰⁵⁰

Overall, the results presented in chapter four portray an underlying plurality. Whilst the discipline is still characterized by American institutional dominance, there is also a lively non-American and crucially non-Western body of research that is being published in the discipline's journals (including the American ones), and being presented at the discipline's international conferences. This plurality of perspectives and influences may not be as prominent as one may hope for; but there are still plenty of non-American voices contributing to the global IR conversation.¹⁰⁵¹ Yet, as chapter four noted more research needs to be done in this realm of dominance to find out the extent to which America dominates and to explore the consequences in more depth. This chapter presented a number of avenues for further inquiry, for example one needs to investigate the biographies of IR scholars in American and non-American universities to see the movement of scholars around the globe, because upon further examination one may find that there are more American scholars located in non-Western universities. This could result in the dissemination of 'American' ideas and the acculturation of 'American' models thereby enhancing America's institutional stronghold.¹⁰⁵² But one may also find that there are numerous non-American scholars located in American universities as well as other institutions. Such scholars could bring with them a host of different ideas based on non-American knowledge and facilitate dialogue and interactions that result in the spread of such ideas.¹⁰⁵³ Either way the movement of scholars results in the flow of ideas around the globe and the dilution of

Introductions to International Relations" in Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 167-186. Susan Strange "1995 Presidential Address, ISA as a Microcosm" *International Studies Quarterly* 39 (3) (1995), pp. 289-295; Andrei P. Tsygankov and Pavel A. Tsygankov "A Sociology of Dependence in International Relations Theory: A Case of Russian Liberal IR" *International Political Sociology* 1 (4) (November 2007), pp. 307-324.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Acharya and Buzan "Why is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory?", pp. 293.

¹⁰⁵¹ For example see Giorgio Shani "Toward a Post-Western IR: The Umma, Khalsa Panth and Critical International Relations Theory" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 722-734; Petra Roter "At the Centre and Periphery Simultaneously: The Incomplete Internationalization of Slovenian International Relations" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 12 (2) (2009), pp. 180-186; and Isaac Kamola "Reading the Global in the Absence of Africa" in Tickner, A. and Blaney, D. (eds) *Thinking International Relations Differently: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 183-204.

¹⁰⁵² Peter M. Kristensen "Dividing Discipline: Structures of Communication in International Relations" *International Studies Review* 14 (1) (2012), pp. 32-50.

¹⁰⁵³ Amitav Acharya "Dialogue and Discovery: In Search of International Relations Theories Beyond the West" *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 619-637.

geographical boundaries belonging to epistemic communities.¹⁰⁵⁴ What I am trying to elicit is that academic communities are not the monolithic entities that they are depicted as. The boundaries of these communities are rendered somewhat 'fuzzy' due to the influx of scholars from other IR communities and the influences and ideas they bring with them which impact and shape their interactions with other academics.

Chapter five addressed the claims that American institutional dominance is enabled by the preponderant number of American scholars in influential positions within the discipline.¹⁰⁵⁵ One widespread disciplinary self-image is that the American IR community is able to exercise and perpetuate its dominant position due to its gate-keeping abilities.¹⁰⁵⁶ Various articles examining the political nature of publication practices have argued that an American rationalist elite polices the discipline's borders and only permits entrance to research that adheres to its standards of what constitutes 'good IR scholarship'¹⁰⁵⁷; i.e. rationalist research.¹⁰⁵⁸ Chapter five, however, challenged these popular notions. The investigation into a number of the discipline's gate-keepers found that those holding the positions of power were not overwhelming American, in fact the discipline's gate-keepers constituted an international and plural group. Furthermore, the level of plurality witnessed in previous chapters also worked to challenge the arguments that an elite group of scholars predominantly publishes work that meets its supposed rationalist preferences.

The final chapter explored the current gate-keeping practices taking place by a heterogeneous set of scholars and showed how these deviate from the prominent assumptions operating in the discipline. In general, it seems that research is not being denied entrance into the international sphere on substantive, theoretical, methodological or institutional grounds. Instead the language of 'fits' and 'standards' was being and is being used to determine whether work will be published in a given journal. Furthermore this chapter argued that the narrative of an American set of rationalist journal editors policing the discipline's boundaries diverts attention away from the influential role of the reviewer and Thomson Reuters, thereby obscuring the actual disciplining practices taking place. The somewhat misplaced academic attention has ensured that two groups who help determine journal content escape being the subject of academic scrutiny, which then ensures that these practices continue unchallenged. This chapter sought to problematise the impact that the JCR and its impact factor are having on the discipline

¹⁰⁵⁴ Yongjin Zhang "The 'English School' in China: A Travelogue of Ideas and Their Diffusion" *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (1) (2003), pp. 87-114.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Adylini and Mathews, "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 289-303.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony", pp. 310 and Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline", pp. 703.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Bleiker, "Forget IR Theory", pp. 44-45.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Aydinli and Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 289-303; Arlene Tickner "Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World" *Millennium* 32 (2) (2003), pp. 295-324; and Marijke Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft and Eugene Walton "Promise and Performance: An Evaluation of Journals in International Relations: *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) (2005), pp. 447-461.

of IR, and raise awareness of the biases in operation in Thomson Reuters selection criteria, in order show how other structural forces are disciplining IR.

Overall, each chapter works to 1) empirically demonstrate the existing levels of pluralism in International Relations and 2) show how complex the current disciplinary environment is and how there are numerous dynamics in operation that are shaping the field, which table 6.1 has attempted to summarize. Through demonstrating all the different pluralistic tendencies, how American disciplinary dominance is exercised, and the different structural forces in operation this thesis has attempted to show how the issue of whether IR is an American dominated discipline is not one that elicits a yes or no answer. This is because the answer to the question changes depending on the perspective used (see table 6.1). Furthermore, through entrenching this disciplinary self-image without prefixing the way in which the US dominates problematically encourages us to ignore the other dynamics that co-exist. But what must also be stressed is that whilst the American IR community is intellectually hegemonic institutionally and theoretically, American preponderance is not as pervasive across the discipline as the literature tends to depict (see table 6.1). This is because the discipline of IR is becoming increasing ‘internationalized’ in terms of not only who is contributing to the global IR conversation but also the perspectives and theories that are being drawn upon. Resultantly, certain scholars have argued that the discipline has the potential to become increasing de-Americanized, and therefore more geographically plural,¹⁰⁵⁹ which has generated a discourse of ‘disciplinary transformation’.

| Definition of Dominance. | Evidence of Dominance. | Disciplinary Inclinations. |
|---------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Agenda-setting. | No. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independence from American foreign policy making elites. • Global ontological pluralism. |
| Theoretical Dominance. | Yes and No. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American dominance in terms of the volume of theoretical research produced. • Global theoretical pluralism, which is increasing due to the influx of non-Western IR theory. |
| Methodological Dominance. | No. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global methodological |

¹⁰⁵⁹ Holden “Approaches to IR”, pp. 225, also see Gerard Holden “Who Contextualizes the Contextualizers? Disciplinary History and the Discourse About IR Discourse” *Review of International Studies* 28 (2) (2002), pp. 265.

| | | |
|------------------------------|------|---|
| | | <p>pluralism.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Differing national methodological preferences. |
| Institutional Preponderance. | Yes. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American institutional dominance. • National parochialism. • Global internationalization. |
| Gate-Keeping. | No. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pluralism and internationalization encouraged. • Gate-keeping practices through 'fits' and 'standards'. • Gate-keeping role of Thomson Reuters. |

Table 6.1: Dominance and Diversity: The findings from each chapter summarized.

For example, the degree of pluralism in the field in all its variants, the lack of emulation of the American mainstream's preferences in the global discipline, and the growth, independence and diversity of non-American IR communities¹⁰⁶⁰ has lead Miles Kahler to claim that "International Relations no longer remains an American social science".¹⁰⁶¹ The diverse nature of IR national communities leading to different ways the discipline is practised, researched, theorised and taught¹⁰⁶² around the world, has resulted in the emergence of a dialogue surrounding IR's apparent 'transformation' from an American enterprise to an international one. In other words, this thesis is not alone in questioning the extent to which America dominates the discipline of IR. Scholars such as John Groom¹⁰⁶³, Gerard Holden,¹⁰⁶⁴ and Knud Erik Jørgensen¹⁰⁶⁵ have used the

¹⁰⁶⁰ Valbjørn, "Blank, Blind or Blinded?", pp. 203.

¹⁰⁶¹ Miles Kahler "International Relations: Still an American Social Science?" in Miller, L. B. and Smith, M. J. (eds) *Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honour of Stanley Hoffmann* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), pp.409.

¹⁰⁶² See for instance J. K. Choi "Theorizing East Asian International Relations in Korea" *Asian Perspective* 32 (1) (2008), pp. 193-216; Bob S. Hadiwinata "International Relations in Indonesia: Historical Legacy, Political Intrusion, and Commercialization" *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 9 (1) (2009), pp. 55-81; Lucy Taylor "Decolonizing International Relations: Perspectives From Latin America" *International Studies Review* 14 (3) (2012), pp. 386-400 and Arlene Tickner "Latin American IR and the Primacy of *lo práctico*" *International Studies Review* 10 (4) (2008), pp. 735-748.

¹⁰⁶³ A. J. R. Groom and William Olson *International Relations Then and Now: Origins and Trends in Interpretation* (London: Harper Collins, 1991), pp. 325. Also see A. J. R. Groom and Peter Mandaville "Hegemony and Autonomy in International Relations; The Continental Experience" in

current 'eclectic and assorted spectrum of current IR scholarship taking place throughout the world'¹⁰⁶⁶ to question the assumptions of American disciplinary dominance. However, just like its counterpart the claims that question the extent to which American dominates the discipline are also empirically light.¹⁰⁶⁷ Resultantly the data presented here could be employed in such a way as to provide the empirical support needed to verify these claims. However, to use the data here in such a manner would be to problematically overlook certain tendencies within the discipline. As previously mentioned the key issue is not whether IR is or is not an American discipline, it is about the *degree* of dominance exercised and crucially *how* an academic community dominates.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the central aim of this dissertation was to encourage scholars to refine their claims regarding American dominance, and this also applies in the reverse. Depending on the frame used one can make either claim. For instance, if one looks at American dominance methodologically and then institutionally one would arrive at a different answer to the question of whether the United States is intellectually hegemonic. Without detailing the manner in which America does or does not dominate claims relating to IR's American self-image make little sense. Through disaggregating the concept of dominance a variety of different disciplinary depictions surface, and each relates differently to the issue of whether Stanley Hoffmann's characterisation applies to the contemporary field. The disciplinary reality concerning the discipline's relationship with the American IR community is multilayered and complex, and we must begin to capture this in our disciplinary depictions. Whilst the discipline of IR is a plural enterprise and exhibits diverse inclinations in terms of the research being conducted, these efforts exist alongside American theoretical and institutional dominance. The issue is not black and white and the image of IR shifts depending on the lens used, and this also may be dependent on one's geographical location. Perspective as, as Groom and Mandaville argue, everything.¹⁰⁶⁸ Whether one agrees with the pluralistic depiction of the discipline that has been generated here will invariably depend upon the "locale and vantage point from which one views the discipline".¹⁰⁶⁹ To certain scholars working in specific American universities the discipline may feel like an American dominated one, as it might also to scholars in other geographical locales who feel dependent on 'American' texts, methods and even academics themselves.¹⁰⁷⁰ Context has a vast determining effect upon one's view of the discipline. As such

Crawford, R. M. A. and Jarvis, D. S. L. (eds) *International Relations-Still an American Social Science? Toward Diversity in International Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), pp. 151-166.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Holden "Who Contextualizes the Contextualizers?", pp. 253-270.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Knud Erik Jørgensen "Continental IR Theory: The Best Kept Secret" *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (9) (2000), pp. 28.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Mark Boyer "Old Whine in New Bottles" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 6 (4) (December 2003), pp. 390-398.

¹⁰⁶⁷ For instance, authors such as John Groom and Peter Mandaville, have tended to point to general trends and based their arguments from individual experiences alone. See for example, Groom and Mandaville "Hegemony and Autonomy in International Relations", pp. 159.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Groom and Mandaville "Hegemony and Autonomy in International Relations", pp. 151.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹⁰⁷⁰ Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony", pp. 309.

the institutional setting and frame of this thesis will now be taken into consideration and reflected upon in order to question whether the plural view presented is dependent upon its own institutional basis.

Institutional Perspectives and Reflexivity.

As noted in Chapter three the British International Relations community has an international reputation of being diverse, eclectic¹⁰⁷¹ and having its own 'way of doing IR' that is distinct from the American academy.¹⁰⁷² This self-image is also shared internally; according to Chris Brown British IR academics have an image of themselves as;

“an open, pluralistic discipline, not affected by the kind of gate-keeping that, allegedly, distorts US international relations, and it is indeed true that in the course of the last two decades British IR has been remarkably open to new forms of knowledge”.¹⁰⁷³

The British IR academy is often commended for establishing an independent IR community that is not influenced by US preferences.¹⁰⁷⁴ As Caroline Kennedy-Pipe notes, “at least on this side of the Atlantic, we are surely not obliged to follow the rather odd scholarly fashions that dominate our fellows on the other side”.¹⁰⁷⁵ Whilst there was a degree of convergence (in terms of similar frameworks and foci) between the burgeoning American and British IR communities during the inter-war period,¹⁰⁷⁶ the 1950s saw the beginning of an increased division between the two IR academies. The Second Debate resulted in a clear divergence between the US approach to IR and the British one.¹⁰⁷⁷ Combined with the development of British IR theory the 'distance' between British and American scholarship on international politics has persisted, if not increased.¹⁰⁷⁸ The consequences of this distance and independence from the American IR community has meant that the British IR academy has been able to unfetteredly 1) create an academic community that

¹⁰⁷¹ John Mearsheimer “E. H. Carr Vs. Idealism: The Battle Rages On” *International Relations* 19 (2) (2005), pp. 144.

¹⁰⁷² Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁰⁷³ Chris Brown “No Jazz on the Radio ... John Mearsheimer and British IR” *International Relations* 19 (3) (2005), pp. 349.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Wayne S. Cox and Kim R. Nossal “The ‘Crimson World’: The Anglo Core, the Post-Imperial Non-Core, and the Hegemony of American IR” in Tickner, A. B., and Waever, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 294; Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 90-92; and Brian C. Schmidt “Epilogue” in Jørgensen, K. E. and Knudsen, T. B. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 253-269.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Caroline Kennedy-Pipe “At a Crossroads – and Other Reasons to be Cheerful: The Future of International Relations” *International Relations* 21 (3) (2007), pp. 351.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 91.

¹⁰⁷⁷ F. S. Northedge “Transnationalism: The American Illusion” *Millennium* 5 (1) (1976), pp. 21-27.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Gene M. Lyons “The Study of International Relations in Great Britain: Further Connections” *World Politics* 38 (4), pp. 629. Also see Steve Smith (ed) *International Relations, British and American Perspectives* (London: Blackwell, 1985).

is plural and comprises an “increasingly cosmopolitan mix of intellectual orientations”¹⁰⁷⁹ and 2) pursue its methodological preferences for interpretive and reflectivist approaches, thereby offering an “alternative to behaviouralism and positivism”.¹⁰⁸⁰ The result of which has been, according to Chris Brown, that “unlike most other national IR communities, Britain has its own brand, with extensive recognition in the United States and elsewhere”.¹⁰⁸¹

The British IR community has amassed an international reputation,¹⁰⁸² its theoretical endeavours are recognized globally (by American and non-American scholars alike) and there is a large degree of dialogue between the British and American IR communities.¹⁰⁸³ Furthermore, its theoretical efforts, and pluralism (substantive, theoretical, epistemological and methodological) has made the UK an attractive and favoured destination for IR scholars and students.¹⁰⁸⁴ Great Britain is a recognized centre for IR, because as Knud Erik Jørgensen and Tonny Brems Knudsen note “In the UK we find the biggest and best organized International Relations (IR) community in Europe with the biggest and best annual conference and a unique journal and book publication infrastructure”.¹⁰⁸⁵

It is within this plural, esteemed, and professionally developed academic environment that this PhD has been written. Furthermore, I was lucky enough to study for my undergraduate degree in IR and my MSc in International Relations Theory at two prestigious UK universities.¹⁰⁸⁶ As such I have become accustomed to an academic environment that favours and promotes substantive, theoretical, epistemological and methodological diversity.¹⁰⁸⁷ I have been taught and influenced by scholars with diverging research interests and specialism’s who have amounted global reputations.¹⁰⁸⁸ Also I have witnessed first hand the impact of non-American scholars on the global discipline and through my own research network I have worked, interacted, and socialized with IR scholars from all over the globe, all contributing to the global IR conversation

¹⁰⁷⁹ Kennedy-Pipe and Rengger, “BISA at Thirty”, pp. 667.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Knud Erik Jørgensen and Tonny Brems Knudsen “United Kingdom” in Jørgensen, K. E. and Knudsen, T. B. (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations*. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 165.

¹⁰⁸¹ Chris Brown “The Development of International Relations Theory in the UK: Traditions, Contemporary Perspectives, and Trajectories” *International Relations of the Asia Pacific* 11 (2) (2011), pp. 311.

