Revisiting the "American Social Science" – Mapping the Geography of International Relations

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Revisiting the "American Social Science" – Mapping the Geography of International Relations

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This paper studies the geography of the International Relations discipline (IR), particularly the notion that IR is an 'American social science'. First, it analyzes bibliometric data and finds that U.S.-based scholars continue to dominate IR journals, but also that IR is one of the least U.S.-dominated social sciences and that it has become markedly less so since the 1960s. Second, the paper argues that conventional measures based on nation-state affiliation capture only part of the spatial structures of inequality. It employs novel visualization tools to present an alternative map of elite stratification in IR. Instead of looking at *national* cores and peripheries, it maps the social network structures of authorship and coauthorship in key IR journals. By mapping city and institutional output, it finds stratification structures *within* the American discipline. Elite institutions in Northeast America, rather than 'America', dominate the field's leading journals. A similar stratification is found in Western Europe. Moreover, network linkages in terms of both co-authorships and doctoral backgrounds tie these Northeast American and West European elites together. The paper concludes that while U.S. dominance in IR journals is in decline, this has not yet made the discipline as international as its name warrants.

Introduction

When International Relations (IR) scholars have looked in the mirror, they have seen a discipline that is notoriously less international than its name warrants.[1] They have described it as an "American social science" and a "dividing" and "not so international" discipline (Hoffmann 1977; Holsti 1985; Wæver 1998). An impressive number of publications have been devoted to the problem of geographical inequality and it has become a disciplinary truism that IR is dominated by 'Americans'.[2] Surveys among scholars show that top-ranked scholars, journals and degree programs are based in the U.S. (Maliniak, Peterson, and Tierney 2012). Bibliometric studies demonstrate that so are the majority of authors in these top journals (Goldmann 1995; Wæver 1998; Aydinli and Mathews 2000; Breuning, Bredehoft, and Walton 2005). Studies of IR syllabi and textbooks have found that both American and non-American students tend to read mostly Americans (Alker and Biersteker 1984; Holsti 1985; Robles 1993; Nossal 2001; Friedrichs 2004; Biersteker 2009). This paper revisits the question of U.S. dominance in IR seeking to make two overall contributions: first, by studying U.S. dominance in IR comparatively, vis-à-vis other social sciences and over time, and second, by unpacking U.S. dominance and instead present a subnational map of stratification patterns at the level of dominant cities and institutions.

First, the paper revisits the claim that U.S. scholars numerically dominate the discipline by looking at authorship in IR journals. It explores a conventional, albeit more comprehensive, bibliometric data set than previous research and confirms the finding that U.S.-based scholars dominate. It further argues, however, that these empirical studies verifying that the majority of authors in top journals are U.S.-based, while useful, are insufficient without any basis for comparison. Some degree of U.S. dominance is probably to be expected given the sheer size of IR, and social science more generally, in the United States: the U.S. accounts for 33% of the world's research funding (55 countries surveyed), employs 24% of the world's researchers in terms of fulltime equivalent (53 countries surveyed), produces around 26% of the world's PhDs in social sciences (48 countries surveyed) and 30-40% of all social science research articles (UNESCO 2010:368–385). To grasp the "Americanness" of IR, it is pertinent to ask a comparative question: Is IR a more "American social science" than, say, economics, sociology, anthropology or political science? And is it more or less U.S.-dominated than it used to be? Thus far none of the existing research has studied the "Americannes" of IR comparatively, which sometimes leaves us with the impression that IR is unique in its "Americanness". In fact, the comparative analysis below shows that U.S.-based scholars continue to dominate but also that comparatively IR is actually one of the least U.S.-dominated social sciences and that it has become markedly less so since the 1960s. While IR might be less dominated by the U.S. than other social sciences and than it used to be, patterns of stratification persist and take forms that evade the conventional nation-state imaginary.

Second, the paper argues that in order to properly assess questions of U.S. dominance and geographical inequality, it is necessary to unpack national units. Previous literature on the geography of IR has relied on a narrow national-territorial conception of space where some 'units'—usually nation-states but also regions—are seen as dominant and others as penetrated and dominated. Even analyses inspired by world-systems and dependency theory have seen some

[1] This paper has benefitted immensely from the criticism it encountered along the way. I would especially like to thank the anonymous reviewers and Åsne Aarstad, Trine Villumsen, Christian Büger, Lene Hansen, Rens van Munster, Martin Renner, Michael Williams and Ole Wæver for comments and suggestions. The usual disclaimer applies.

[2] 'Americans' usually refers to U.S.-based scholars. This use of 'America' is problematic as it marginalizes non-US American scholars. When surveying the literature, I use the term 'American' as it is used in the literature (to denote USA) but generally prefer to use the U.S. or USA.

nations or groups of nations (usually the U.S. or a British-American condominium) as 'cores' and thus by definition dominant in contrast to other 'semi-peripheral' or 'peripheral' units that are by definition penetrated. Gross national inequalities in knowledge production are important, but these conventional measures based on nation-state units do not fully capture the structures of dominance and stratification in IR. The national framework misses, for example, that there are 'peripheries within the U.S. core' and 'cores within the non-U.S. periphery'. This paper therefore proposes a mapping that visualizes knowledge production in a social space that is neither evenly distributed within nation-states nor limited by national and regional boundaries. It uses novel visualization tools to map IR production onto a geographical map to direct attention to elite stratification processes at other levels than the national, namely the sub-national level of dominant cities and institutions and their interconnectedness in terms of coauthorships. This mapping exercise is directly relevant to the former question of whether IR is an "American social science" because one can find stratification structures *within* the "American social science" by mapping city and institutional output: Elite institutions in Northeast America, rather than 'America', dominate the field's leading journals. A similar elite stratification is found in Western Europe. The production of knowledge in top IR journals is not dominated by 'America' but is clustered in elite networks centered around certain nodes in Northeast America, Western Europe and Israel. These elite networks are neither confined to nation-state spaces nor completely deterritorialized and globalized. To capture the interconnectivity among these elites, the paper uses co-authorship networks in top IR journals as a way to map these social spaces. The social space made up by coauthorship linkages among these elite producers of knowledge crosses great geographical distances and indicates that the 'core' is social not only geographical ('America'). The second contribution is thus to raise attention to the overlooked, but nonetheless important, role of elite networks in the maintenance of stratification and inequality in the geography of IR.

The paper unfolds this argument in four main sections. First section reviews the literature on geographical inequality in IR and traces the disciplinary truism that IR is an "American social science". Second, it outlines a bibliometric sociology of science framework for studying geographical inequality in publication patterns, specifically U.S. dominance in a comprehensive sample of IR journals. Third, the analysis shows that U.S.-based scholars dominate these journals, especially the top ones, but also that comparatively IR is one of the least U.S.-dominated social sciences and that it has become less so over time. Fourth, the paper maps publication patterns onto a geographical, as well as social and networked, space.

Revisiting the "American social science"

The disciplinary identity as an "American social science" has a long history. In postwar reviews, Europeans observed the proliferation of IR specialists, courses, textbooks and diplomas in the United States (Manning 1954:15, 32; Grosser 1956:634). International Relations had become a "spécialité américaine", albeit an excessively Anglophone one that ignored developments in Europe (Grosser 1956:637, 640; see also Duroselle 1952:698). Later observers argued that IR was an "American invention" born with an American bias or birthmark (Neal and Hamlett 1969:283; see also Olson 1972:12). International Relations was particularly prone to "patriotic biases" and "nationalistic" perspectives on its subject matter—more so than other academic disciplines (Neal and Hamlett 1969:282–3; Welch 1972:305–306). Most famous is Stanley Hoffmann's argument that IR is an "American social science" born and raised in the U.S. when it rose to world power; a social science not only dominated by Americans but also questions deemed important to U.S. foreign policy (Hoffmann 1977:58–59).

Hoffmann's essay sparked critiques that there was not one American approach, but many, and

that its founding figures had a thick European accent (Palmer 1980:343). But even those who criticized the notion of IR being "as American as apple pie" of being parochial itself nonetheless agreed that American IR did constitute an insular "club" that was not representative of work being done elsewhere (Gareau 1981:780, 802). Both critics and supporters of Hoffmann's thesis acknowledged that the discipline was still studied most extensively in the U.S.—with most scholars, courses, journals, departments and associations being American—and could certainly be more "truly international" (Palmer 1980:361; Alker and Biersteker 1984:128). In many initial inquiries, the problem of American dominance was believed to be ethnocentric bias; a bias that inhibited pluralist and neutral analysis and ultimately ran the risk that "conclusions may be skewed by the idiosyncrasies of American thinking" (Nye and Lynn-Jones 1988:14).

The object of critique was not only the numerical dominance of Americans or the fact that their research reflected American policy concerns, but also that Americans equivocated their dominance with superiority and thus cloaked their parochial American social science in universality while ignoring developments elsewhere (Lyons 1982:136). What looked parochial from elsewhere (often Britain) was the American-style IR that champions a scientistic view of the discipline, behavioralist and often quantitative methods, positivist epistemology and an ahistorical ideal of IR theory as universal and timeless axioms (Bull 1972:30–33; Hoffmann 1977:45; Gareau 1981:786; Alker and Biersteker 1984:126–132; Krippendorff 1987:214; Smith 1987:189). In these critiques, it sometimes seems that the gap was not only methodological or meta-theoretical, but the Atlantic. Numerous books and articles were thrown into the transatlantic abyss, especially from the British side, with no signs that it was being filled. Several years later, a comprehensive volume on Hoffmann's thesis concluded that diversity appeared to be increasing (Jarvis 2001:373), but it is incredibly telling that its 'non-American' perspectives were written by 19 authors based in Canada, Australia or England. To make matters worse for the bridge-building across the Atlantic, it was shown that traffic was predominantly one-way. The communication flows in IR were excessively asymmetric and hierarchical: most highly recognized theoretical products travelled from producers in the American center to consumers in semi-peripheries and peripheries (Holsti 1985; Lyons 1986:626; Smith 1987:200; Zürn 1994:109; Giesen 1995:142). Everyone seemed to read American IR but Americans rarely read or cited anything but Americans (Robles 1993:527; Strange 1995:290; see also Biersteker 2009).