¹⁰⁸² Chris Brown “IR Theory in Britain – the New Black?” *Review of International Studies* 32, (4) (2006), pp. 685.

¹⁰⁸³ Cox and Nossal, “The ‘Crimson World’”, pp. 291.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 397.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Jørgensen and Knudsen “United Kingdom”, pp. 149.

¹⁰⁸⁶ One of the two universities is renowned in certain circles for having the First Chair of IR. See Brian C. Schmidt “Anarchy, World Politics, and the Birth of a Discipline: American International Relations, Pluralist Theory and the Myth of Interwar Idealism” *International Relations* 16 (1) (2002), pp. 12. For more on the global disciplinary effects of this institutional starting point see Benjamin de Carvalho, Halvard Leira and John M. Hobson “The Big Bangs of IR: The Myths That Your Teachers Still Tell You about 1648 and 1919” *Millennium* 39 (3) (2011), pp. 735-758.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Smith “The Discipline of International Relations”, pp. 397.

¹⁰⁸⁸ My main academic influences have been my supervisor Colin Wight, my former mentor Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith (who is also the Vice Chancellor of the University where I studied for my PhD). I have also been inspired and taught by Tim Dunne, Toni Erskine, Lene Hansen, Iver Neumann and Hidemi Suganami.

through inter-IR community dialogue. Therefore, my view of the global discipline of IR has been shaped by the institutional structures of the UK IR community and my own 'global' IR experiences.¹⁰⁸⁹

Moreover, the wealth of British theoretical works, the distance (in terms of intellectual traditions and preferences) between the UK IR community and the American academy, the vibrancy of the professional identity of British IR – in terms of the number of highly ranked journals, universities that offer IR courses, and size and number of conferences – has meant that I do not feel dominated by the United States IR community.¹⁰⁹⁰ I have not been dependent on the US for theoretical texts, methodological approaches or research, and I do not feel the need to emulate the American mainstream in order to gain recognition and entrance into the global IR community. Resultantly, I am perhaps predisposed to see pluralism. Had I of been based in another IR community, one that feels the hegemonic presence of the US in certain ways I may have interpreted the results produced in a different manner, one that perhaps draws more heavily upon American institutional dominance and used this realm of dominance as grounds to construct a slightly different image of the discipline.

As a result of the importance of perspective and personal experiences certain scholars may feel that the empirical presentation of a plural global discipline put forth here does not capture their disciplinary reality. Their institutional experiences may differ remarkably and as such they may discern American and/or Anglo-American disciplinary dominance. For example, European scholars have referred to the UK IR community as 'a little America',¹⁰⁹¹ and have critiqued the UK IR community for not paying enough attention to European IR and Continental theory.¹⁰⁹² According to Jørgensen and Knudsen "British IR has been guilty of a certain lack of interest in continental scholarship. With the exception of the particularity of the ECPR sessions and the pan-European conferences in the 1990s, encounters with continental IR theory have been individual rather than institutional".¹⁰⁹³ Consequently, European scholars like Jørgensen and Knudsen may have a different perception of the global discipline with regards to its self-image¹⁰⁹⁴ because of their interactions with both the American and British IR academies. In order to explore the tensions produced due to the differing perspective more research is needed into individual experiences and disciplinary perceptions. The data featured here is formed from investigations into institutional forms of academic research therefore looking at individual attitudes and insights gained through questionnaires for example, might produce another insight

¹⁰⁸⁹ Loïc Wacquant, 'Toward a Social Praxeology: The Structure and Logic of Bourdieu's Sociology', in Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (eds) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 1-60.

¹⁰⁹⁰ This investigation therefore has been "informed by larger institutions and discursive structures of power" Matthew Eagleton-Pierce "Advancing a Reflective International Relations", pp. 2.

¹⁰⁹¹ Jørgensen and Knudsen "United Kingdom", pp. 149.

¹⁰⁹² Smith, "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 398.

¹⁰⁹³ Jørgensen and Knudsen "United Kingdom", pp. 163.

¹⁰⁹⁴ For more see Knud Erik Jørgensen and Tonny Brems Knudsen (eds) *International Relations in Europe: Traditions, Perspectives and Destinations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2006).

into the way the discipline is practiced and organized. Scholars, for example, may feel dominated by the US, and argue that the global discipline is an American one based on individual experiences without this being the empirical actuality as illustrated through journal or conference content.¹⁰⁹⁵

The different perceptions based on different perspectives have in a sense constructed a virtual reality.¹⁰⁹⁶ In other words, the perceptions of some have produced a narrative that others have adopted and reproduced, resulting in a widespread disciplinary depiction that may be removed from the empirical reality of a large percentage of the discipline.¹⁰⁹⁷ What might be an actuality for some has become a virtual reality for others. The social construction of this disciplinary self-image and its pervasive nature has resulted in certain self-disciplining behaviours, which further entrenches this disciplinary characterization and the performance of 'American disciplinary dominance'. The next section of this concluding chapter will now look at how this narrative conditions academic behaviour and how certain disciplinary 'myths' have enabled the construction of a virtual disciplinary reality.

The Virtual Reality?

According to Duncan Bell: "Scholars routinely tell stories to each other and to themselves about how their discipline or specialism emerged, how it evolved over time and how they fit into this account. These are discipline-defining mythologies".¹⁰⁹⁸ The mythologies produced however are not only confined to tales of the past, they also operate as current depictions. The notion that IR is an American discipline has become of one the most prevalent images of the contemporary discipline. This thesis has shown how widespread this characterization is and how many have uncritically adopted and reproduced this self-image. This disciplinary description is sustained through the constant reproduction of this image both in the literature and academic behaviour regardless of whether it may be the actuality. As Jörg Friedrichs argues "in a certain sense International Relations is as much an American social science as IR scholars behave and view each other as American social scientists".¹⁰⁹⁹

This thesis has repeatedly argued the discipline is more plural than is commonly depicted; yet academics often behave as if the discipline were suffering from certain forms of

¹⁰⁹⁵ See for example the claims of Chris Brown and Steve Smith when compared to the data presented throughout this thesis; Brown "The Development of International Relations Theory in the UK", pp. 309 and Smith "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 399-400.

¹⁰⁹⁶ I use the term 'virtual reality' to denote and capture that which has been awarded the status of 'real' and is treated as the 'reality', yet this state of affairs is the product of a narrative. It is a social construction that differs from the empirical reality. My use and understanding of this concept is based on the work of Jean Baudrillard, for more see Jean Baudrillard *The Perfect Crime* (London: Verso, 2008), pp. 29-32; 65-71 and Jean Baudrillard *The Spirit of Terrorism and Other Essays* (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 27-30; 38.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 1.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Duncan Bell "Writing the World: Disciplinary History and Beyond" *International Affairs* 85 (1) (2009), pp. 5.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Friedrichs, *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 2.

intellectual dogmatism and totalitarianism. Resultantly academics themselves begin to construct a reality whereby the United States dominates the discipline. As Bell notes:

“Disciplinary mythologies perform various legitimating functions, classifying some positions as the product of intellectual progress, others as consigned for ever to the proverbial dustbin of history. Engines of identity construction, they help to mark and police the boundaries of disciplines, as well as shaping the self-understandings of scholars”.¹¹⁰⁰

The understanding of IR as an American dominated discipline enables scholars to construct their own academic identities and through such performances of feeling dominated the discipline is policed.

Chapter two noted the effects of certain self-disciplining practices borne out of the widespread adoption and reproduction that IR is an American dominated discipline and the effects they have had on the discipline. The chapter on theoretical dominance attempted to highlight that academics often discipline themselves and construct their own marginal positions and academic identities through treating certain theories as though they were dominant. Through defining themselves in relation to certain American schools of thought they immediately place themselves in a marginal position. Through performing their own marginality and entrenching this image the notions of American dominance seem to capture the current perceived environment. More worryingly than the self-disciplining practices of certain academics is the treatment of ‘peripheral scholarship’ by some within the discipline and even those who perceive themselves to be on the margins. What has been designated as ‘peripheral scholarship’ is that which is often produced in the Third World. Because certain IR communities are perceived as dependent on American texts and American ways of doing IR it is then argued that ‘peripheral scholarship’ amounts to nothing other than what it has been taught.¹¹⁰¹ In other words it is not original. Such scholarship has been labeled as ‘thoughtless emulations’,¹¹⁰² which problematically denies it any agency. Differences are overlooked, as are the individual merits of such scholarship.¹¹⁰³ This situation is inherently problematic. Through revealing the current plural situation and how American dominance within IR is not as pervasive as is often imagined we can hope to bring about an end to these forms of academic behaviour and to begin recognizing the diverse and original research taking place in what has been classified as the ‘periphery’. Furthermore, through empirically illustrating the different plural and international inclinations within IR we can see that the differing dynamics in the discipline has shown that “the dominant self-understanding of the discipline as an American social science is more of a social construction than an objective truth”.¹¹⁰⁴

¹¹⁰⁰ Bell “Writing the World”, pp. 5.

¹¹⁰¹ Puchala “Some Non-Western Perspectives on International Relations”, pp. 129.

¹¹⁰² Bilgin “Thinking Past ‘Western IR’”, pp. 13.

¹¹⁰³ Acharya “Dialogue and Discovery”, pp. 624.

¹¹⁰⁴ Friedrichs *European Approaches to International Relations Theory*, pp. 10.

Another means in which IR scholar's self-discipline themselves and aid the construction and reproduction of American hegemony in IR is through individual publication choices. As chapter five noted IR scholars have argued that the US is able to exercise its disciplinary dominance through processes of inclusion and exclusion into the discipline's international journals. Research examining the political nature of publication practices has argued that an American neo-realist/neo-liberal elite polices the discipline's borders and only permits entrance to research that adheres to the editors standards of what constitutes 'good IR scholarship'¹¹⁰⁵; i.e. quantitative research using a rationalist theoretical framework.¹¹⁰⁶ Such notions about the discipline have resultantly constrained the behaviour of IR scholars. Fears of being rejected have prevented scholars from sending their work to journals they perceive to be 'rationalist'. Publication choices can become limited if one adopts the assumptions about certain journals and their gate-keeping practices.¹¹⁰⁷ Meaning, academics are disciplining themselves and potentially bringing to fruition that which they lament.

The international reputation that each journal amasses influences academics in terms of deciding where to send their work. Academics have to make strategic choices regarding where their work will best received.¹¹⁰⁸ If American journals are perceived to be openly hostile to work that falls outside of the rationalist rubric then scholars who use discourse analysis, or semiotics may feel that their work will be rejected and thus choose to send their research to a more compatible journal. Because editors can only publish what is submitted, if these practices become widespread the identity and orientation of each journal will be reinforced, as will the grounds for claiming that IR is dominated by the U.S if we define dominance in terms of gate-keeping. If scholars aren't sending in their manuscripts to certain publications because they don't adhere to what they perceive to be the preferences of the editors then the situation becomes somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy. If 'critical' and 'qualitative' work is not being sent to certain publications then that work cannot be published and the editors will publish the work that they receive, which might be more rationalist and quantitative in orientation. Through behaving as though IR is an American dominated discipline scholars could begin to turn the virtual reality into an empirical one.

These narratives however, whilst they may not capture the empirical reality, do aid the constitution of IR as a discipline. As Steve Smith argues "We construct and reconstruct our disciplines just as much as we construct and reconstruct our world".¹¹⁰⁹ According to Smith we 'sing our world into existence' just as we 'sing our discipline into existence'. Certain discourses

¹¹⁰⁵ Bleiker, "Forget IR Theory", pp. 44-45.

¹¹⁰⁶ Aydinli and Mathews "Are the Core and the Periphery Irreconcilable?", pp. 289-303; Tickner "Seeing IR Differently", pp. 295-324; and Marijke Breuning, Joseph Bredehoft and Eugene Walton "Promise and Performance: An Evaluation of Journals in International Relations: *International Studies Perspectives* 6 (4) (2005), pp. 447-461.

¹¹⁰⁷ For example see Smith, "The Discipline of International Relations", pp. 374-402.

¹¹⁰⁸ Paasi "Globalization, Academic Capitalism and the Uneven Geographies of International Journal Publishing Space", pp. 772-774.

¹¹⁰⁹ Steve Smith "Singing Our World into Existence: International Relations Theory and September 11" *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (3) (2004), pp. 510.

and historical accounts, whilst they may serve certain legitimating purposes, and overlook certain dynamics, do in fact constitute the discipline of IR because they present an image of a discipline which is united by certain issues/questions/foci and divided and dominated by others.

The Discipline of International Relations.

This thesis is built upon the understanding that IR is a discipline; this is a fundamental premise of this thesis and as such an immediate point of critique. The ideas laid out here and the topic itself has been challenged through disputing the premise of IR's disciplinarity. Despite the controversy and lengthy debate surrounding this issue there are numerous grounds upon which one can make the claim about IR's disciplinary status, and furthermore this thesis can itself be viewed as an insight into IR's disciplinarity in action.

Whether or not one conceives IR to be a discipline is in large due to the definitions or criteria of disciplinarity that are employed. As Ole Wæver argues many of the claims that state IR is not a discipline rest on a "false premise that it is possible and necessary to have agreement over objects or definitions in a discipline".¹¹¹⁰ Michael Brecher,¹¹¹¹ Kal Holsti,¹¹¹² and others,¹¹¹³ have all argued that IR is a non-discipline based on three frequently cited factors; 1) a lack of consensus over the field's subject matter; 2) IR's interdisciplinary beginnings and nature; and 3) what is perceived to be a paucity of distinct theory and methodology. To qualify as a discipline the emphasis is often placed on consensus or rather conventionalism around subject matter,¹¹¹⁴ theory choice, methodology and the purpose of IR.¹¹¹⁵ According to Harry Howe Ransom in order to qualify as a discipline International Relations needs:

"first of all, a distinct subject-matter; secondly, agreed upon abstractions or models; thirdly concepts uniquely adapted to the analysis of international behaviour; fourthly, a specialized vocabulary, with precise definitions; fifthly, standardized analytical methods allowing re-testing or replication of initial

¹¹¹⁰ Ole Wæver "Still a Discipline After All These Debates?" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 290.

¹¹¹¹ Michael Brecher "International Studies in the Twentieth Century and Beyond: Flawed Dichotomies, Synthesis and Cumulation" *International Studies Quarterly* 43 (2) (1999), pp. 213-264.

¹¹¹² Kal Holsti in Adam Jones "Interview with Kal Holsti" *Review of International Studies* 28 (3) (2002), pp. 621.

¹¹¹³ For other examples see Morton Kaplan "Is International Relations a Discipline?" *The Journal of Politics* 23 (3) (1961), pp. 462-476; Kennedy-Pipe "At a Crossroads", pp. 351-354; Alan James "The Realism of Realism: The State and the Study of International Relations" *Review of International Studies* 15 (3) (1989), pp. 215-229 and Philip Windsor 'Foreword' in Dyer, H. C. and Mangasarian, L. (eds) *The Study of International Relations: The State of the Art* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989).

¹¹¹⁴ See for instance Quincy Wright *The Study of International Relations* (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1955), pp. 23.

¹¹¹⁵ William Wallace "Truth and Power, Monks and Technocrats: Theory and Practice in International Relations" *Review of International Studies* 22 (3) (1996), pp. 305-306.

analysis; and finally, a centralized system for cataloguing, evaluating, and communicating research and its results".¹¹¹⁶

Scholars such as Ransom have tended to conflate disciplinarity with consensus, the results of which being that if a discipline is conceived as too plural, and therefore 'fragmented' and 'divided' it cannot be awarded disciplinary status.¹¹¹⁷

To conflate 'disciplinarity' with a consensus around an agreed subject matter, or method for instance, is to misunderstand the concept of a discipline. Wæver has shown that "the history of science is full of disciplines that did not agree at all on their self-definition, subject matter, or methodology and continued nonetheless".¹¹¹⁸ The lack of consensus is not particular to IR, but is actually akin to the majority of disciplines. As William Olson and A.J.R. Groom have argued the "criticisms leveled against international relations as a discipline could to some degree be leveled at other subjects as well".¹¹¹⁹ For example, both Sociology and Psychology have suffered similar internal disputes; the idiosyncrasy being that their disciplinary status has not been brought into intense dispute. Nor is disciplinarity dependent upon the degree of, or absence of, interdisciplinarity. Some scholars¹¹²⁰ have viewed IR's interdisciplinary origins negatively, viewing IR as nothing but a mish-mash of other disciplines, and claiming that it is too dependent on other academic realms to be considered a disciplinary entity of its own.¹¹²¹ As William Olson and Nicholas Onuf have suggested "perhaps one of the reasons for the slowness of acceptance of International Relations as a discipline lies in what has been recognized from the beginning, that the subject impinges on and draws from so many other subjects, each of which has its own disciplinary characteristics".¹¹²² However, according to Barry Buzan and Richard Little, "All disciplines beg, borrow and steal from each other".¹¹²³ If this is the case, as I believe it to be, Buzan and Little's assertion highlights the impossibility of there being any fully autonomous and independent realms of academic pursuit. In a sense all disciplines are interdisciplinary, so the claims that IR is not a discipline because it is too interdisciplinary are rendered void for they could be applied to a number of academic spheres, such as Political Science and Biology, both of which are currently unproblematically conceived to be disciplines. What one defines as a discipline is not dependent upon the constant reproduction of consensus, or an absence of influences from other disciplines. Rather, what constitutes a discipline according to Richard

¹¹¹⁶ Harry Howe Ransom "International Relations" *The Journal of Politics* 30 (May 1968), pp. 369.

¹¹¹⁷ Holsti *The Dividing Discipline*.

¹¹¹⁸ Wæver, "Still a Discipline After All These Debates?", pp. 291.

¹¹¹⁹ Olson and Groom *International Relations Then and Now*, pp. 115.

¹¹²⁰ For example see Holsti *The Dividing Discipline*.

¹¹²¹ Barry Buzan and Richard Little "Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to do About It" *Millennium* 30 (1) (2001), pp. 19.

¹¹²² William C. Olson and Nicholas Onuf "The Growth of a Discipline: Revisited" in Smith, S. (ed) *International Relations: British and American Perspectives* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1985), pp. 15.

¹¹²³ Buzan and Little "Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project and What to do About It", pp. 19.

Whitley¹¹²⁴ and Ole Wæver¹¹²⁵ are the institutions, discourses, professionalization and the identity of academics who self-identify as belonging to a given discipline. Meaning International Relations is “a well established academic discipline, with an institutional emplacement and a substantial specialist, theoretical and analytic literature”.¹¹²⁶

According to Andrew Abbott the departmental structure of the modern research university resulted in thinking in terms of disciplines, as knowledge and scholars became organized into categories and gained a professional identity.¹¹²⁷ One does not have to cast a very in-depth glance to see IR’s disciplinarity in action. There are numerous departments, Chairs of International Relations, research centers, IR courses, and PhD programmes all over the globe, all of which work to produce and reproduce IR’s disciplinary status.¹¹²⁸ IR is treated as a separate academic endeavour due to its institutionalization across the globe. Even in the US where IR is often considered a sub-discipline of Political Science, there are IR departments, faculty members, and IR courses thereby producing and reproducing the discipline. Furthermore, these internal mechanisms are self-reinforcing, meaning that it has become gradually harder to challenge the disciplinary system, as careers now depend on disciplinary identification. For instance, Wæver argues that graduates would lose career options if there were no longer a discipline of IR, as they would fail to qualify as students or PhD’s in XX.¹¹²⁹ However it is defined, there is something called IR that exists within the university framework, showing that IR exists as a separate branch of academic study. This is because the discipline “has attempted to provide authoritative knowledge about the subject matter of international politics”¹¹³⁰ meaning there is a loose overarching research frame under which students are taught, and the discipline’s conversations are taking place.

Linked to its institutional existence is IR’s professional one. There is an extensive body of networks, conferences, working groups, associations, journals and career hierarchies. The professional organizations, such as the International Studies Association (which was established in 1959) and its various regional and national affiliates (for instance the British International Studies Association, Nordic International Studies Association, or the Central and Eastern Europe International Studies Association) for example, are comprised of academics partaking in ‘IR’. What should be studied, and how, may be under continuous debate but there is a permanent

¹¹²⁴ Richard Whitley *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 153-218.

¹¹²⁵ Wæver, “Still a Discipline After All These Debates?”, pp. 290-292.

¹¹²⁶ Fred Halliday “The Future of International Relations: Fears and Hopes” in Booth, K., Smith, S. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 318.

¹¹²⁷ Andrew Abbott *Chaos of Disciplines* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001). For more on how the departmental system gave rise to disciplinarity see Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 9-34 and Bell “Writing the World”, pp. 3-22.

¹¹²⁸ For detailed examples of the growth of the discipline worldwide see Arlene Tickner and Ole Wæver (eds) *International Relations Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009).

¹¹²⁹ Wæver, “Still a Discipline After All These Debates?”, pp. 292.

¹¹³⁰ Brian Schmidt *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1998), pp. 12.

institutional structure to IR comprised of scholars worldwide who are actively involved in a specific academic enterprise. The various professional associations (ISA, Standing Group for International Relations, Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, to name a few) have served to build up a community of IR scholars through establishing and cementing their distinct professional identity and providing a structure for the IR conversations that are taking place thereby entrenching IR's disciplinary status. The social structure of IR helps hone professional identities, organize research activities, and aids the construction of scholarly reputations and career advancement due to the mutual dependence of academics upon each other.¹¹³¹ The field of IR is a myriad of professional relationships all interacting within a social structure which academics crucially see and label as a discipline.

Moreover, if academics perceive themselves to be part of a specific scholarly endeavour they aid the constitution of that discipline and bring it into existence, and entrench it's standing through founding further institutions and professional organizations. Through seeing themselves as a part of a discipline and behaving in terms of a discipline academics themselves constitute and construct IR's disciplinary status. According to Barry Buzan and Richard Little IR "serves as a clear node of identity for an intellectual community comprising many thousands of people".¹¹³² In other words academics comprise and aid the construction of the field through self-identification and in turn give depth and substance to the institutional identity of IR. It is clear that International Relations is a discipline and that its existence can be seen through the form of a 'coherent conversation pursued by scholars who self-consciously understand themselves as participants in this particular field of inquiry'.¹¹³³

Writing about the origins of the discipline Robert Vitalis argued:

"As American scholars began for the first time to identify themselves as experts in something called IR and began to introduce their students to the workings of contemporary history or world politics, as universities began to raise money to support these experts and institutionalize this expertise, as the philanthropies paid out, and as a canon was gradually accumulated and transmitted in professional association meetings, in classrooms, and in the first textbooks".¹¹³⁴

Vitalis highlights how the elements of disciplinarity are interrelated and work together to reproduce and stabilize IR's disciplinary status. The self-identification of scholars defining themselves as working in a field called IR alongside the departmental model – thereby creating the beginnings of an institutionalized academic field – led to the professionalization of IR. In turn the organization and structure of IR has facilitated the creation of future identities and given a concrete forum for the 'IR discourse', all of which helps to reaffirm nodes of identity. The situation is mutually constitutive as well as mutually reinforcing, ensuring that "There is always

¹¹³¹ Whitley, *The Intellectual and Social Organization of the Sciences*, pp. 87-95.

¹¹³² Buzan and Little, "Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project", pp. 19.

¹¹³³ Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy*, pp. 12.

¹¹³⁴ Robert Vitalis "Birth of a Discipline" in Long, D. and Schmidt, B. C. (eds) *Imperialism and Internationalism; in the Discipline of International Relations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), pp. 160.

disciplinarity”.¹¹³⁵ Disciplines are surprisingly stable organizations whose existence does not depend on ‘consensus’¹¹³⁶ but rather on the individuals who identify themselves as part of a shared academic conversation the social structures they engender. According to Ole Wæver “The discipline [of IR] is real and reproducing – even in the absence of a clear and given object (i.r.) and a shared agreement (IR)”.¹¹³⁷

This thesis has empirically demonstrated IR’s lack of consensus. It has attempted to show how diverse the discipline is in its object of focus, theoretical orientation and the methodologies its academics employ. The diversity exhibited throughout the course of this dissertation means that IR cannot be conceived of as a harmonious discipline, however, it is a discipline nonetheless. The absence of agreement does not preclude IR from achieving disciplinary status because this ‘discord’ occurs within a disciplinary framing. The discipline’s theoretical pluralism for instance displayed itself in IR journals, and was employed by academics that self identify as IR scholars and are institutionally affiliated and based within IR departments, and subsequently labeled as Professors/Lecturers/Researchers of International Relations. The conferences that were investigated and the professional associations that organize these gatherings draw IR scholars together and facilitate the ‘IR conversations’ that take place, all of which entrenches IR’s disciplinary identity and constitutes the discipline. This thesis can be conceived to be a study of disciplinarity in action, for it shows the relationships IR academics have with each other, the shared conversations, and the disciplining activities that take place. This thesis is not only premised on the fact that IR is a discipline it also constitutes this identity through demonstrating its disciplinary features and disciplinarity. Moreover, through analyzing hundreds of journal articles I became aware of how many academics actually refer to IR as a discipline and treat it as such. The field was frequently described and understood as a discipline, which itself stabilizes and reproduces IR’s disciplinary status.

Furthermore, it is important to stress and re-affirm that IR is a discipline because there is much at stake in the disciplinary debate for those who identify themselves as IR scholars. The label of ‘discipline’ and the act of declaring an academic field as a discipline is a disciplining move in itself as the concept of a discipline (regardless of how it is defined) carries with it certain connotations, expectations, and standards. Stating IR is not a discipline is destructive for it implies that IR is not sufficiently developed or mature, that it fails to meet certain standards, and that it lacks in intellectual pedigree when compared to other academic disciplines. The internal critiques are not only damaging in and of themselves they also stimulate the external ones, and provide a foundation for critique from those outside of the discipline of IR who already question

¹¹³⁵ Ole Wæver and Arlene B. Tickner “Introduction; Geocultural Epistemologies” in Tickner, A. B. and Wæver, O. (eds) *IR Scholarship Around the World: Worlding Beyond the West* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 16-17.

¹¹³⁶ Wæver, “Still a Discipline After All These Debates?”, pp. 292.

¹¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

the discipline's merit, distinctiveness and purpose.¹¹³⁸ Even the disciplinary debate serves to fuel the widespread outer image of International Relations as a "backward social science".¹¹³⁹ Externally IR is often viewed as something that "cannot be treated as anything other than divided, directionless and disputatious"¹¹⁴⁰ due to the sheer number of debates, and that our theoretical enterprises are 'feeble'¹¹⁴¹ and our field atheoretical.¹¹⁴² The internal debates over IR's disciplinary status unfortunately aid these critiques and encourage misperceptions about the nature of our field.

To negate IR as a discipline is not only destructive in terms of purporting a view of the field as 'backward' 'immature' 'directionless' and so on it has also been used in a conservative manner to gate-keep the discipline. Certain scholars who hold a traditional view of what 'IR' is and what the discipline should be studying have used the arguments that IR is not a discipline because it apparently no longer has an agreed core to marginalize work that goes beyond the traditional state-centric purview.¹¹⁴³ Those who have widened the discipline's agenda have from this perspective caused the alleged fragmentation and disciplinary dissolution for not 'doing IR'.¹¹⁴⁴ Consequently, these specific arguments have resulted in calls to limit the field's parameters and herald a return to the traditional scope of IR, and the branding of certain research as 'non-disciplinary'. Yet, this thesis has endeavoured to highlight the benefits of IR's 'engaged pluralism'¹¹⁴⁵ and the associated expansion of the substantive, theoretical and methodological purview. Chapter two for example discussed at length how the discipline's theoretical pluralism is to be celebrated as it prevents the discipline from the dangers of oversimplification, and ensures that the discipline is relevant to those in a variety of locations. According to Steve Smith for example theoretical pluralism has permitted IR "to develop theory relevant to a wider range of humanity".¹¹⁴⁶ However, whilst the discipline does not suffer from dogmatism this concluding chapter, and the thesis as a whole, has argued that IR's plural tendencies exist alongside certain forms of American disciplinary dominance. As such, this final section will once again highlight the importance of perspective and suggest some avenues for further research.

Avenues for Further Research.

¹¹³⁸ For an example of the sort of external critiques that take place see Alan Sked "The Study of International Relations: A Historians View" in Dyer, H. C. and Mangasarian, L. (eds) *The Study of International Relations: The State of the Art* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1989).

¹¹³⁹ Buzan and Little "Why International Relations has Failed as an Intellectual Project", pp. 29.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32.

¹¹⁴¹ Alan Ryan "A Theory of Growing Concerns" *Times Higher Educational Supplement* 27th November 1998. Available at

www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=161061§ioncode=22 (Accessed on the 09/09/12).

¹¹⁴² Halliday "The Future of International Relations", pp. 319.

¹¹⁴³ Kal Hosti in Jones, "Interview with Kal Holsti", pp. 621.

¹¹⁴⁴ Brecher, "International Studies in the Twentieth Century and Beyond", pp. 213-264.

¹¹⁴⁵ Wight, *Agents, Structures and International Relations*, pp. 230

¹¹⁴⁶ Smith "Introduction", pp. 12.

Whilst this thesis has endeavoured to highlight all the differing inclinations in the discipline and shed a different light on the issue of American disciplinary dominance it is evident that more research needs to be done to unpack this issue further. Firstly, American institutional dominance needs to be examined in greater depth as noted towards the beginning of this chapter. The degree that this form of dominance takes could be more or less depending on the placement of academics around the globe. If numerous academics in non-American universities are American then this form of dominance would be much more pervasive and have a number of damaging consequences for the discipline. In order to see whether American scholars are positioned globally the biographies of academics needs to be investigated. By looking at the nationality of scholars and their institutional affiliations we will be able to see the movement of academics and therefore ideas around the globe. As well as looking at nationality we need to look at where academics obtained their PhDs. This would enable an insight into whether academic environments have a determining effect on academic influences and inclinations. This purview into the discipline would also allow an insight into not only how ideas move but also the constitution of different IR communities and whether they are actually as monolithic as they are perceived to be.

Secondly, there are other ways in which the US could dominate that have not been addressed in this thesis. For instance America could exercise its hegemonic influence pedagogically. The use of American texts and literature could be dominant in many IR courses throughout the globe. Thereby generating an undergraduate body of scholars who are acculturated and influenced by American theories, worldviews and methods. To examine this arena and to see if the US is dominant in this manner academic syllabi need to be examined. Scholars such as Hayward Alker and Thomas Biersteker¹¹⁴⁷ have assessed American dominance in this way, but a more comprehensive and up to date survey of the *global* field needs to be conducted. This would therefore add another insight into the workings of and the degree of American disciplinary dominance.

Thirdly, this thesis has addressed the issue institutionally, in terms of assessing trends in the discipline through analyzing the content of the discipline journals and conferences. Whilst it has empirically demonstrated that IR is not dominated by the US in certain ways certain academics may feel dominated and may have experienced specific forms of 'American dominance'. Exploring the perceptions of IR academics would provide an insight into the 'virtual reality' that I argue has been created and is perpetuated. By conducting a questionnaire aimed at IR academics globally would reveal the perceptions and feelings of scholars relating to the issue of US dominance. This would also allow for a further comparison between the empirical reality,

¹¹⁴⁷ Alker and Biersteker "The Dialectics of World Order", pp. 121-142 and also Biersteker "The Parochialism of Hegemony", pp. 308-327.

as demonstrated through the actual research trends and inclinations taking place, and the 'virtual one' and whether certain IR communities experience a great degree of American dominance.

Fourthly, the relationship between external actors and IR scholars needs to be examined in greater depth. Whilst chapter one explored the relationship between foundations and thinks, US foreign policy and IR scholars it did not chart the direct relationship between foundations, think tanks and academics. Looking at this set of relationships could reveal another form of US dominance being exercised. Foundations create specific research projects/award grants to suit their interests and organize conferences to ensure a certain output, if such efforts are drastically orienting the research being conducted in a certain IR community then there could be evidence of dominance (US or otherwise). Furthermore, the impact that funding bodies (such as research councils), institutions (including government agencies) and governmental assessment exercises needs to be examined to determine whether such forces are also effecting the shape and content of the discipline. This thesis provided a largely internal view of the discipline, which needs to be complimented by a more thorough investigation of the external dimension; especially looking at institutional constrains (such as governmental review exercises), to see if the US is exercising its dominance through other means.

Finally, whether this situation is specifically distinct to IR needs to be examined. We must empirically assess whether other academic disciplines also experience forms of US dominance, and if they do in what manner and to what degree. After investigation it could be revealed that other disciplines are also dominated by the US or alternatively it could be discovered that this situation could be distinctive to IR. If either scenario is found to be the case, the reasons as to why need to be examined and potentially problematised. Questions could need to be raised about the endemic global dominance of America intellectually speaking, which if found raises some uncomfortable for scholars in other disciplines. Overall, further research must be conducted to explore other possible ways in which the US might exercise its hegemonic position both within the discipline of IR and other academic fields.

To conclude, IR is both diverse and a discipline, but it is a discipline that experiences certain forms of US dominance. Crucially, America exercises its disciplinary preponderance in specific ways, meaning that it is dominant in some ways and not others. Depending on the definition of dominance used one could arrive at a different disciplinary self-image regarding whether the discipline is perceived as 'diverse' or 'dominated'. In actuality the discipline is both, and we must begin to 1) highlight all the composite dynamics occurring within the discipline, 2) prefix discussions of dominance with the form it takes, 3) talk about the degrees of American dominance, and the way it is being exercised whilst 4) also addressing and acknowledging the other tendencies and inclinations that the discipline is experiencing. By continuing to employ universal disciplinary depictions we run the risk of perpetuating a discourse that not only fails to capture the current complexities and reality, it also encourages academics to embark upon self-marginalising behaviours and to reject 'peripheral scholarship' because it is perceived to the

mimic American model of IR.¹¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, by failing to question and empirically explore such universal disciplinary self-images the discipline has created an environment where the US dominates more as a social construction rather than as a pervasive empirical actuality. It is imperative then that we become more accustomed to systematically and empirically investigating that which is readily assumed in order to avoid seamlessly reproducing certain disciplinary depictions that are not only problematic, and deterministic but also overlook many dynamics and disciplinary realities.