Subsequent studies moved from critiquing American hegemony to an excavation of theoretical "diversity" in Europe (Jørgensen 2000; Friedrichs 2004; Jørgensen and Knudsen 2006). The peculiarities of the "American social science" were increasingly observed not only from Britain but through an interregional-continental Euro-American prism. Some optimistically predicted that the "Europeanization of IR" would eventually break American hegemony in quality, even if it remained quantitatively superior (Groom and Mandaville 2001:163). Others argued that although the organizational growth of IR in Western Europe challenged Hoffmann's thesis, theoretical production remained dominated by Americans (Kahler 1993:403). A comparison of American and European IR concluded that IR "is and has been an American social science" (Wæver 1998:687).

In the last decade of self-reflection, researchers have shifted focus from American dominance over Europe to Euro-American dominance over the "non-Western" world (Aydinli and Mathews 2000; Tickner 2003; Tickner and Wæver 2009; Acharya and Buzan 2010; Millennium 2011(3); International Political Sociology 2009(3)). IR has seen a revival of studies of "non-Western" IR unearthing the global diversity of the field, but the hegemony of the "American social science" remains the explicit point of departure for most archeologists of diversity—the only benchmark by which the independence and difference of local IR communities can be measured. Therefore, it is not without disappointment when studies find that "non-Western" IR is not as radically different as hoped for (Bilgin 2008) and that American theories and theorists—although not questions,

methodologies and meta-theories—still dominate scholarship around the world (Tickner and Wæver 2009:336–337).

To summarize, Hoffmann's argument is still widely accepted and it is revealing that four publications have been titled "still an American social science?" (Kahler 1993; Smith 2000; Crawford and Jarvis 2001; Friedrichs 2004 chapter 1). It has become a disciplinary "truism" (McMillan 2012), an "evergreen" (Friedrichs 2004:1) that IR is an American social science. There are even indications that some authors see IR as one of the most American social sciences. This disciplinary exceptionalism is evident in arguments that "International relations is the single discipline which experiences the full impact of this problem [of nationalism]." (Neal and Hamlett 1969:282) or that "this pattern is more pronounced in the study of international politics than in other academic disciplines." (Jönsson 1993:151). "Hierarchy seems to be a hallmark of international politics and theory", Holsti (1985:103) argued, and a similar IR exceptionalism is found when another observer argued that "Mathematics is a good approximation of an international community of scholars, whereas Social Science in general and International Relations in particular come dangerously close to a discipline organized on hierarchical communication." (Friedrichs 2004:3). Before moving to the analysis of this self-image, the following section presents the methodology and data used.

A Sociological Approach to Stratification in IR

The growing sociology of IR literature has utilized various methods to study the social workings of the discipline and its different practices ranging from publishing, teaching, supervision, presentations, reading to administrative and consulting work (D'Aoust 2012b). Studies focusing specifically on the 'Americanness' of the discipline have also used multiple approaches, one strand being the 'IR around the world' literature that conducts comprehensive surveys of how the discipline is practiced in a variety of "Western" and "non-Western" settings usually drawing on an eclectic range of methods and data such as publications, syllabi, interviews and personal experiences from the field (e.g. Tickner and Wæver 2009; Acharya and Buzan 2010). Other studies of the 'Americanness' of IR rely on one specific methodology such as the questionnaire-based TRIP survey that studies the subjective self-perceptions of scholars, initially in the U.S. and later extended to a wider set of counties (Maliniak et al. 2012; see also Hamati-Ataya 2011). Another literature has studied how IR is taught in the U.S. and around the world by looking at the syllabi and textbooks used to teach IR courses (Alker and Biersteker 1984; Holsti 1985; Robles 1993; Nossal 2001; Friedrichs 2004; Biersteker 2009; Hagmann and Biersteker forthcoming). The latter approach is a useful way to examine what is read, assigned, debated and thus what disciplines students, but it has been questioned whether textbooks and syllabi provide good indicators of the discipline.

As Wæver has argued, textbooks are important but "Journals are the most direct measure of the discipline itself" (Wæver 1998:697). Research published in academic journals is interesting because journals sanction what counts as IR. They play a gatekeeping role for the communication of scientific knowledge because their editors and reviewers decide what kind of research to reward and disseminate in the IR network (Goldmann 1995:247). By now, there is a substantial literature that studies the discipline through its journals, their subject matter, methodology, meta-theoretical commitments (Goldmann 1995; Wæver 1998; Breuning et al. 2005; Maliniak, Oakes, Peterson, and Tierney 2011), citation patterns (Russett and Arnold 2010; Kristensen 2012), or the gender (Maliniak, Oakes, Peterson, and Tierney 2008; Breuning 2010; Østby, Strand, Nordås, and Gleditsch forthcoming; Maliniak, Powers, and Walter forthcoming; Mitchell, Lange, and Brus forthcoming), and geographical affiliations of authors (Aydinli and Mathews 2000). Although it is widely accepted that journals provide a good indicator of the discipline, this does not mean that IR

is only about publishing. There is a discipline "beyond the published the discipline" (Hagmann and Biersteker forthcoming). One could also have studied the "Americanness" of IR by looking at the research presented at conferences or the teaching presented in classrooms, but in order to speak to the majority of the existing literature, I have chosen to study the geographical base of published research in mainstream IR journals. Another reason is that there is room for more systematic bibliometric studies. Specialized bibliometric methodologies are commonly used in the sociology of science, but there has been surprisingly little engagement with them in IR. Furthermore, the sociology of science has long grappled with the question of inequality and stratification in science, but the IR literature on U.S. dominance has not really engaged with this literature either. Instead, the tools applied are usually derived from IR's own toolbox, e.g. dependency theory, core-periphery structures and hegemony usually with a distinct focus on the international or inter-state level. Studies of stratification in IR thus tend to rely on one of two conceptions of space: nations/regions or cores and peripheries.

The national approach encompasses studies of U.S. dominance as well as case studies of national IR disciplines outside the United States. Bibliometric studies have thus coded the national base of authors in top IR journals in order to measure U.S. share vis-à-vis other nations or regions (Goldmann 1995; Wæver 1998; Aydinli and Mathews 2000). Apart from the difficulty of defining what is an "American IR scholar" (should she/he be based, employed, born or educated in the United States? Not to speak of whether Latin Americans count), this also homogenizes "America" and ignores internal stratification patterns. The core-periphery approach moves beyond nationality and takes a political economy perspective on the geography of IR as a structural relationship between an independent and producing core (the British-American condominium) and a dependent and consuming periphery (the rest of the world) (Holsti 1985). In some cases with more elaborate categories of core countries, periphery of the core countries, core of the periphery countries and periphery countries (Aydinli and Mathews 2000; Breuning et al. 2005). The problem with the core-periphery model is that, unlike the original world-systems and dependencia theories, it is also operationalized in a nation-state model with the U.S. as core, the Anglo-European world as semi-core, and the periphery as residual category of countries. It thus remains within the nation-state perspective on stratification. The simplified version applied to IR assumes that peripheral countries are per definition penetrated, dominated and fragmented while the U.S. core is a coherent and hegemonic monolith. But there are peripheries within 'core countries' and cores within 'periphery countries'. Parts of the U.S. are not 'core' and a more nuanced geography of IR needs to bring these structures of inequality and stratification to the fore. Therefore, this analysis focuses on elite stratification and inequality rather than the usual core-periphery analogy.

Research on stratification has a long history in the sociology of science. But while IR has focused primarily on stratification among nation-states, particularly U.S. dominance, the classical Mertonian sociology of science directs attention to other patterns of stratification. A few countries account for most publications, indeed, but within these few countries a few institutions and even a few individuals produce a disproportionate number of publications. Focusing on the institutional level, Robert Merton argued that the distribution of science funding, promising students and outstanding scientists is skewed in favor of a few resource-full and prestige-full universities (Merton 1988:617; for an overview of research on stratification in Mertonian sociology of science, see Dutti 2004:17–23). Other researchers in this tradition found that there tends to be few leading journals in each discipline and their editorships and authorships tend to be distributed among few prestigious institutions (Crane 1967; Yoels 1974; Allison 1980). At the individual level, Derek de Solla Price argued that research productivity is so concentrated that it conforms to an "inverse square law" whereby the square root of its population produces half the work; that is, roughly 10% of all scientific authors produce 50% of all papers (Price 1986:38–42). More recent research has

confirmed stratification patterns and found that only a few journals and a few articles receive most of the citations (Ioannidis 2006; Evans 2008) and, at the level of individual scholars, stratification is most outspoken in terms of citations, followed by funding, papers published and number of funded projects (Larivière, Macaluso, Archambault, and Gingras 2010).