¹¹⁴⁸ Acharya “Dialogue and Discovery”, pp. 624.

Appendix I.
Methodological Notes.

Institutional Affiliation Codebook

The journal and conference investigations conducted in this thesis used a qualitative content analysis in order to explore the geographical composition of the discipline. To see whether the discipline of IR could be characterized as an American dominated field (if we define dominance in institutional terms) the institutional affiliation of each author from the twelve journals examined from 1999-2009 was noted, as was the institutional basis of each paper giver/chair/discussant from the four conferences investigated from 2005-2011. The following codes were used to determine into which category the authors of the articles/conference participants should be placed. The codes were modified from and based upon the 2007 TRIP survey, which examined the trends in the discipline from 1980-2006.¹¹⁴⁹

Codes for the Institutional Affiliation of Authors:

- 0- The United States of America
- 1- Latin America (including Mexico)
- 2- Canada (including Greenland)
- 3- The United Kingdom
- 4- Western Europe
- 5- Former Soviet Union/Russia/Eastern Europe (including the Central Asian states except Afghanistan)
- 6- East Asia (including China)
- 7- South Asia
- 8- South East Asia
- 9- Middle East and North Africa
- 10- Sub-Saharan Africa,
- 11- Oceania
- 12- Other.

The above categories contain the following countries:

¹¹⁴⁹ Daniel Maliniak, Amy Oakes, Susan Peterson, and Michael J. Tierney “The International Relations Discipline, 1980-2006” Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August/September 2007, pp. 2. Available at: www.irtheoryandpractice.wm.edu/projects/trip.publications.php (28/08/2013).

0-United States of America

1-Latin America and Caribbean:

Antigua, Argentina, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, Bolivia, Brazil, Cayman Islands, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, French Guiana, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Suriname, St. Barts, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Trinidad & Tobago, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

2. Canada and Greenland.

3. The United Kingdom:

England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

4. Western Europe:

Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Canary Islands (Spain), Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Vatican City.

5. FSU/Russia/Eastern Europe, including Central Asian states, except Afghanistan:

Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.

6. East Asia:

China, Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, Taiwan, and Tibet.

7. South Asia:

Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka

8. Southeast Asia:

Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar/Burma, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam

9. The Middle East and North Africa:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Gaza & West Bank, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco (including Western Sahara), Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey (incl. Turkish Cyprus), Tunisia, United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, etc.), and Yemen.

10. Sub-Saharan Africa:

Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros Islands, Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa), Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

11. Oceania:

Australia, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

Theoretical Categories Defined.

Classical Liberalism: This category refers to the liberal theory of International Relations. It is the transposition of core liberal values (individual freedom, political participation, private property, equal opportunity) to the international level, which has generated a series of corresponding assumptions about international political life. Classical Liberal IR theory has taken the insights of classical liberal thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, John Stuart Mill, and Richard Cobden for example and applied their claims to the international level. Early classical liberal IR theorists include Norman Angell, Woodrow Wilson, Joseph Schumpeter and John Maynard Keynes. This varied 'liberal heritage' has resulted in a number of different strains of classical liberal IR theory.¹¹⁵⁰

Republican liberalism, argues that liberal democracies tend to be more pacific than other forms of government.¹¹⁵¹ Republican liberals, such as Michael Doyle, have developed the democratic peace thesis to show that "Even though liberal states have become involved in numerous wars with non-liberal states, constitutionally secure liberal states have yet to engage in war with one another".¹¹⁵² Commercial liberalism argues that economic interdependence creates incentives for peace and cooperation. Through the promotion of capitalism and increased trade relations (through the removal of barriers to commerce) the costs of war become too high

¹¹⁵⁰ Michael Doyle "Liberalism and World Politics" *American Political Science Review* 80 (4) (1986), pp. 1151-1169.

¹¹⁵¹ Andrew Moravcsik "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics" *International Organization* 51 (4) (1997), pp. 515.

¹¹⁵² Michael Doyle "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs" *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12 (3) (1983), pp. 213.

for those involved and hence states are deterred from entering into conflictual relations.¹¹⁵³ Hence we can claim that Classical liberals hold the view that “Capitalism and democracy are forces for peace”.¹¹⁵⁴ Regulatory liberalism “contends that international law and institutions promote international accommodation”.¹¹⁵⁵ Through membership to international institutions states can widen their self-interests through cooperation, which discourages the pursuit of national interest.¹¹⁵⁶ Regulatory liberals argue that the international system is normatively regulated.¹¹⁵⁷

Liberal internationalists believe in human rights and ensuring that a state respects its citizens. Liberal internationalists argue that “if it is wrong for an individual to engage in socially acceptable or criminal behaviour, it is also wrong for states”.¹¹⁵⁸ All Liberals believe that human beings are endowed with certain rights, benefits and protections, however Liberal internationalists argue that these principles should be promoted universally.¹¹⁵⁹ This commitment to universal human rights leads liberal internationalists to over turn the principle of state autonomy and non-intervention when human rights are not being respected. Classical liberals are divided over the issue of intervention. Some liberals (non-interventionists) defend the principle of state sovereignty whereas others (such as liberal internationalists) “feel that the promotion of ethical principles can justify intervention in the internal affairs of other states”.¹¹⁶⁰

There is therefore no single theory of classical liberalism in IR,¹¹⁶¹ instead there are a multiple of liberal approaches. However, if an article identified as adopting/advocating one of the above forms of classical liberalism then it was placed in the category ‘classical liberalism’. This category denotes the different classical liberal theories that are united by the insight that “states are embedded in domestic and international civil society, which decisively constrains their actions”.¹¹⁶² In other words all classical liberals believe that the internal structure of the state will condition its behaviour, both in terms of its foreign and domestic policies.

Despite their differences all classical liberal theories are individualistic, universalistic and optimistic. Due to certain shared principle this category was created to house all the research that either labeled itself as a form of classical liberalism or was designated as ‘classical liberal’

¹¹⁵³ Joseph Schumpeter *Imperialism and Social Classes* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co, 1955), pp. 75-76.

¹¹⁵⁴ Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics”, pp. 1986.

¹¹⁵⁵ Andrew Moravcsik “Liberalism and International Relations Theory” Harvard University, *CFIA Working Paper No. 92-6*, 1992, pp. 2.

¹¹⁵⁶ Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977).

¹¹⁵⁷ Scott Burchill “Liberalism” in Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 64.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 66.

¹¹⁵⁹ G. John Ikenberry “Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order” *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (1) (2009), pp. 72.

¹¹⁶⁰ Burchill “Liberalism”, pp. 69.

¹¹⁶¹ Diana Panke and Thomas Risse “Liberalism” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 91.

¹¹⁶² Moravcsik, “Liberalism and International Relations Theory”, pp. 2.

during the analysis. All classical liberal thinkers in IR share the assumptions that the principal actors in world politics “are individuals and privately-constituted groups with autonomous preferences”.¹¹⁶³ Secondly, each is universalistic in that each classical liberal ultimately aspires for each state to be ‘liberal’ either economically, politically, socially or all the aforementioned. In other words, all classical liberals believe in progress. Thirdly, all classical liberals are optimistic in the sense that they believe that anarchy can be tamed and that the international system can become peaceful with war becoming obsolete.

Due to these shared principles this category was created to house all the research that either labeled itself as a form of classical liberalism or was designated as ‘classical liberal’ during the analysis. If articles were underpinned or adhered to/advocated the above claims and beliefs after a careful critical reading it was designated as classical liberal.

Classical Realism: Classical realism is a theory of International Relations that focuses state power, national interests and unitary decision-making. Classical realists argue that states are the principal actors in world politics, as the state is the personification of its collective human nature.¹¹⁶⁴ The central premises of classical realism are that 1) is that human nature is selfish¹¹⁶⁵ (humans are self-maximizing egoists, therefore states are self-interested) and 2) the international system is anarchic (meaning there is no higher power than the state, no international government.¹¹⁶⁶ These two principles lead classical realists to argue that in order to survive states should seek power and security, as states can only rely on themselves to achieve their own security.¹¹⁶⁷ Self-interest and anarchy create what classical realists term a ‘self-help system’.

Due to the continuities of human nature and anarchy “realists see insecurity, and particularly military security, as the central problem, and power as the prime motivation or driving force of political life”.¹¹⁶⁸ Classical realism emphasizes the competitive and conflictual nature of international politics. This is reflected in classical realism’ “core ideas, like the balance of power, which is one of the most long-standing analytical tools of realism, and the security dilemma”.¹¹⁶⁹

¹¹⁶³ *Ibid., op cit.*

¹¹⁶⁴ Richard Ned Lebow “Classical Liberalism” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 55.

¹¹⁶⁵ Hans Morgenthau *Politics Amongst Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace: Seventh Edition* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1993), pp. 4.

¹¹⁶⁶ Jack Donnelly *Realism and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 10.

¹¹⁶⁷ Robert Gilpin “The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism” in Keohane, R. (ed) *Neo-Realism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 305.

¹¹⁶⁸ Barry Buzan “The Timeless Wisdom of Realism?” in Smith, S., Booth, K. and Zalewski, M. (eds) *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 50.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Ibid., pp. 51.*

Classical realists adopt a tragic vision of international politics, where human nature is unchanging as is the violent nature of the international system.¹¹⁷⁰ Articles that shared this vision and the assumptions of anarchy, human nature, and insecurity held by classical realists such as Hans Morgenthau, E. H. Carr and Reinhold Niebuhr, and/or used the analytical frameworks of balance of power or the security dilemma were designated as classical realist.

Communitarianism: Communitarianism refers to a theoretical perspective that seeks to “lessen the focus on individual rights and increase the focus on communal responsibilities”.¹¹⁷¹ Whereas cosmopolitans focus on our ethical responsibilities to all human beings, communitarians argue that our responsibilities should be to the community. Communitarians adopt this claims because they argue that “individuals in society generally value commitments to certain forms of community over the claims of individual freedom, with the political implication that citizens tend to support first and foremost a government that provides the social conditions that allow them to lead fulfilling communal lives”.¹¹⁷²

Communitarians draw on the Aristotelian idea that justice is rooted in “a community whose primary bond is a shared understanding both of the good for man and the good of that community”¹¹⁷³. Communitarians emphasize the influence of society on individuals and contend that values are rooted in common history and tradition. The definition of community varies and can refer to anything from the nuclear or extended family to the political state or nation. In this approach, ethical thought is grounded in communal values, established social standards and traditions, and considerations of the larger society. Articles that self-identified as ‘communitarian’ were placed in this category, as were articles that were deemed to adhere to or advocate the above principles and claims.

Competing theories: This category was created to refer to articles that used two or more theoretical approaches. Certain articles examined two competing theories of IR and used the article to examine the merits and failures of each. Whereas others ran a scenario using two theories showing how each was applicable. This category therefore denotes research that did not advocate one particular theory but rather discussed two or more theories without favouring one over the other(s), or articles suggesting a synthesis of approaches. For an example of an article that fitted the above criteria and was subsequently categorized as ‘competing theories’ see

¹¹⁷⁰ Richard Ned Lebow *The Tragic Vision of Politics: Ethics, Interests and Orders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

¹¹⁷¹ Tom L Beauchamp and James F. Childress *Principles of Biomedical Ethics: Fifth Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 7.

¹¹⁷² Daniel A. Bell “A Communitarian Critique of Authoritarianism: The Case of Singapore” *Political Theory* 25 (1) (1997), pp. 8.

¹¹⁷³ Amy Gutmann “Communitarian Critics of Liberalism” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 14 (3) (1985), pp. 308.

Caroline Fehl's "Explaining the International Criminal Court: A 'Practice Test' for Rationalist Constructivist Approaches".¹¹⁷⁴

Constructivism: Constructivism defined here refers not a theory of IR but to "a set of arguments about social explanation".¹¹⁷⁵ It is best conceived of as an approach to international politics.¹¹⁷⁶ However, Alexander Wendt sought to develop a constructivist theory of IR, which he developed in his seminal book *A Social Theory of International Politics*¹¹⁷⁷. Wendt's claims and his theory are widely contested by self-identified constructivists, which is why it is defined here as an approach. The category constructivism refers to a series of strands of 'social constructivist' thought that draws on social theory about the role of knowledge and knowledgeable agents in the constitution of reality. Constructivism as a body of thought is often presented as a spectrum with conventional accounts at one end and critical accounts (such as consistent constructivism¹¹⁷⁸) at the other.¹¹⁷⁹ Despite the debates between constructivists and the different strands that exist there are a number of assumptions shared by all 'constructivists'. The similarities allowed for the emergence of this category, therefore if an article adopted these assumptions it was classed as 'constructivist'.

Firstly, all constructivist approaches have a social ontology. Constructivists depict the world as inter-subjective and constructed through collectively meaningful structures and processes. The interplay between the material and the ideational (which is the key for constructivists) leads them to focus on social relations, because as Karin Fierke notes "As fundamentally social beings, individuals or states cannot be separated from a context of normative meaning which shapes who they are and the possibilities available to them".¹¹⁸⁰

Secondly, all constructivists argue share the view that knowledge is socially constructed and produced through shared understandings. Constructivists use the concept of social facts to denote facts that are facts only by human agreement, and such facts account for the majority of facts studied in IR.¹¹⁸¹ Thirdly, all constructivists share the assumption that reality is socially

¹¹⁷⁴ Caroline Fehl "Explaining the International Criminal Court: A 'Practice Test' for Rationalist and Constructivist Approaches" *European Journal of International Relations* 10 (3) (2004), pp. 357-394.

¹¹⁷⁵ James Fearon and Alexander Wendt "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View" in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, S. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 55.

¹¹⁷⁶ Nicolas Onuf *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (Columbia SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 1.

¹¹⁷⁷ Alexander Wendt *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹¹⁷⁸ See for example K. M. Fierke "Constructivism" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 175-177.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ted Hopf "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory" *International Security* 23 (1) (1998), pp. 181.

¹¹⁸⁰ Fierke, "Constructivism", pp. 170.

¹¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 171.

constructed. Nicolas Onuf famously argued, 'international politics is a world of our making'.¹¹⁸² This assumption is premised on the social construction of knowledge. According to constructivists the material world does not come classified and that therefore our objects of knowledge are not independent of our interpretations and our language (inter-subjectivity). This means that different collective meanings are attached to the material world twice, once as social reality and secondly as scientific knowledge. In other words, knowledge is both a resource that people use in their day-to-day life for the construction of reality

Fourthly, constructivists argue, "normative or ideational structures are just as important as material structures".¹¹⁸³ According to constructivists structures are made of social relationships. Social structures therefore have three elements: shared knowledge, material resources and practices. Social structures are defined in part by shared understandings, expectations or knowledge. These constitute the actors in a situation and the nature of their relationships, whether cooperative or conflictual.¹¹⁸⁴ Whilst social structures include material resources, viewed independently constructivists argue that material capabilities explain nothing.¹¹⁸⁵ The effects of material resources presuppose structures of shared knowledge, which vary and are not reducible to capabilities. The constructivist understanding of structure leads them to argue that non-material structures condition and constitute actors identities as well as constrain their behaviours. Agents and structures are then from a constructivist view point mutually constituting; "Normative ideational structures may well condition the identities and interests of actors, but those structures would not exist if it were not for the knowledgeable practices of those actors".¹¹⁸⁶

Finally, all constructivists are committed to explaining or understanding change.¹¹⁸⁷ This category was employed to capture all research described as 'constructivist'. Whilst there are many different strands of constructivist thought this label was used as an umbrella term to note all research that self-identified as being 'constructivist' or adopted the core constructivist assumptions detailed above.

Cosmopolitanism: Cosmopolitanism defined here refers to "the ideal of the cosmopolitan, the person whose primary allegiance is to the community of human beings in the entire world".¹¹⁸⁸ The core shared by all cosmopolitans is the idea that all human beings belong to a single

¹¹⁸² Onuf, *World of Our Making*.

¹¹⁸³ Christian Reus-Smit "Constructivism" Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp, 196.

¹¹⁸⁴ Alexander Wendt "Anarchy is What States Make of It" *International Organization* 46 (2) (1992), pp. 391-425.

¹¹⁸⁵ Alexander Wendt "Constructing International Politics" *International Security* 20 (1) (1995), pp. 73.

¹¹⁸⁶ Reus-Smit, "Constructivism", pp. 199.

¹¹⁸⁷ Fierke "Constructivism", pp. 168.