Some of the explanations put forward to explain this stratification were that scientists based at prestigious institutions tend to publish more because their institutions offer better facilities, more intellectual stimulation, internal pressure, competition and reward (Long 1978; Long and McGinnis 1981; Allison and Long 1990). But such 'functional' patterns of stratification seem to imply that scholars based outside elite institutions in North America and perhaps Europe—due to relative lack of funding, mentoring, stimulation and other resources in their institutional location—are not as prolific as scholars in Euro-America. Other, less functional and rational, factors highlighted in the stratification literature are that elite institutions benefit from more visibility and from the stickiness of previous achievements. In other words, there is a cumulative advantage in that success breed success: a highly published author or institution is more likely to publish again than less prolific ones, highly cited papers are more likely to be cited again and so on (Cole and Cole 1973; Allison and Stewart 1974; Price 1976). Merton called this the "Matthew effect": "unto everyone that hath shall be given" (Merton 1968:58). A discovery by well-known scholars is given more recognition than a similar discovery or even multiple discoveries by less well-known scholars. The "Mathew Effect", along with the fact that most 'international' journals in IR are in fact Anglophone journals based in and controlled by Euro-Americans, can create an unfavorable opportunity structure for scholars based elsewhere, but it is worth noting that stratification mechanisms also work outside North America and Europe (more on this below).

When engaging the debates over IR as a not-so-international and U.S. dominated discipline in terms publication patterns, it should be kept in mind that the theoretical expectation from the sociology of science is that stratification, not equality, is the norm in science. Moreover, we would expect stratification at various levels not only among nation-states. Publications in general, and especially those in leading journals and the most cited ones, can be expected to cluster around certain regions, countries, cities, institutions and even individuals. In order to nuance the question of geographical inequality in IR, the "American social science", this paper will therefore also look at other geographical stratification patterns by unpacking "America" at the level of cities and institutions. A more nuanced geographical mapping can bring to the fore exactly which parts of the U.S. produce the IR that is known to be an "American social science" and likewise for Europe. It does so following novel geographical visualization methods developed by bibliometric scholars. Having outlined the overall sociological approach to stratification, this leads to the question of which journals to study.

Bibliometric Methodology and Data

Any selection of journals, especially "leading" (Wæver 1998; Maliniak et al. 2011) or "most recognized" journals (Breuning et al. 2005; see also Goldmann 1995), will be contestable and raise questions of what counts as an 'IR' journal, most recognized for what and by whom? It is indeed interesting to study what gets published in leading journals because the symbolic rewards here are great. As Goldmann (1995:251) argued, "even for non-Americans, the road to fame goes via American journals". But I have chosen a more inclusive approach to the question of the geography

of IR and look at all the 82 journals indexed in the Web of Science (WoS) for IR (in 2010).[3] The WoS also has limitations. The criteria for inclusion are somewhat opaque, but seemingly based on journal titles, citation patterns and other criteria (Leydesdorff and Rafols 2009). Several of its 'IR journals' are multidisciplinary and categorized not only as IR but also political science, economics, sociology, area studies and other disciplines. On the other hand, it can be criticized for being too mainstream by representing only a fraction of the journal universe. Its set of journals may seem overly restrictive in disciplinary and geographical terms to one scholar (why not include a political geography journal like *Political Geography* or the Chinese *World Economics and Politics*?), but may also seem too expansive for others (why include a international law journal like *Common Market Law Review* or the Norwegian *Internasjional Politikk*?).

For the present purpose, the question of geographical and linguistic delimitation is most pertinent. Most journals indexed in the WoS database are based and edited in the U.S., some in the U.K. and Continental Europe and even less from countries Europe and North America. The majority of the journals included, even those based outside English-speaking countries, publish in English. One could argue that the most widely disseminated and widely read journals—the roads to "fame"—are Anglophone and edited by North Americans and Europeans, and that these "leading" journals are included in the database. This is not a quality judgment, but an argument about the socially most important journals and who their gatekeepers are. As other observers have argued, the status of English as lingua franca and the fact that editorial boards of leading journals are dominated by Anglophones is part of the problem because it helps maintain U.S. and Anglophone hegemony and creates an unfavorable opportunity structure for non-U.S. and non-Anglophone scholars (Friedrichs 2004:1; D'Aoust 2012a). Scholars based outside Europe and North America may not publish in these journals (this question is subject to empirical analysis below), but they have increasing access to them (Aydinli and Mathews 2000:290), they increasingly read and cite them and rank them as top journals in surveys (Maliniak et al. 2012:52–53).

To take an example from China, the seven most cited sources in the *Chinese Journal of International Politics* are not Chinese journals, but *International Security, International Organization, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Foreign Affairs, World Politics, International Studies Quarterly* and *American Political Science Review* (Kristensen forthcoming). It is not that there are no journals in China, there is a large and growing number of journals (and even a Chinese Social Science Citation Index). Although they may not yet have the same social importance for the global discipline as European and North American journals, China-based journals are where careers are made for most Chinese scholars. The importance of national journal markets for careers in turn depends on their size and thus might explain why Swiss have long been more present than Chinese in mainstream Anglo-American journals. But given these national differences in publication market these national publication patterns does it then make sense to study whether IR is an "American social science" within the 82 journals indexed in the WoS?