¹¹⁸⁸ Martha Nussbaum "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" *Boston Review* 19 (5) (1994), pp. 13.

community and that this community should be promoted and created.¹¹⁸⁹ Whilst there are different strands of cosmopolitan thought for example legal or moral, all cosmopolitans however share three central claims; 1) individualism – the unit of concern are human beings rather than tribes, families, religious groups, political communities, or states for example; 2) universality – according to Thomas Pogge “the status of ultimate concern attaches to every human being equally – not merely to some subset, such as men, aristocrats, Aryans, whites or Muslims”,¹¹⁹⁰ and 3) generality; that this status applies globally.¹¹⁹¹ Articles that purported these beliefs, and used cosmopolitanism to advocate certain practices, or critique the current order were included in this category. Furthermore, as this is a normative theory, articles that advocated a global civil society or cosmopolitan order based on the above commitments were classified as cosmopolitan.

Critical Theory: Critical Theory refers to a specific strain of thought that emerged from the Marxist tradition. Critical Theory grew out of the Marxist tradition and its origins can be found in the 1920s with the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, of which the principal members were Mark Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno.¹¹⁹² The early Critical Theorists were critical of positivism and ‘instrumental reason’. Horkheimer illustrated this through a critique of what he termed ‘Traditional Theory’, “a form of theory, which he associated with positivism and those forms of social science that tried to imitate the objectivity of the natural sciences”.¹¹⁹³

According to Richard Devetak: “Critical theory is essentially a critique of the dogmatism it finds in traditional modes of theorizing. This critique reveals the unexamined assumptions that guide traditional modes of thought, and exposes the complicity of traditional modes of thought in prevailing political and social conditions. To break with dogmatic modes of thought is to denaturalize the present”.¹¹⁹⁴ Critical Theory is therefore critical of neo-realism and neo-liberalism, or what Robert Cox terms “Problem-solving approaches”.¹¹⁹⁵ Cox argues that such theories take the world for granted and ask how it can be made to function as smoothly as possible.¹¹⁹⁶ By contrast, critical theory asks how current global arrangements came into being thereby not treating it as a given, but as a constructed order, an order than has been bought about due to prevailing power relations, and then look towards what alternative possibilities

¹¹⁸⁹ For more see Zlato Skrbis, Gavin Kendall, and Ian Woodward “Locating Cosmopolitanism: Between Humanist Ideal and Grounded Social Category” *Theory, Culture, and Society* 21 (6) (2004), pp. 115-136.

¹¹⁹⁰ Thomas Pogge “Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty” *Ethics* 103 (1) (1992), pp. 48.

¹¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49.

¹¹⁹² Columba Peoples “Theodor Adorno” in Edkins, J. and Vaughan-Williams, N. (eds) *Critical Theorists and International Relations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 7-8.

¹¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9. For more see Max Horkheimer “Traditional Theory and Critical Theory” in Horkheimer, M. and O’Connell, M. J. (eds) *Critical Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), pp. 188-243.

¹¹⁹⁴ Richard Devetak “Critical Theory” in Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 143.

¹¹⁹⁵ Robert Cox “Social Forces, States and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory” *Millennium* 10 (2) (1981), pp. 128.

¹¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 129.

remain.¹¹⁹⁷ Cox defines critical theory as being a ‘theory of history in the sense of being concerned not just with the past but with a continuing process of historical change’.¹¹⁹⁸ Cox argues that “critical theory allows for a normative choice in favor of a social and political order different from the prevailing order”.¹¹⁹⁹ Critical Theory is a guide to strategic action for bringing about an alternative order, whereas problem-solving theory is a guide to sustaining the existing order.

There are different strands of Critical Theory in IR, the most prominent and influential are the Neo-Gramscian, Habermasian, and the Critical Security School (commonly referred to as the Welsh School). Despite the substantive differences between the strands of Critical Theory there are a number of key tenets that they share and that are central to all strands of critical theory, which are; 1) a commitment to emancipatory politics;¹²⁰⁰ 2) a commitment to self-reflection and the recognition of the political nature of knowledge;¹²⁰¹ 3) adopting an approach of Immanent Critique¹²⁰² and 4) a belief in social transformation.

Articles that shared the same commitments and principles and that drew on the work of the Frankfurt School, and other Critical Theorists were classed under the category ‘Critical Theory’.

English School: According to Andrew Linklater “The foundational claim of the English School is that sovereign states form a society, albeit an anarchic one in that they do not have to submit to the will of a higher power”.¹²⁰³ English School theorists, such as Robert Jackson and Tim Dunne for example, accept that the international system is anarchic, and therefore that violence is an endemic feature, but they argue that anarchy can be controlled through international law and morality.

A key feature of the English School is the distinction between a ‘system of states’ (international system) and a ‘society of states’.¹²⁰⁴ According to Hedley Bull a system of states “is formed when two or more states have sufficient contact between them, and have sufficient impact on one another’s decisions to cause them to behave – at least in some measure – as parts of a whole”.¹²⁰⁵ Whereas a society of states comes into existence “when a group of states,

¹¹⁹⁷ Devetak, “Critical Theory”, pp. 143.

¹¹⁹⁸ Cox, “Social Forces, States and World Order”, pp. 129.

¹¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130.

¹²⁰⁰ See Ken Booth “Security and Emancipation” *Review of International Studies* 17 (4) (1991), pp. 313-326.

¹²⁰¹ Robert Cox “Towards a Post-Hegemonic Conceptualisation of World Order: Reflections on the Relevancy of Ibn Khaldun” in Rosenau, J. and Czempel, E. O. (eds) *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 132-159.

¹²⁰² See Andrew Linklater *Beyond Realism and Marxism: Critical Theory and International Relations* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990).

¹²⁰³ Andrew Linklater “The English School” in Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 84.

¹²⁰⁴ For more see Barry Buzan *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹²⁰⁵ Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics: Second Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 9-10.

conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another, and share in the workings of common institutions". The current shared interests between states and the development of institutions such as international law, explains for English School theorists "the surprisingly high level of order and surprisingly low level of violence between states given that their condition is one of anarchy".¹²⁰⁶

This distinction allows English School theorists to explain the evolution of modern society, and explain the emergence and collapse of different balance of powers.¹²⁰⁷ The English School's understanding that the international political system is more orderly and civil than realists argue does not lead English School theorists to adopt a 'utopian' view. They hold that "violence is ineradicable"¹²⁰⁸ and whilst some English School theorists argue that states have socialised in terms of developing the "the art of accommodation and compromise which makes an international society possible"¹²⁰⁹ they stress that "visionaries are wrong in thinking that the current international order is merely a stepping stone to a universal community".¹²¹⁰ Because of their views on order and violence the English School is often depicted as a *via media* approach between classical realism and classical liberalism.¹²¹¹ However, contra classical realist, English School theorists argue that states are concerned with human rights and justice, and not just power. But it is the different conceptions and competing ideas held by states about how such ideals can be implemented that can produce disagreements and damage the international order.¹²¹²

Articles using this theoretical framework, or advocating the insights of the English School (as defined above) were included in this category for the purpose of this analysis.

Feminism: This category was devised to quantify the number of articles using feminist IR theory. Whilst feminist IR theory is not one unified body of thought there are central shared tenets that each strand of feminist IR theory holds. Feminist IR theory is therefore defined as theory that 1) Looks at social and gender relations from the micro level of analysis;¹²¹³ 2) Has 'gender' as its unit of analysis.¹²¹⁴ All strands of feminist IR theory share the concept of 'gender lenses'.¹²¹⁵ They

¹²⁰⁶ Linklater, "The English School", pp. 85.

¹²⁰⁷ For instance see Richard Little and Barry Buzan *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹²⁰⁸ Linklater, "The English School", pp. 85.

¹²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 87. For more see Adam Watson *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis* (Oxon: Routledge, 1992).

¹²¹⁰ Linklater, "The English School", pp. 87.

¹²¹¹ Tim Dunne "The English School" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 130.

¹²¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 137.

¹²¹³ Jill Steans "Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the 'Mainstream' of International Relations" *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 5 (3) (2003), pp. 428-454.

¹²¹⁴ J. Ann Tickner *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

argue that by putting on gendered lenses the researcher becomes predisposed to see different power relations, and that real power lies in the construction of masculine and feminine and everything else follows.¹²¹⁶ ‘Gendered lenses’ it is argued help deconstructed gender constructs that have become naturalized; 3) All feminist approaches are normative in orientation. Much contemporary feminism is committed to progressive or emancipatory goals, particularly the goal of achieving equality for women through the elimination of unequal gender relations;¹²¹⁷ and 4) Not all feminist approaches are ‘post-positivist’ but the majority are.¹²¹⁸ This means that feminist IR theory tends to question the construction of knowledge in IR. Feminist IR theory argues that most knowledge whilst presented as universal is actually constructed by men and is about and for men.¹²¹⁹ Articles that exhibited such claims and aims were categorized as ‘feminist’.

Green Theory: The category green theory refers to a body of thought that draws on “radical green discourses from outside the discipline of IR”¹²²⁰ to generate a series of claims, concepts, and aims to expose and counter “the ecological blindness of IR theory”.¹²²¹ Green IR theorists adopt an ‘ecocentric philosophy’ which views all creatures of earth as having value independent of human beings.¹²²² All forms of life are therefore respected and for their own sake, not just “their instrumental values to humans”.¹²²³ Green theorists critique other IR theories for being anthropocentric and seek to protect not only human communities and future generations but also “the larger web of life, made up of nested ecological communities at multiple levels of aggregation”.¹²²⁴

Green IR theory is normative and is concerned with environmental justice. It also seeks to increase participation and deliberation and therefore promotes a reimagining of the political landscape.¹²²⁵ Other central concepts to Green Theory are ecological security and sustainable development. There are many different strands of Green Theory, for example there is the ‘IPE

¹²¹⁵ J. Ann Tickner and Laura Sjoberg “Feminism” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 186.

¹²¹⁶ Adam Jones “Does Gender Make the World Go Round? Feminist Critiques of International Relations” *Review of International Studies* 22 (4) (1996), pp. 409.

¹²¹⁷ J. Ann Tickner “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagement Between Feminism and IR Theories” *International Studies Quarterly* 41 (4) (1997), pp. 616. For more Christine Sylvester *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Jan Jindy Pettman *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996).

¹²¹⁸ Tickner “You Just Don’t Understand”, pp. 619-623.

¹²¹⁹ See Sandra Harding *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking From Women’s Lives* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991).

¹²²⁰ Robyn Eckersley “Green Theory” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 248.

¹²²¹ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹²²² Oliver Daddow *International Relations Theory* (London: Sage, 2009), pp. 178.

¹²²³ Eckersley, “Green Theory”, pp. 251.

¹²²⁴ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹²²⁵ See for example Robyn Eckersley *The Green State: Rethinking Democracy and Sovereignty* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2004).

wing' of Green theory, and the Ecoanarchist strand.¹²²⁶ However, what unites these variants is their ecocentric ontology and ecocentric ethics.¹²²⁷ Hence any article that adopted an ecocentric outlook or agenda was included in the 'Green Theory' category.

Historiography: This category was constructed in order to place articles that used theories from historiography to provide a historical analysis of the developments of the discipline of IR. Articles that drew on the work of R.G. Collingwood, Hayden White, Quentin Skinner, or John Gunnell for example and used these insights to put forth a series of arguments about the discipline of IR were classed as 'historiography'. Again such articles are not a-theoretical but instead are drawing on a different canon of thought to offer a different perspective of IR. For an example of work placed under this label for the purpose of this investigation see Hidemi Suganami's "Narrative Explanations and International Relations".¹²²⁸

Historical Sociology: Is a brand of sociology concerned with how societies (their origins, laws, institutions, conventions ect) develop through history. Historical sociology looks at how social structures that many regard as natural an in fact shaped by complex social processes. It began to make an imprint in the discipline of IR in the 1980s and over the past thirty years "historical sociology in International Relations has contributed to a number of debates ranging from the examination of the origins of the modern states-system to unraveling the core features and relative novelty of the contemporary historical period".¹²²⁹ For instance, historical sociologists, such as Charles Tilly¹²³⁰ have argued that states were formed "not as a natural product of an alleged liberal social contract, but as forged in the hear of battles and warfare. Nor indeed should the anarchic system of sovereign states be regarded as natural".¹²³¹ IR historical sociologists have sought to provide rich analyses through intersecting the dimensions of structure, history and the international.¹²³²

For the purposes of this investigation historical sociology is defined through its aims to "unravel the complexity that lies behind the interaction between social action and social structures".¹²³³ For IR historical sociologists international factors are "juxtaposed, conjoined and interrelated with domestic processes with the aim of finding patterns that explain important

¹²²⁶ Daddow, *International Relations Theory*, pp. 179.

¹²²⁷ Matthew Paterson "Green Politics" in Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 236.

¹²²⁸ Hidemi Suganami "Narrative Explanation and International Relations: Back to Basics" *Millennium* 37 (2) (2008), pp. 327-356.

¹²²⁹ John Hobson, George Lawson and Justin Rosenberg "Historical Sociology" in Denmark, R. (ed) *The International Studies Encyclopaedia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010), pp. 2655-2656.

¹²³⁰ See for example Charles Tilly *Coercion, Capital and European States AD990-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹²³¹ Martin Shaw "The Historical Sociology of the Future" *Review of International Political Economy* 5 (2) (1998), pp. 321.

¹²³² For example see Justin Rosenberg *The Empire of Civil Society* (London: Verso, 1994) and Benno Teschke *The Myth of 1648* (London: Verso, 2003).

¹²³³ Hobson, Lawson and Rosenberg "Historical Sociology" pp. 2657.

historical processes including general and regional crises that provoke wars, processes of state formation, varieties of capitalist development, forms of imperialism and so on".¹²³⁴

Neo-Liberalism (Liberal Institutionalism): There has been much debate regarding neo-liberalism's distinction from neo-liberalism, with John Mearsheimer arguing "liberal institutionalism can hardly be called a theoretical alternative to realism, but instead should be seen as subordinate to it".¹²³⁵ Even one of the theory's architects, Robert Keohane, stated neo-liberalism "borrows as much from realism as from liberalism".¹²³⁶ Even though neo-liberalism accepts some of the assumptions of neo-realism such as anarchy and state-centrism, it draws a different prognosis for the international system.

Through employing rational choice and game theory to anticipate the behaviour of states, neo-liberals seek to demonstrate that cooperation between states can be enhanced even without a hegemonic player, which can enforce compliance with agreements.¹²³⁷ The theory was formulated to explain the growing degree of state cooperation in the international system. One such mechanism used by neo-liberals to explain cooperation is the Prisoner's Dilemma. The key to solving the Prisoner's Dilemma is for each side to convince the other side that they have a collective interest in making what appear to be short-term sacrifices (the gain that might result from successful cheating) for the long-term benefits (the substantial pay-off from mutual long-term cooperation).¹²³⁸ This means convincing states to accept the second best outcome in the short term for the best outcome in the long term. The principle obstacle preventing the cooperative outcome is the fear of being cheated by another state. This is the problem that institutions must solve and how they bring about cooperation. Institutions according to neo-liberals deter cheaters and protect victims. They also "serve state objectives not principally by enforcing rules, but by facilitating the making and keeping of agreements through the provision of information and reductions in transaction costs".¹²³⁹

For Robert Keohane anarchy is mitigated by regimes and institutional cooperation, which brings higher levels of regularity and predictability to international relations.¹²⁴⁰ Regimes constrain state behaviour, and enhance trust, continuity and stability in a world of ungoverned anarchy. Neo-liberals therefore share the belief that that international institutions have a role in

¹²³⁴ *Ibid., op cit.*

¹²³⁵ John Mearsheimer "The False Promise of International Institutions" *International Security* 19 (3) (1994/1995), pp. 24.

¹²³⁶ Robert Keohane "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge After the Cold War" in Baldwin, D. A. (ed) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 269.

¹²³⁷ Robert Axelrod and Robert Keohane "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions" in Baldwin, D. A. (ed) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 85-115.

¹²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92.

¹²³⁹ Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1) (1998), pp. 5.

¹²⁴⁰ Keohane "Institutional Theory and the Realist Challenge", pp. 271.

changing conceptions of self-interests.¹²⁴¹ There are substantial differences between neo-realists and neo-liberals,¹²⁴² and between classical liberals and neo-liberals, and hence a category capturing this theory neo-liberalism could be employed. Articles that sought to explain cooperation based on the principles of rationality and absolute gains were designated as neo-liberal. Articles that argued that anarchy could be mitigated through regimes and institutions, but that such institutions were dependent on powerful states and their self-interest were also designated as neo-liberal. Using the above claims and assumptions of neo-liberalism if articles adhered to these or advocated them they were noted as being 'neo-liberal'.

Neo-Realism (Structural Realism): Neo-realism accepts many of the assumptions of classical realism regarding anarchy and human nature, and neo-realists also agree that states are the principal actors in international politics. However, neo-realists argue that the permissive cause of conflict is not man's bellicose nature, but rather it is lack of a hierarchical international system.¹²⁴³ It is the anarchic structure of the international system, neo-realists argue, that conditions states behaviour and "forces states to pursue power".¹²⁴⁴

According to neo-realists, such as Kenneth Waltz, the ordering principle of the international system is anarchy.¹²⁴⁵ The international system will never be hierarchical; the unchanging condition of anarchy means that self-help is the necessary principle of action. States must act in accordance with the logic of self-help or be punished by the system. According to Waltz; "structures encourage certain behaviours and penalise those who do not respond to the encouragement ... The international imperative is 'take care of yourself'".¹²⁴⁶

In an anarchic realm, neo-realists argue that states (or rather units) are functionally similar and tend to remain so. In an anarchic system the system creates the same basic incentives for all states, so they become like units functionally. Neo-realists ignore the differences between states; they overlook regime differences and cultural differences. As John Mearsheimer argues neo-realists "treat states as if they were black boxes: they are assumed to be alike, save for the fact that some state are more or less powerful than others".¹²⁴⁷

In a neo-realist account of the international system the only variable is the distribution of capabilities among states. The structure of the system is determined by the by the distribution of capabilities among states. In other words it is the number of great powers that determines the

¹²⁴¹ Axelrod and Keohane "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy", pp. 90.

¹²⁴² For example see Robert Jervis "Realism, Neoliberalism and Cooperation: Understanding the Debate" *International Security* 24 (1) (1999), pp. 42-63 and David Baldwin "Neoliberalism, Neorealism and World Politics" in Baldwin, D. A. (ed) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 3-27.

¹²⁴³ Kenneth Waltz *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

¹²⁴⁴ John Mearshiemer "Structural Realism", in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 72.

¹²⁴⁵ Kenneth Waltz *Theory of International Politics* (Boston: McGraw Hill, 1979), pp. 79-106.

¹²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

¹²⁴⁷ Mearshiemer "Structural Realism", pp. 72.

structure of the system in terms of whether it is uni-polar, bi-polar or multi-polar. The different poles of the system will then encourage different forms of behaviour, typically either bandwagoning or balancing. Like classical realists, neo-realists also use the balance of power and the security dilemma as analytical tools.

Whether an article was classified as neo-realist predominantly depended on its distinction from classical realism. The differences between the two theories lie in the level/focus of explanations. According to neo-realists: international anarchy is the key to explaining the behaviour of states not human nature. Secondly, the theories differ over the concept of power. For neo-realists power is not an end, it is a means to an end and the end is security. As Waltz argues “The goal the system encourages them to seek is security. Increased power may or may not serve that end”.¹²⁴⁸ Thirdly, neo-realism was developed as a ‘scientific approach’ to IR in order to overcome the limitations of classical realism’s approach.¹²⁴⁹

Authors that were implicit about their theoretical orientation were designated as neo-realist if they adhered to the above principles. The claims being made were assessed as were the methods being used in order to determine whether an article was either classical or neo-realist. Furthermore, the category neo-realism accounts for both strains of thought that are divided over the issue of how much power is enough.¹²⁵⁰ Both defensive and offensive realists were denoted as neo-realist.

Marxism: Articles that that declared or adopted a variety of Marxist theory were designated as Marxist. There are a number of different strains and divergent variations of Marxism and if an article used or advocated any of these it was classified as ‘Marxism’. Marxism is defined as a theory centered on providing “a critical interpretation of capitalism understood as an historically produced – and therefore mutable – form of social life, rather than as the ineluctable expression of some essential human nature”.¹²⁵¹ For Marx capitalism was a system of largely unchecked exploitation in which “the bourgeoisie controlled the labour power of members of the proletariat and profited from their work”.¹²⁵²

Instead of just providing a critique of capitalism Marx sought to facilitate an end to alienation, exploitation and estrangement. His efforts to understand capitalism and human history were so that he could change the present structure. Marx wrote that ‘philosophers have only interpreted the world the point is to change it’.¹²⁵³ Marxists see our lives, social relations, as

¹²⁴⁸ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp, 86.

¹²⁴⁹ Robert Jervis “Hans Morgenthau, Realism, and the Scientific Study of International Politics” *Social Research* 61 (4) (1994), pp. 858.

¹²⁵⁰ Mearsheimer, “Structural Realism”, pp. 72.

¹²⁵¹ Mark Rupert “Marxism and Critical Theory” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 150.

¹²⁵² Andrew Linklater “Marxism” in Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 113.

¹²⁵³ Karl Marx “The Eighteen Century Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte” in McLellan, D. (ed) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 300.

historical and social products, yet the critical question that Marxists focus on is how might we organize ourselves differently?¹²⁵⁴ All strands of Marxist theory are transformative, have emancipatory aims and are premised on a dialectical understanding of agency and structure.

Marxists argue that our world has been produced by historically situated human social agents, therefore humans are collectively capable of recreating their world. However, as Marx famously argued “men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do make it under circumstance chosen by themselves, but under circumstance directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past”.¹²⁵⁵ Marx believed humans continuously remade their world and themselves, but they were constrained by the economic system and class structure.¹²⁵⁶ All strands of Marxist IR theory also share a materialist conception of history. Marxists argue that the processes of historical change are ultimately a reflection of the economic development of society. Meaning that economic developments are the motor of history.

Articles that adopted or were premised on the above assumptions and aims were categorised under the heading ‘Marxist’ for the purpose of this study.

Philosophy of Social Science: This category was designed to note research that used meta-theories primarily drawn from the Philosophy of Social Science rather than theories of IR. Such articles were not a-theoretical but used theories from a different discipline to comment on/critique/advocate certain theoretical or research practices within IR. Articles that were explicitly focused on meta-theoretical issues and used philosophies of social science such as positivism, pragmatism, or critical realism, or theorists such as Thomas Kuhn, Imre Lakatos, Paul Feyerabend, and Roy Bhaskar for example were captured with this category. For a prime example of an article that would have been classed under the category ‘Philosophy of Social Science’ see Colin Wight’s 1996 article “Incommensurability and Cross-Paradigm Communication in International Relations Theory”.¹²⁵⁷

Postcolonialism: Postcolonial IR theory draws on existing critical bodies of thought such as Marxism, Feminism and Postmodernism, but what distinguishes post-colonialism “is its attention to the imbrication of race, class and gender with power”.¹²⁵⁸ Post-colonialism begins with the premise that imperialism constitutes a critical historical juncture in which postcolonial national identities were constructed in opposition to European ones, thus they became the European’s ‘Others’ and placed in a subordinated position.¹²⁵⁹ Postcolonialism criticizes Western ways of thinking (such as rationalism, or other universalist modes of thought) for their Eurocentric and

¹²⁵⁴ *Ibid., op cit.*

¹²⁵⁵ Karl Marx quoted in Rupert, “Marxism”, pp. 151.

¹²⁵⁶ Linklater “Marxism”, pp. 115.

¹²⁵⁷ Colin Wight “Incommensurability and Cross-Paradigm Communication in International Relations Theory: ‘What’s the Frequency Kenneth?’” *Millennium* 25 (2) (1996), pp. 291-319.

¹²⁵⁸ Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair “Introduction: Power in a Postcolonial World; Race, Gender and Class” in Chowdhry, G. and Nair, S. (eds) *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 2.

¹²⁵⁹ *Ibid., op cit.*

Orientalist biases.¹²⁶⁰ Postcolonial IR theory not only offers a different critique of knowledge and power it also “offers new ways for thinking about techniques of power that constrain self-determination, whether they emanate from within or without”.¹²⁶¹ The ultimate goal of post-colonialism is accounting for and combating the residual effects of colonialism on cultures. It is not simply concerned with salvaging past worlds, but learning how the world can move beyond this period together, towards a place of mutual respect.¹²⁶² Postcolonialism is a normative theory of IR for it seeks to propose a way beyond present power relations. This category was used to denote articles and research that adhered and advocated the above principles and assumptions.

Poststructuralism: Post-structuralism is defined here as a worldview (or even an anti-worldview). Post-structuralism is not a specific model or theory of international relations, rather it is a critical attitude/approach or even ethos which calls attention to the importance of representation, the relationship between power and knowledge, and the politics of identity in the production and understanding of global affairs.¹²⁶³ Instead of being another school of thought with its own favoured actors and issues to highlight, poststructuralism should be understood as promoting a new set of questions and concerns. According to Michel Foucault post-structuralism “has to be conceived as an attitude, an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them”.¹²⁶⁴ You won’t find a poststructuralist theory as such, in terms of an explanation of X, Y, Z, or why international politics is the way it is, rather you will find poststructural analyses of certain events, problematising assumptions, and posing different questions. Poststructuralism is rarely seen by its practitioners as one of a series of contending approaches to the theorization of IR. On the contrary, it is opposed to such a project. It goes about its work differently, intervening in specific locations and in particular debates.

However, there are a number of assumptions that ‘poststructuralist’ thinkers share and a number of common themes on which their research focuses, which allows them to be grouped together under the category ‘poststructuralism’. A starting assumption of poststructuralist thought is that there is no point outside the world from which the world can be observed:¹²⁶⁵ all observations and all theoretical systems, in physical theory or natural science as well as social theory, are part of the world they seek to describe or account for, and have an effect in that

¹²⁶⁰ Sanjay Seth “Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations” *Millennium* 40 (1) (2011), pp. 167-183.

¹²⁶¹ Siba N. Grovogui “Postcolonialism” in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 231.

¹²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 232.

¹²⁶³ Richard Devetak “Postmodernism” in Burchill, S. et. al., (eds) *Theories of International Relations: Third Edition* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 162.

¹²⁶⁴ Michel Foucault “What is Enlightenment?” in Rabinow, P. (ed) *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 50.

¹²⁶⁵ Michel Foucault “The Order of Discourse” in Shapiro, M. (ed) *Language and Politics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 127.

world.¹²⁶⁶ For example, theories are not and cannot be politically neutral, but rather inevitably have a social and political impact. In this picture of the world, then, the theorist of IR is not a detached observer of world politics but inevitably a participant in it.

Furthermore, poststructuralists argue that there is no Archimedean perspective that defeats all others, there is no transcendental position from which to make judgements, as we are all embedded individuals, therefore there is no objective point to make a judgement.¹²⁶⁷ Consequently poststructuralists argue that there is no such thing as 'truth' or 'a truth', only competing perspectives. As Devetak notes "In the absence of a universal frame of reference or overarching perspective, we are left with a plurality of perspectives",¹²⁶⁸ or as Friedrich Nietzsche claimed "there is only perspective seeing, only a perspective 'knowing'".¹²⁶⁹

This understanding of knowledge leads poststructuralists to focus on interpretation and language. David Campbell argues that "interpretation is unavoidable and such that there is nothing outside of discourse, even though there is a material world external to thought".¹²⁷⁰ Furthermore, Richard Rorty claims "We have no access to something called reality apart from that which we represent as reality in our concepts, language and discourse".¹²⁷¹ Poststructuralism is "embedded upon a discourse of anti-realism",¹²⁷² meaning they argue that there is no reality independent from human experiences. According to poststructuralists reality is "sociolinguistically constructed".¹²⁷³ What is 'real' for poststructuralist is there dependent on a human attribute (language and interpretation).¹²⁷⁴ For poststructuralists narrative is everything, not just to understanding an event, but also in constituting that event.¹²⁷⁵ As Richard Devetak writes: "According to such a conception events acquire the status of 'real' not because they occurred but because they are remembered and because they assume a place in narrative. Narrative is not simply a re-presentation of some prior event, it is the means by which the status of reality is conferred on events".¹²⁷⁶

Due to the constitutive effects of discourse, poststructuralists seek to expose the intimate connection between claims to knowledge and claims to power and authority. Foucault argues, that 'truth' cannot be separated from power, on the contrary, systems of power are

¹²⁶⁶ Michel Foucault *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publishers, 1972).

¹²⁶⁷ Devetak, "Postmodernism", pp. 164.

¹²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹²⁶⁹ Frederick Nietzsche *On the Genealogy of Morals: Ecce Homo* (New York: **Vintage Books**, 1969), pp. 12.

¹²⁷⁰ David Campbell "Poststructuralism" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 216.

¹²⁷¹ Richard Rorty *The Linguistic Turn* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967).

¹²⁷² Heikki Patomaki and Colin Wight "After Postpositivism? The Promises of Critical Realism" *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (2) (2000), pp. 215.

¹²⁷³ Jim George *Discourses of Global Politics: A Critical (Re)Introduction to International Relations* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994), pp. 156.

¹²⁷⁴ Roy Bhaskar *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy* (London: Verso, 1989), pp. 147.

¹²⁷⁵ Campbell, "Poststructuralism", pp. 219.

¹²⁷⁶ Devetak, "Postmodernism", pp. 164.

needed to produce truth, and in turn, truth induces effects of power.¹²⁷⁷ What counts as 'true' in any particular historical period depends on the social structures and mechanisms that are in place to validate particular methods or certain people or institutions as capable of producing 'truth'.¹²⁷⁸ For instance, academic discourse, according to Foucault, emerged not as a result of scholarly inquiry, but as the direct consequence of power relations.¹²⁷⁹ Power then is implicated in all knowledge systems, and notions like reason and truth are the productions of specific historical circumstance, meaning all knowledge is relative.

Poststructuralists tend to put the issues of interpretation, representation, power and knowledge, and the politics of identity at the forefront of concerns. These shared themes and assumptions surrounding reality (anti-realist ontology), knowledge, power and language meant that articles that adopt these premises could be classed as 'poststructuralist' for this study.

Rationalism: This category emerged from the literature. A number of articles defined themselves as theoretically rationalist. Rather than specifying whether they were using a 'neo-realist' or 'neo-liberal' approach authors choose to identify themselves as 'rationalist'. The term 'rationalism' was coined by Robert Keohane in his 1988 ISA Presidential address.¹²⁸⁰ Keohane's use of the label of rationalism was to denote approaches to IR that adopted the understanding of individual as 'rational actors'. 'Rationalists' in this sense argue "that we should treat individuals, and by extension states, as utility maximizers, and ignore every other aspect of their social being".¹²⁸¹ Not only then does this category capture neo-realist and neo-liberal research, it also works to include research that draws on microeconomic theory, for certain strands share the same rational actor assumptions.¹²⁸²

Reflectivism: This category also emerged from the body of literature being investigated. A number of articles labeled themselves as theoretically reflectivist. This term was also coined by Keohane and is used as a binary opposite to 'rationalism'.¹²⁸³ Therefore the 'label' reflectivist was often used to denote how an article was not premised on the assumptions of rationalism and in fact opposed them. Reflectivism is defined as the rejection of the explanatory and rational assumptions of neo-realism and neo-liberalism, and the adoption of 'reflexivity', social

¹²⁷⁷ Michel Foucault *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

¹²⁷⁸ Devetak, "Postmodernism", pp. 164.

¹²⁷⁹ Foucault *The Archeology of Knowledge*.

¹²⁸⁰ Robert Keohane "International Institutions: Two Approaches" *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (4) (1988), pp. 379-396.

¹²⁸¹ Milja Kurki and Colin Wight "International Relations and Social Science" in Dunne, T., Kurki, M. and Smith, S. (eds) *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 23.

¹²⁸² James Fearon and Alexander Wendt "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View" in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, S. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 55.

¹²⁸³ Keohane, "International Institutions", pp. 379-396.

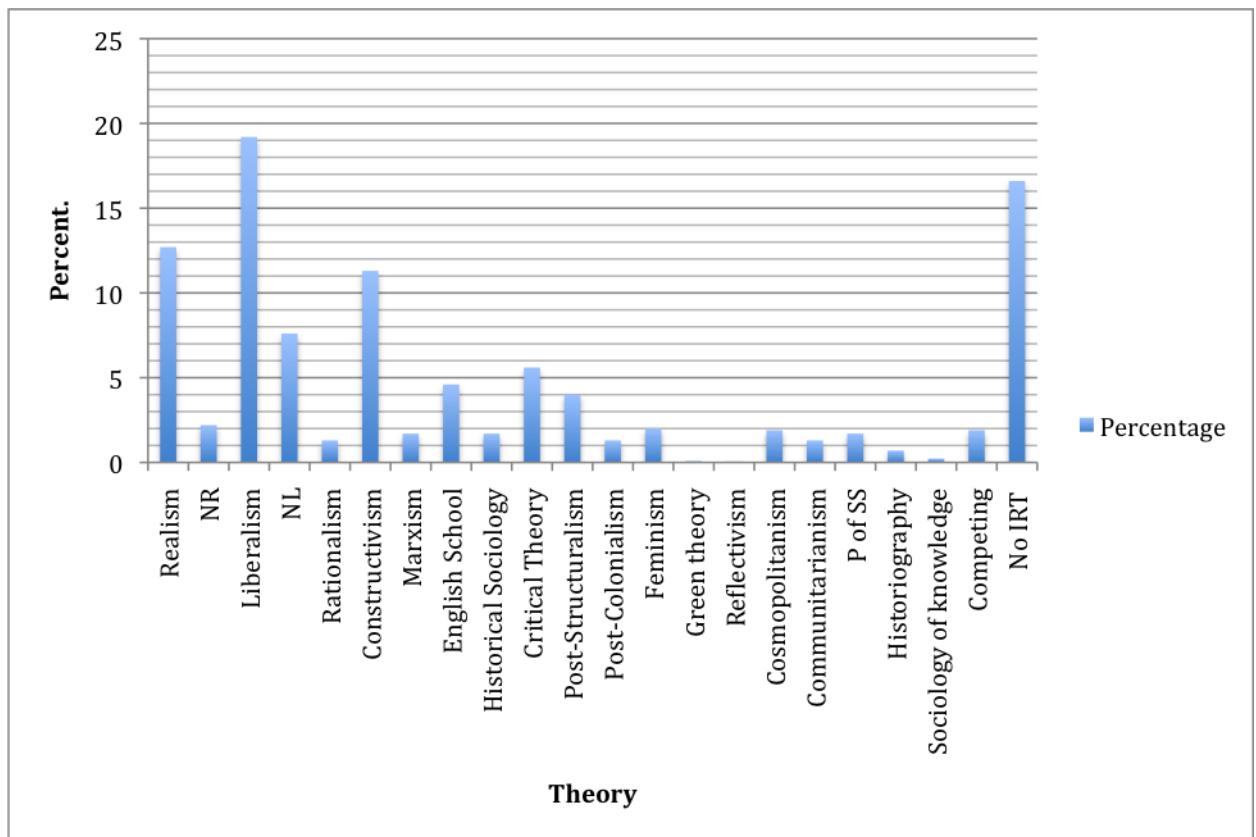
explanation and the stress on the non-neutral and political nature of knowledge and theory.¹²⁸⁴ There many 'reflectivist' theories in IR, for example Critical Theory, Feminism and Post-structuralism are reflectivist. However, only the articles that self-identified as 'reflectivist' and did not advocate another theoretical approach were noted in this category

Sociology of Knowledge: This category did not emerge from the investigation, instead this category was constructed to refer to research that used theories from the branch of thought known as the 'sociology of knowledge'. Instead of using IR theory the articles placed in this category used theories from a different discipline in order to comment on the practices of IR scholars. The articles are therefore theoretical or theoretically inclined but have not drawn on the canon of collective thought known as IR theory. Articles that drew on the work of Emile Durkheim, Karl Mannheim, Robert Merton, Richard Whately, and Pierre Bourdieu for example and used these insights to investigate and comment on knowledge production and the associated practices in IR were noted as 'Sociology of Knowledge'. Ole Wæver's article "The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline"¹²⁸⁵ is an example of an article included in this category.