There are a number of reasons why it does: first, because the most widely disseminated, read, cited and agenda-setting journals are included, which makes it important to study who gets access to this communication infrastructure. Second, it is worthwhile to study whether this specific set of journals has become more or less 'American' over time, that is, whether the citadels of IR have gradually been opening up. Third, this set of journals, however limited it may be, allows for comparison with other disciplines and thus an assessment whether IR is more or less 'American' than other disciplines. Related to this, the comparative analysis between IR and other social

[3] Data imported in May 2012. Note that this is not the number of journal listed under the IR category in the Journal Citation Report that lists impact factors, but the more extensive list obtained from the subject category 'International Relations' in the Web of Science search function.

sciences somewhat neutralizes the Anglophone and U.S.-bias as other disciplinary categories are equally biased. We can thus study whether there is a greater U.S. dominance in IR's Anglo-biased sample of journals than in anthropology's Anglo-biased sample.[4] Fourth, WoS journals are interesting because the database is linked to science policies and the political economy of publication.

The journals indexed, especially those with a high impact factor, are not only the "road to fame" (Goldmann 1995:251). There is more at stake than fame, symbolic rewards and peer recognition in these journals. Publications listed in the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) of the WoS are also increasingly important for university rankings and thus eventually the distribution of funding, material rewards and career opportunities. This is most evident in Europe and North America where the introduction of neoliberal management schemes, focused in large part on high 'impact' research, are used to distribute funding (particularly notorious is the RAE/REF in the U.K.). Even though the reputation or impact factor of outlets is not supposed to affect the assessment of research, there is recent evidence that it does (Allen and Heath 2013). Publications in SSCI-indexed journals, particularly those with a high Impact Factor, are one of the indicators in the performative metricizations used in global university rankings and national remuneration and funding schemes. The U.K. is arguably the extreme case, but SSCI-indexed 'high-impact' publications are also incentivized elsewhere in Europe and North America and beyond.

To continue with the Chinese example, a key pillar in the Chinese definition of 'research excellence' is also publications in 'high-impact' journals and "pressure has been applied to social scientists to publish in international journals" (Huang 2010:75; see also Mohrman 2008:36; Mok and Chan 2008). Whether a publication is of "international standards", Biersteker argues, is often determined by publication venue, particularly whether it is a U.S. journal (Biersteker 2009:310). Given the difficulty of accessing existing 'international' journals, another strategy has been to launch 'international' journals based and edited in China, such as the *Chinese Journal of International Politics*, which was recently included in the WoS (so was *Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional* although not in IR but political science). Considering also these material reasons for the centrality of SSCI, it is even more pertinent to critically engage with who gets published in that particular set of journals. This is not to say that WoS journals represent the discipline as it is practiced around the world, quite the contrary, the analysis shows that it represents primarily certain countries and within these countries certain cities, institutions and elites.

While the WoS database definitely has weaknesses, its strengths should also be emphasized. It provides data for studying more than 80 IR journals, a much more comprehensive sample than in previous studies. As noted, the database is expanding and has recently incorporated journals edited outside Europe and North America. It provides the best quality data, especially back in time. Its set of journals is dynamic and thus includes journals from the 1960s and 1970s that are no longer published, allowing for longitudinal analysis. The same database includes citation counts and publishes the most widely used Impact Factor (in its Journal Citation Report), which makes the data compatible with this indicator. This means that the WoS allows for an analysis at several levels of publications in IR over time and compared to other disciplines: The following analysis will look primarily at three sets of publications: first, the comprehensive set of publications in all journals listed; second, publications in the top ten journals as measured by Impact Factor; and third, top articles operationalized as the 100 most cited articles.

[4] 94% of the 2718 IR articles published in 2010 were written in English, the percentage is roughly the same in other disciplines (97% in law, 94% in economics, anthropology and psychology, 89% in political science and 85% in sociology).

For the comprehensive set of journals, author data is imported from articles published in 2010 by all journals listed in the disciplinary categories in the WoS database. To improve consistency in the comparison with less-familiar disciplines, I analyze the entire list of journals in each discipline rather than select journals. The entire categories provide a hitherto unexplored picture of the overall disciplines. The lists contain mostly mainstream journals, but this is less problematic if one is investigating and comparing mainstreams across disciplines.

It is interesting to compare the sample of all journals with an even more restrictive sample of 'top' journals that are widely disseminated and exercise disciplinary power over the entire field. The top ten journals are selected based on five-year impact factor in 2010. The ten top IR journals in 2010 are *International Organization (IO), International Security (IS), World Politics (WP), Journal of Conflict Resolution (JCR), International Studies Quarterly (ISQ), International Studies Perspectives (ISP), European Journal of International Relations (EJIR), Foreign Affairs (FA), Common Market Law Review (CMLR)* and *Journal of Peace Research (JPR)*. With two exceptions (*CMLR* and *ISP*), this list reflects other rankings of top journals (Maliniak et al. 2012:52). Impact factor is not a perfect indicator of leading journals but is a transparent and consistent way of selecting top journals, particularly from other disciplines than one's own. Another, more significant, problem is that certain journals in each disciplinary category, like *Foreign Affairs*, publish more articles per year and thus exert a disproportionate influence on the overall picture. Therefore, journals that account for more than 1/5 of the total articles in the ten journals are sorted out.

To look more closely at the geography of the most influential publications in each discipline, I have constructed a smaller set of the 100 most cited articles published in 2010 in each disciplinary category (citation count as of May 2012). This yields the following number of journals, published items (including editorials, correspondence and reviews), research articles and research articles in top ten journals for each discipline:

Table 1. Number of publications in select social sciences, 2010

	IR	Anthropology	Economics	Law	Poli.Sci	Psychology	Sociology
Journals	82	83	324	141	153	580	138
All items published	4535	6206	19130	5598	10608	41200	7371
Research articles	2718	2973	14936	4243	5273	28637	4334
Research articles in top 10 journals	356	299	467	329	431	202	436
100 most cited articles	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 1. All items include editorials, book reviews, letters and notes in addition to research articles (as categorized by WoS). Top 10 journals as categorized by 5-year Impact Factor 2010. 100 most cited articles from 2010 as per their citation count in May 2012. Data retrieved from the WoS database in May 2012.

Finally, there is the question of how to code the geographical base of publications. The analysis looks at the national level to examine whether IR is still an "American social science" (Hoffmann 1977); the linguistic level to study Anglophone dominance (U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand) and the idea of a "British-American intellectual condominium" (Holsti 1985:103); and finally the city and institutional level to look more closely at other levels stratification.

The geographical base is derived from institutional affiliations based on WoS categorization.[5] This categorization focuses on the affiliations in each article, not individual authors: a single-

[5]Some entries lack geographical information. Instead of going through all 63,114 articles and coding missing affiliations, I surveyed a sample of 100 IR articles from 2010 with missing affiliations. The majority is written by either anonymous, retired, unemployed or independent authors with no current affiliation or authored by international

authored article by an author with two affiliations in different countries will thus count both countries equally. Similarly, a co-authored article by authors with different country affiliations count all countries equally, while a co-authored article by two authors affiliated with two institutions in the same country counts only one country. The WoS database thus does not weigh co-authored articles as fractional (half, third etc.) articles for each country, which again means that it actually attaches more weight to co-authored articles (if they are coauthored across different countries).[6] With this caveat in mind, I nonetheless choose to rely on the WoS categorization because this allows for a systematic comparison across a vast dataset on different disciplines and on IR over time. Another reason why data is imported on the geographical affiliation of all authors, not only first authors as other studies have done (cf. Aydinli and Mathews 2000; Breuning et al. 2005), is that this ignores an important aspect of the geography of IR: co-authorship. To simplify things, the first part of the analysis simply counts the number of different country affiliations in each article. The last section looks closer at institutions, cities and co-authorships, a hitherto neglected aspect of the geography of IR.

International Relations compared to other social sciences

This section compares the geography of IR with other disciplines using two geographical indicators: the proportion of U.S. and Anglo-Saxon based articles. Table 2 shows that compared to other social sciences, IR is actually one of the least 'American social sciences' if one looks at U.S. affiliated authors in all journals, all research articles as well as in journals with a high impact factor and in most cited articles.

Table 2. U.S.-based journal publications in the social sciences, 2010

	IR	Anthropology	Economics	Law	Poli.Sci	Psychology	Sociology
U.S. based (all items)	31%	40%	31%	55%	41%	41%	42%
U.S. based (research articles)	32%	29%	29%	58%	38%	40%	36%
U.S. based (top 10 journals)	58%	46%	60%	88%	63%	55%	62%
U.S. based (100 most cited)	35%	29%	42%	81%	42%	44%	44%

Table 2. The procedure followed is similar to table 1.

The United States indeed accounts for a large proportion of articles measured by published items (31%), research articles (32%), most cited articles (35%) and especially articles published in top IR journals (58%). But U.S. dominance is even more outspoken in other social sciences. Law, political science and sociology are more dominated by U.S. scholars on all four counts. Looking first at all items published in 2010, we find that IR is actually the discipline with the lowest proportion of U.S.-based articles (30.8%). In terms of research articles, U.S.-based scholars only account for a smaller proportion in anthropology and economics. While U.S. scholars are especially dominant in

organizations (56%). Some articles have institutional but not national affiliation and it is possible to code national location for some (GIGA) but more difficult for others (International Crisis Group) (22%). Some journals have author biographies separate from the article record (10%). A minority lack geographical entries due to imperfect coding (12%) and the gain from recoding all articles would thus be marginal.