No International Relations Theory: This category refers to the articles that contained no IR theory and that couldn't be classed as a 'philosophy of social science', 'historiographical', or 'sociology of knowledge' article. Certain articles drew on theories from psychology, and public policy for example. To avoid creating a very large number of categories such articles were collated together under the category 'no IR theory'. This label should not be read as 'no theory' and that the articles must be a-theoretical, but instead this category is to include work that is theoretical but draws on a wide range of thinkers outside of the aforementioned disciplines. Overall 16.6% of articles (501 out of 3022) contained no IR theory, see figure 6.1. This category was omitted from the data presented because this category contained a *very* disparate set of articles (and the remaining percentages recalculated) in order to focus on the theories present and the actual IR theoretical trends occurring.

¹²⁸⁴ Kurki and Wight, "International Relations and Social Science", pp. 23.

¹²⁸⁵ Ole Wæver "The Sociology of a Not So International American and European Developments in International Relations" *International Organization* 52 (4) (1998), pp. 687-727.



Key: P of SS = Philosophy of Social Science; Competing = Competing theories; No IRT = No international relations theory.

Figure 6.1: Distribution of theoretical approaches in the 12 journals under review from 1999-2009.

Methodological Categories Defined.

Archival Analysis: Is the method whereby the researcher examines accumulated documents, or archives of an organisation/institution/culture etc. Archive materials can include statistics collected by non-governmental and governmental agencies, diaries, newspapers, multimedia, and historical records.¹²⁸⁶ Archival analysis is defined as “the locating, evaluating, and systematic interpretation and analysis of sources found in archives”.¹²⁸⁷ However, archival materials may be examined and analysed for different purposes than those with which they were originally collected.¹²⁸⁸

¹²⁸⁶ Alan Bryman *Social Research Methods: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 215.

¹²⁸⁷ Louise Corti “Archival Research” in Lewis, M. S., Bryman, A. and Liao, T. F. (eds) *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2004).

¹²⁸⁸ For a good example of the use of Archival Analysis in IR see Peter Suedfeld and Philip Tetlock “Integrative Complexity of Communications in International Crises” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 21 (1) (1977), pp. 169-184.

Case Studies: Rather than as a ‘method of selecting the source of data’¹²⁸⁹ the definition of case studies here refers to a methodological choice and process rather than ‘a choice of what is to be studied’.¹²⁹⁰ It is a method in which one or a few instances of a phenomenon are studied in depth.¹²⁹¹ As Stake notes “case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question”.¹²⁹² The term ‘case’ is often used to denote a location, “such as a community of organisation”,¹²⁹³ and the emphasis is placed on an intensive examination of the setting/case.¹²⁹⁴

Comparative Analysis: The method of comparative analysis is based on the application of comparison between different entities, such as interviews, official documents, individuals groups, and states, or different points in time. These “entities or time periods are then analysed to isolate prominent similarities and differences”.¹²⁹⁵ It is this process that is described by the term comparative analysis.¹²⁹⁶

Content Analysis: Is the method used to quantify the content of documents and texts in terms of a set of predefined/predetermined categories in a systematic manner.¹²⁹⁷ Content analysis is defined by Bernard Berelson as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communications”.¹²⁹⁸ In this definition, and therefore the definition used for the purpose of this study, content analysis has a quantitative dimension as the method is used in order to generate quantitative data from texts etc.

Counterfactual Analysis: Counterfactual analysis is a method used to explore causal relations through examining a causal relation in terms of its counterfactual dependence. Counterfactual analyses of causation focus on counterfactuals that tell us what would have been the case if the world had been different in order to help us understand the causal relations in operation that at

¹²⁸⁹ Norman Blaikie *Designing Social Research: Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 186.

¹²⁹⁰ R. E. Stake “Qualitative Case Studies” in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research: Third Edition* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 443.

¹²⁹¹ Joachim K. Blatter “Case Studies” in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

¹²⁹² R. E. Stake *The Art of Case Study Research* (London: Sage, 1995).

¹²⁹³ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 49.

¹²⁹⁴ For more see R. K. Yin *Case Study Research: Design and Methods: Third Edition* (London: Sage, 2003).

¹²⁹⁵ Melinda C. Mills “Comparative Analysis” in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

¹²⁹⁶ For more see Richard Rose “Comparing Forms of Comparative Analysis” *Political Studies* 39 (3) (1991), pp. 446-462.

¹²⁹⁷ Bryman *Social Research Methods*, pp. 183.

¹²⁹⁸ Bernard Berelson *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York: Free Press, 1952), pp. 18.

first are not apparent.¹²⁹⁹ Counterfactuals take the form of ‘if it were the case that X, then it would be the case that Y’.

Cross-Sectional Time Series Analysis: Refers to a study conducted at a specific point in time, which takes a cross-section of a population/system at a single point in time.¹³⁰⁰ A cross-sectional time series analysis is therefore a collection of data from a sample of individuals/groups/states at a particular moment in time as a basis for inferring claims about the population/international system from which the sample emerges.¹³⁰¹ The analysis can be a one-off or it can be repeated at regular intervals in order to provide a means of assessing change(s).

Deconstruction: Is a method which asserts that meanings, dichotomies and meta-physical constructs are dependent on arbitrary signifiers which renders their meaning unstable. A deconstructive approach therefore seeks to highlight the constructed and dependent nature of certain concepts, categories, entities etc and urge a re-reading/reconsideration/destabilisation/destruction.¹³⁰² The 1989 *Oxford English Dictionary* defines deconstruction as “A strategy of critical analysis associated with the French philosopher Jacques Derrida, directed towards exposing unquestioned metaphysical assumptions and internal contradictions in philosophical and literary language”.¹³⁰³ Nicholas Royle however points out the inherent irony and problems with defining deconstruction¹³⁰⁴, and as Derrida himself noted “whenever deconstruction finds a nutshell—a secure axiom or a pithy maxim—the very idea is to crack it open and disturb this tranquillity”. Whilst recognising the inconsistencies and issues with defining deconstruction for the purpose of this study the above definition was used.

Discourse Analysis: Discourse analysis is best understood as a collection of related methods for studying language use and its role in social life, in other words there is no one version of discourse analysis. According to Jonathan Potter some of the versions of discourse analysis “study language use with a particular interest in its coherence over sentences or turns, its role in constructing the world, and its relationship to context”.¹³⁰⁵ Regardless of the specific variant all forms of discourse analysis emphasize, “the way versions of the world, of society, events and

¹²⁹⁹For more see L. A. Paul “Keeping Track of Time: Emending the Counterfactual Analysis of Causation” *Analysis* 58 (3) (1998), pp. 191-198 and Jonathan Bennett “Event Causation: The Counterfactual Analysis” *Philosophical Perspectives* 1 (1987), pp. 367-386.

¹³⁰⁰ W. Paul Vogt *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology: Third Edition* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 74.

¹³⁰¹ John Bynner “Cross-Sectional Survey” in Jupp, V. (ed) *The Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods* (London: Sage 2006), pp. 53.

¹³⁰² Jacques Derrida quoted in Caputo, J. D. (ed) *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997), pp. 32.

¹³⁰³ J. A. Simpson and E. S. C Weiner *The Oxford English Dictionary: Second Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

¹³⁰⁴ Nicholas Royle “What is Deconstruction” in Royle, N. (ed) *Deconstruction: A Users Guide* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 1-13.

¹³⁰⁵ Jonathan Potter “Discourse Analysis” in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

inner psychological words are produced in discourse".¹³⁰⁶ Rosalind Gill argues that discourse analysis can be thought of as consisting of four main themes; 1) discourse is a topic; 2) language is constructive; 3) discourse is a form of action and 4) discourse is rhetorically organised.¹³⁰⁷ Hence the methodology of discourse analysis is bound up with certain ontological and epistemological beliefs, therefore this method is also action-orientated.

Econometrics: Econometrics is according to Paul Vogt "(a) The application of statistical methods to economic data, usually to forecast economic trends and decide among policies. (b) The branch of economics applying statistical models, often models based on multiple regressions, to economic problems".¹³⁰⁸ In other words it refers to the application of economic principles using a mathematical/statistical approach or vice versa¹³⁰⁹. For this study econometrics was distinguished from the category 'statistical analysis' due to its application to economic problems and the author's economic basis. Often the articles designating themselves as using 'Econometrics' were using statistical models to analyze and unpack economic issues and were therefore specifically developed to be applied to economic problems and were therefore formulated using economic theory.

Ethnography: Ethnographic research involves the researcher immersing him/herself in a group for an extended period of time (either in a covert or overt manner). During this time the researcher observes behaviours, listens to what is said in conversations, and asks questions.¹³¹⁰ Ethnographic research normally entails long periods of time in the field/organisation/community/group etc in order for the ethnographer to understand and describe the situation/context from an insider's perspective. As David Fetterman notes "The ethnographer is both storyteller and scientist; the closer the readers of an ethnography come to understanding the native's point of view, the better the story and the better the science".¹³¹¹

Event History Analysis: Is the method for studying "the movement over time of subjects through successive states or conditions by asking them to remember biographical data. The goal of the research is to study change from one state to the next and how long each of the states lasts".¹³¹² Event history analysis is therefore concerned with patterns and correlates of the

¹³⁰⁶ Jonathan Potter "Discourse Analysis as a Way of Analysing Naturally Occurring Talk" in Silverman, D. (ed) *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method, and Practice* (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 146.

¹³⁰⁷ Rosalind Gill "Discourse Analysis" in Bauer, M. W. and Gaskell, G. (eds) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (London, Sage, 2000).

¹³⁰⁸ Vogt, *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology*, pp. 103.

¹³⁰⁹ There are a number of different econometric analysis models for more see W. Wojciech, W. Charemz and D. F. Deadman *New Directions in Econometric Practice: General to Specific Modelling, Cointegration and Vector Autoregression* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1992).

¹³¹⁰ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 292.

¹³¹¹ David M. Fetterman "Ethnography" in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

¹³¹² Vogt, *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology*, pp. 111.

occurrence of events and is often used to study duration data.¹³¹³ The term 'event' broadly speaking may be defined as "a qualitative change that occurs at some particular point in time".¹³¹⁴ According to Kazuo Yamaguchi, "by definition, an occurrence of an event assumes a preceding time interval that represents its non-occurrence".¹³¹⁵ Therefore an event is the change in continuity. An event is the change from the norm, or rather the period of non-occurrence in which it is defined against.

Formal Modelling: Formal modelling is the building of models in order to test the propositions of the model which represents a set of relationships. The term 'formal' denotes the use of logical or algebraic symbols rather than words to state the propositions of the model.¹³¹⁶ However, according to A. Evans et al., "The degree of formality of a model is not necessarily related to its form of representation. In particular, graphical notations can be regarded as formal if a precise semantics is provided for their constructs".¹³¹⁷ Formal modelling is then the construction of a model which describes a dynamic system using formal language. Often formal models are executed by a computer simulation, but not always. For a good example of the construction of a formal model in IR to test a series of hypotheses see Peter Bennett's 1995 article "Modelling Decisions in International Relations".¹³¹⁸

Genealogy: Is a method that questions ideas and practices that are presented as universal. Through using a genealogical approach the actual emergence of such ideas/identities etc is revealed. According to Fred Evans "Ultimately, genealogy attempts to show that all practices have variable meanings and reflect different forces rather than possess intrinsic meanings and point to a permanent reality". Genealogy involves a 'tracing back' through history in order to highlight the constituting roles of practices and how such practices construct the identities of objects and subjects with which we interact, thereby exposing the intimate connection between claims to knowledge and claims to political power and authority. As Roland Bleiker summarises genealogies "focus on the process by which we have constructed origins and given meaning to particular representations of the past, representation that continuously guide our daily loves and set clear limits to political and social options".¹³¹⁹

Hermeneutics: Melissa Freeman defines hermeneutics as "the study of the theory and the practice of understanding and interpretation. It is built on the assumption that interpretation is

¹³¹³ Kazuo Yamaguchi *Event History Analysis* (London: Sage, 1991), pp. 1.

¹³¹⁴ Paul Allison "Event History Analysis" in Hardy, M. and Bryman, A. (eds) *Handbook of Data Analysis* (London: Sage, 2004).

¹³¹⁵ Yamaguchi, *Event History Analysis*, pp. 1.

¹³¹⁶ Vogt *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology*, pp. 67.

¹³¹⁷ A. Evans et al., "Developing UML as a Formal Modelling Notation" in Muller, P. A and B'ezivin, J. (eds) *Proceedings of UM 1998 International Workshop, Mulhouse, France, June 3 - 4*, pp. 3.

¹³¹⁸ Peter G. Bennett "Modelling Decisions in International Relations: Game Theory and Beyond" *Mershon International Studies Review* 39 (1) (1995), pp. 19-52.

¹³¹⁹ Roland Bleiker *Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 25.

not a straightforward activity even though people do it all the time when they interact with others and the world".¹³²⁰ Hermeneutics is premised on the aim of the researcher being to seek out the meanings of a text from the perspective of its author. Which leads the researcher to pay attention to the social, historical, cultural context within which a text is produced and vice versa.¹³²¹ Certain hermeneutic methods, based on the work of Hans Gadamer, instead of looking "for what the author of a text intended, or the 'real' meaning"¹³²² have begun to see the text as engaged in dialogue. Understanding a text involves what Gadamer terms the 'fusion of horizons' of the text, and the interpreter; "a process in which the interpreter's horizon is altered and the text is transformed".¹³²³ Certain hermeneutic approaches focus on the mediation and translation of languages, and how different interpreter in different social/temporal setting are likely to produce different understandings.

Historical Analysis: This category was designed in order to group articles that identified as using a 'historical' method, such life history methods, political histories, international histories, biographies, historiographies, and historicist arguments. In order to escape creating too many categories for this analysis and thus thinning out the results, this category was devised in order to capture the number of different historical methodologies being used in IR and to ascertain their impact on the discipline.

Historical Materialism: Is a methodological approach to the study of history, society and economics advanced by Karl Marx. It provides a means of exploring the dialectic between historical processes and societal causation.¹³²⁴ According to Marx:

"The way in which men produce their means of subsistence depends first of all on the nature of the actual means they find in existence and have to reproduce. This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather, it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions determining their production."

Therefore in order to understand history and social processes one needs to understand the 'modes of production' in operation. Historical materialism is the method of identifying and organizing data that emphasizes the priority of socio-economic factors as the locus of causal significance. Historical materialism according to Frank Harrison "identifies 'class structure'

¹³²⁰ Melissa Freemann "Hermeneutics" in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

¹³²¹ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 394.

¹³²² Blaikie, *Designing Social Research*, pp. 101.

¹³²³ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹³²⁴ For more see Frank Cunningham "Practice and Some Muddles About the Methodology of Historical Materialism" *Canadian Journal of Philosophy* 3 (2) (1973), pp. 235-248.

produced and perpetuated by the specific of the prevailing ‘mode of production’¹³²⁵. Any article employing this methodological approach was placed under this category for the purpose of this investigation.

Interpretivism: Defined here for the purpose of this study refers to the distinct methodology drawn from the Interpretivist tradition that is often juxtaposed with positivism.¹³²⁶ This definition is drawn from the work of Alfred Schutz¹³²⁷ and is linked to Weber’s *Verstehen* for the method focuses on interpreting subjective and cultural aspects of social phenomenon.¹³²⁸ Rather than operating as a broad category which could include ‘interpretive approaches’ such as hermeneutics, phenomenology, or ‘interpretive content analysis’ the category interpretivism is used to designate research that uses interpretive judgments and inductive reasoning in order to provide explanations and understandings of phenomena.¹³²⁹ The method refers to the understanding and interpreting of texts, documents, events, in a subjective manner which relates to the subjective nature of the artifacts being interpreted.

Interviewing: Interviewing is the process in which knowledge is produced through the conversational interaction between an interviewer (the researcher asking the questions) and an interviewee or a group of interviewees. The purpose of the interview is to “obtain knowledge about a given topic or some area of human experience”¹³³⁰, therefore interviews are designed to serve the researchers ends which are external to the dialogue itself. As Svend Brinkmann notes “In most cases, research interviewing involves a “one-way dialogue” with the researcher asking questions and the interviewee being cast in the role of respondent”.¹³³¹ However, interviews can take on a number of forms – unstructured, semi-structured and structured.¹³³² Group interviews or discussion (or what are often referred to as focus groups) allow for group interaction and arguably “provide greater insight into why certain opinions are held”¹³³³ than individual interviews. The assumption behind this claims is that “people become more aware of, and can reflect on, their ideas and assumptions being confronted with contrary views”.¹³³⁴

¹³²⁵ Frank Harrison “Historical Materialism” in Mills, A. J., Durpepos, G. and Wiebe, E. (eds) *Encyclopaedia of Case Study Research* (London: Sage, 2010), pp. 440.

¹³²⁶ Blaikie *Designing Social Research*, pp. 99.

¹³²⁷ Alfred Schutz “On Multiple Realities” *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 5 (ISSUE) (1945), pp. 533-576 and Alfred Schutz “Common Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action” in Natanson, M. A. (ed) *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 302-346.

¹³²⁸ Max Weber *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (New York: Free Press, 1949).

¹³²⁹ Norman Blaikie “Interpretivism” in Lewis-Beck, M. S., Bryman, A. and Liao, T. F. (eds) *The SAGE Encyclopaedia of Social Science Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2004), pp. 509-511.

¹³³⁰ Svend Brinkmann “Interviewing” in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

¹³³¹ *Ibid.*, *op cit.*

¹³³² For more see Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 319-343.

¹³³³ Blaikie, *Designing Social Research*, pp. 207.

¹³³⁴ *Ibid.*, *op cit.* For more see L. J. Millward “Focus Groups” in Breakwell, G. M. et al., (eds) *Research Methods in Psychology: Third Edition* (London: Sage, 2007), pp. 274-298.

Linguistic Analysis: Linguistic analysis is often contrasted with discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is often referred to “as the study of language 'beyond the sentence'”¹³³⁵, whereas linguistic analysis is primarily concerned with the ‘smaller bit of language used’ within the sentence. For example linguistic analyses often focus on “sounds (phonetics and phonology), parts of words (morphology), meaning (semantics), and the order of words in sentences (syntax)”.¹³³⁶

Literature Review: Often the articles in question employed a literature review as their methodology. The relevant literature was examined, critically assessed and judgements for future research were made. A literature review is a thorough summary and critical analysis of the relevant research/literature on the topic of question.¹³³⁷ The aim of a literature review is to bring the intended audience up-to-date with the array of arguments/insights on a topic,¹³³⁸ and to justify future research in the area by pointing out the flaws/inconsistencies/problems etc with the current body of research.

Longitudinal Analysis: Refers to the collection of data from the same individuals or groups across time.¹³³⁹ It is often contrasted again cross-sectional time series analysis, as rather than taking a sample at a specific time it looks at the same sample over time thereby using temporal sequencing.¹³⁴⁰ Longitudinal analysis can vary from repeated measures of a specific group and a control group at two points in time “to a large-scale long-term birth cohort study”.¹³⁴¹

Participant Observation: Participant observation a method of data collection in which the “researcher takes part in everyday activities related to an area of social life in order to study an aspect of that life through the observation of events in their natural contexts”.¹³⁴² It centres on the roles of participation and observation (however the degree of each can vary) in order to provide and gain an in-depth understanding of a particular social content, or topic. Ethnography includes the method of participant observation but it goes beyond it through engaging with the

¹³³⁵ Gillian Brown and George Young, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. viii.

¹³³⁶ Deborah Tannen “Discourse Analysis” published by the Linguistic Society of America. <http://www.linguisticsociety.org/content/discourse-analysis> (Date accessed 7/09/13).

¹³³⁷ C. Hart *Doing a Literature Review* (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 5.

¹³³⁸ Patricia Cronin, Frances Ryan and Michael Coughlan “Undertaking a Literature Review: A Step-by-Step Approach” *British Journal of Nursing* 17 (1) (2008), pp. 38.

¹³³⁹ John Bynner “Longitudinal Study” in Jupp, V. (ed) *The Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods* (London: Sage 2006), pp. 164.

¹³⁴⁰ For more see D. Magnusson and L Bergmann *Data Quality in Longitudinal Research* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, *op cit*.

¹³⁴² Lynne E. F. McKechnie “Participant Observation” in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

subjects, and often involves a long time period and a more complete immersion into the society/group/community etc.¹³⁴³

Process Tracing: Process tracing requires the collection of a large amount of data, preferably from a wide range of sources as it is used for “exploring causal processes and analysing complex decision-making”.¹³⁴⁴ Process tracing aims to identify formal and informal structures, processes, mechanisms, and causal relationships within an agency or organisation involved in delivering particular functions. According to Alexander George and Andrew Bennett “In process tracing, the researcher examines histories, archival documents, interview transcripts and other sources to see whether the causal process a theory hypothesises or implies in a case is in fact evident in the sequence and values of the intervening variable in that case”.¹³⁴⁵ The method of process tracing is then used to identify the effect of an independent variable(s) on the outcome of the dependent variable, thereby establishing the various causal processes underway.¹³⁴⁶

Quantitative Analysis: This category was devised in order to place research that was ‘quantitative’ in orientation and that did not lend itself to be included in any of the other categories such as statistical analysis. If researchers employed quantitative methods of data collection but did not analyse these through the use of statistics or models then such articles were deemed as quantitative. To clarify quantitative analyses are those that collect data through processes of measurement and counting and analyse that data through its quantitative capacity.

Rational Choice: This label refers to the methods of modelling social behaviour based on the assumption of the rationality of actors. This category differs from formal modelling because the models created are constructed (or even constrained) with regards to the belief in the rational behaviour of agents.¹³⁴⁷ This category emerged as many authors were describing their work as ‘rational choice’ through using ‘rational choice methods or approaches’. Hence this category refers to articles that used game theory, quantitative (small and large N-studies) and modelling methods using deductive reasoning based on the assumption of the rationality (and therefore utility maximising behaviour) of actors.¹³⁴⁸

¹³⁴³ Paul Atkinson and Martyn Hammersly “Ethnography and Participant Observation” in Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (eds) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research: Third Edition* (London: Sage, 2005), pp. 248.

¹³⁴⁴ Oisín Tansey “Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-Probability Sampling” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40 (4) (2007), pp. 1.

¹³⁴⁵ Alexander George and Andrew Bennett *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2005), pp. 6.

¹³⁴⁶ Jeffrey Checkel “Tracing Causal Mechanisms” *International Studies Review* 8 (2) (2006), pp. 362-370.

¹³⁴⁷ Duncan Snidal “Rational Choice in International Relations” in Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T. and Simmons, B. (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 75.

¹³⁴⁸ For more see James Mahoney “Rational Choice Theory and the Comparative Method: An Emerging Synthesis?” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (2) (2000), pp. 83-94.

Semiotics: Semiotics is the study of signs, and is therefore an approach to the analysis of signs, and other phenomena such as documents with the aim of seeking out their deeper meaning. Alan Bryman defines semiotics as a method concerned with uncovering “the processes of meaning production and how signs are designed to have an effect upon actual and prospective consumers of those signs”.¹³⁴⁹ Semiotics is an approach to the analysis of symbols in everyday life¹³⁵⁰ and helps us examine how we look at signs/symbols etc, “how things stand in relation to other things, and how those mediated relationships help us understand things better”.¹³⁵¹

Spatial Modelling: Spatial modelling (spatial analysis) provides a means for exploring spatial relationships, for example conflicts, within a particular environment. The models generated operate on the premise of a spatial dependence among the modeled objects.¹³⁵² Spatial models are primarily used to derive information about spatial relationships between geographic phenomena.¹³⁵³

Statistical Analysis: In order to avoid producing an even larger number of categories the designation ‘statistical analysis’ refers to all methodologies which involve the use of statistics. Hence this category incorporates regression analysis (including logistic regressions), the use of SPSS, descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. Regression analysis is defined as a “body of statistical techniques in which the form of the relationship between a dependent variable and one or more independent variables is established so that knowledge of the values of the independent variables enables prediction of the value of the dependent variable or the likelihood of the occurrence of an event if the dependent variable is categorical”.¹³⁵⁴ In other words regression analysis is a method used in order to determine causal relationships.¹³⁵⁵ Whereas inferential statistics is the method in which statistics from inferences are produced “about situations or social groupings that have not been observed directly”.¹³⁵⁶ In contrast to descriptive statistics, inferential statistics “are used to make generalisations derived from estimates based on probability”.¹³⁵⁷ Inferential statistics are often dependent upon the observational outcomes of descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics are the statistics generated from the actual

¹³⁴⁹ Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 183.

¹³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 393.

¹³⁵¹ Gary Shank “Semiotics” in Given, L. M. (ed) *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (London: Sage, 2008).

¹³⁵² Wolfgang Kainz, Max J. Egenhofer, and Ian Greasley “Modeling Spatial Relations and Operation with Partially Ordered Sets” *International Journal for Geographical Information Sources* 7 (3) (1991), pp. 215-229.

¹³⁵³ John O’Loughlin and Luc Anselin “Bringing geography back to the study of international relations: Spatial dependence and regional context in Africa, 1966–1978” *International Interactions* 17 (1) (1991), pp. 29-61.

¹³⁵⁴ David Byrne “Regression Analysis” in Jupp, V. (ed) *The Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods* (London: Sage 2006), pp. 259.

¹³⁵⁵ For more see David S. Byrne *Interpreting Quantitative Data* (London: Sage, 2002) and S. Menard *Applied Logistic Regression Analysis* (London: Sage, 2001).

¹³⁵⁶ Iain Crow “Inferential Statistics” in Jupp, V. (ed) *The Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods* (London: sage, 2006), pp. 147.

¹³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, *op cit*.

observations made (for example the data derived from sources such as surveys, or data archives)¹³⁵⁸, whereas inferential statistics make inferences based on these observations. This allows inferential statistics to make statistical generalisations, further hypotheses and predictions.¹³⁵⁹ Statistics such as chi-square, Cramer's V, Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient and Student's *t* are all inferential.¹³⁶⁰

Interviews.

As noted in the introductory chapter the interviews I conducted with the editors of leading IR journals were of a semi-structured nature. In order to 1) explore the allegations of gate-keeping levied at discipline's journal editors 2) investigate the publication practices of the respective journals and 3) examine the influence of the Journal Citation Reports (JCR) the following questions were posed:

1. Background Information.

- How would you situate yourself within the discipline theoretically?
- What sub-fields do you identify yourself with, if any?

2. Editorial Experience.

- How long have you been the editor of Journal X for?
- How did you become to be the editor of Journal X?
- Is this your first time as a journal editor? If no, what other journals have you edited, and for how long? How do the two journals and the experiences compare?
- Are you involved with any other journals? For example, are you on any other editorial boards? Is there ever any conflict of interests?

3. Situating the Journal.

- What are the aims of your journal? And have they changed over time?
- How would you situate your journal? In other words how do you think it compares to other journals within the discipline?
- Who is your specific target audience?
- Do you think that your journal is better received in some countries than others?
- Would you say that your journal is more sympathetic towards certain issues, theories or methods?
- Does the international reputation of your journal influence what articles you receive for submission?

¹³⁵⁸ For more see Bernard Ostle *Statistics in Research* (Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963) and P. J. Bickel and E. L. Lehmann "Descriptive Statistics for Non-Parametric Models: Introduction" *The Annals of Statistics* 3 (5) (1975), pp. 1038-1044.

¹³⁵⁹ V. Gayle "Inferential Statistics" in Burton, D. (ed) *Research Training for Social Scientists* (London: Sage, 2000), pp. 385. For more see D. Rowntree *Statistics without Tears* (London: Penguin, 1981).

¹³⁶⁰ Crow, "Inferential Statistics", pp. 148.

- Are there any types of scholarship that you notice do not get submitted?

4. The Selection Process.

- What are your approximate submission rates, and roughly what percentage do you accept and publish?
- How do you select articles for publication? In other words what is the refereeing process for your journal?
- How do you select your reviewers? Do you have a standard board of reviewers who are elected?
- How interventionist are you as a journal editor?
- Do you try and link articles in order to create 'themes' for each issue? And how do you decide upon whether to compile special editions, if you do?
- There appears to be a growing tendency to 'internationalize IR scholarship' do you try and actively internationalise the content of your journal?

5. Gate-Keeping.

- IR's journals have been described by various academics as the 'disciplines gate-keepers', permitting access to the discipline's international realm to certain works, and thereby approving certain works and delegitimizing others; what are your thoughts? Do you agree? What are the 'gate-keeping realities'?
- How do you view your role in the process of 'legitimizing' knowledge in the field?
- Do journal editors have an active role in constructing or rather steering the discipline? According to Robert Keohane the advantage of being a journal editor is that you are able to be at the centre of certain processes, in that you can focus attention to certain issues, promote certain views, thereby creating the intellectual agenda, and subsequently shaping the field.
- What responsibilities do you think a journal editor should have to the IR community?

6. The Journal Impact Factor.

- Do you know how the JIF is formulated?
- Do you know how journals are selected for inclusion into the ISI database and then the JCR?
- Do you think there has been an increase in the amount of attention paid to the annual JCR and if so what do you think the consequences of this have been?
- How concerned with are you with the annual rankings?
- (If the journal is ranked) Do changes in the rankings affect what is submitted to your journal? Have you noticed any changes in submissions with either an increase or decrease?
- (If the journal is not ranked) Why is your journal not included in the JCR? Was this a political decision taken the editorial team to not be included?

Appendix II.

Sample Consent Form For Interviews.

Title of Research Project:

'Is International Relations an American Dominated Discipline?'

Details of Project:

This project is aiming to discern whether the discipline of International Relations can be characterised as an American dominated discipline, and therefore what it means for America to be intellectually hegemonic. This investigation seeks to explore the sociology and self-image of the discipline of International Relations. The data obtained here will be part of a wider mixed methods investigation into the different realms of academic production and practice in IR, and used to help shed light on whether the field of IR is dominated by the United States, and if so what form(s) this alleged dominance takes.

Contact Details

For further information about the research or your interview data, please contact: Helen Louise Turton, Department of Politics, College of Social Science and International Studies, Amory Building, Rennes Drive, Exeter University, Devon UK, EX4 4RJ. Tel 00 44 (0) 1392 263184, hlt207@ex.ac.uk If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact: Professor Colin Wight (Supervisor) C.Wight@exeter.ac.uk or Doctor Matt Lobley (Ethics Committee member for the Department of Politics) mlobley@exeter.ac.uk

Confidentiality

Interview tapes and transcripts will be held in confidence. They will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to them (except as may be required by the law). You will be supplied with a copy of *your* interview transcript so that you can comment on and edit it as you see fit (please give your email below). Your data will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act [it will be kept anonymously for five years and then destroyed]

Anonymity

Interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of your name, but I will refer to your role and position as a journal editor. Although it will be clear which journals I am looking at, your affiliation with Journal X will remain anonymous, as you will be one of 12 journal editors being interviewed. You will therefore remain anonymous unless you choose to wave your right to anonymity (see box below).

Consent

I voluntarily agree to participate and to the use of my data for the purposes specified above. I can withdraw consent at any time by contacting the interviewers.

TICK HERE: **DATE**.....

TICK HERE TO WAVE RIGHT TO ANONYMITY:

Note: Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data

Name of interviewee:.....

Signature:

Email/phone:.....

Signature of researcher.....

2 copies to be signed by both interviewee and researcher,

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

Academic Unit:

Department of Politics, College of Social Sciences and International Studies

Title of Project:

Is International Relations an American Social Science?

Name(s)/Title of Project Research Team Member(s):

Helen Louise Turton

Project Contact Point:

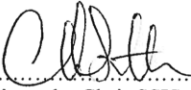
hlt207@ex.ac.uk

This project has been approved for the period

From: March 2011

To: May 2012

College Ethics Committee approval reference: 28.02.11-i

Signature.....  Date..... 02nd March 2011

(Hannah Farrimond – Chair SSIS College Ethics Committee)

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