[6] Similarly, when the level of analysis is institutions and cities, a co-authored paper by two authors in different institutions and/or cities will count both equally. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing this bias in the WoS categorization out.

top ten IR journals (58%), the same is the case in other social sciences. It is interesting to note that at the highest level of stratification, the 100 most cited articles, the proportion of U.S. scholars is actually less than in the top ten journals. On this count, IR is also one of the disciplines where U.S. scholars account for fewest articles (35%), only anthropology has less (29%). The U.S. does indeed produce most IR articles, but comparatively speaking, IR is certainly not unique in this respect. IR is not the most "American social science". This leads to the question whether there is an Anglo-Saxon, or Anglophone, hegemony in IR.

Table 3. Anglo-Saxon based articles in the social sciences, 2010

	IR	Anthropology	Economics	Law	Poli.Sci	Psychology	Sociology
Anglo-Saxon based (all items)	63%	61%	67%	50%	74%	70%	63%
Anglo-Saxon based (research articles)	59%	49%	60%	48%	75%	63%	62%
Anglo-Saxon based (top 10 journals)	73%	65%	76%	96%	75%	75%	80%
Anglo-Saxon based (100 most cited)	62%	57%	64%	92%	75%	67%	64%

Table 3. Anglo-Saxon comprises U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The procedure followed is otherwise similar to table 1.

As table 3 illustrates, IR is not the most Anglo-Saxon social science either. Political science, psychology, economics, sociology are all more dominated by Anglo-Saxon based scholars. Anglo-Saxons only account for a smaller share of publications in anthropology and in the full sample of law articles. Comparatively speaking, IR is not the most American or Anglo-Saxon social science. Nor is IR the social science with the highest proportion of Anglo-Saxon and Continental European contributions taken together.

When comparing different disciplines, it should be kept in mind that they differ in their social and intellectual structures, which again may affect their publication behavior. It seems reasonable to expect social sciences with a predominantly 'national' subject matter (sociology, political science) to communicate their research to a national audience, while those with a more 'international' subject matter (IR, anthropology) communicate more internationally. To take an example, a Chinese sociologist who studies migration in rural China may, *ceteris paribus*, have a more nationally oriented communication and thus publish in national journals. A Chinese IR scholar who studies international organizations or U.S. foreign policy may, *ceteris paribus*, have a more international publication practice. This variation between disciplines stems not only from differences in intellectual structure (e.g. subject matter) but also from social and institutional structure. Disciplines like sociology and law may typically have larger national journal markets and thus be less dependent on publishing in journals based in the U.S. and U.K. If, say, German sociologists to a larger extent than German IR scholars make their careers in German journals and publishing houses, it is quite natural that we find fewer German (and more U.S.) sociologists in the above tables. Since IR is one of the smaller of the social sciences above, its local publishing markets may often be very small and its scholars thus more dependent on publishing in U.S. and U.K. journals than scholars from larger disciplines where national journal markets are more developed. The relationship between national and global-U.S. journal market not only varies across disciplines but also across countries; i.e. the national journal market for sociology may be much larger in France and Germany than in England and Norway. These variations should be kept in mind when interpreting the variations in U.S., Anglophone and broader Euro-American dominance across different social sciences.

International Relations compared to its past

Another way of assessing the "Americanness" of IR is to compare with its past. To avoid reproducing anachronistic self-images, it is important to ask if IR has become less U.S. dominated since it was described as an "American social science" (Hoffmann 1977). The diachronic analysis operates with two data sets: one consisting of all journals in the IR category and another consisting of ten top journals. The full IR category changes over time as old journals disappear (*Aussenpolitik*) and new ones appear. It thus reflects the discipline as it looked at a given time, not our presentist reconstruction of the journal universe. Generally, the total number of journals grows over time. The IR category contains 82 journals and 4535 published items in 2010, up from 55 journals and 3832 items in 2000, 54 journals and 3651 items in 1990, 63 journals and 3680 items in 1980, 36 journals and 2774 items in 1970, 16 journals and 2009 items in 1960. The expanding number of IR journals in part explains the trend towards 'de-Americanization'. However, the changing constitution of the database could also be seen as a methodological problem since the discipline measured in 2010 is not the same discipline as in 1970. To control for the expanding number of journals, the other data set look at the same ten leading journals through time. Data is collected since 1966 when WoS started coding geographical affiliations.

In the diachronic analysis, it is interesting to look at the scientific rise and fall of regions, rather than simply U.S. or Anglo-Saxon share. Therefore, I have constructed separate categories for the 'USA', the 'Anglo-World' (U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand) and 'Continental Europe'. To track trends elsewhere more closely, I constructed separate categories for countries like Japan, Israel and the four Asian Tigers Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan ('JIT'), another category for rising powers like Brazil, India and China ('BIC') and finally a residual category for the rest of the (developing) world ('Rest World').[7]

Figure 1. Geographical distribution of IR research articles over time, all journals

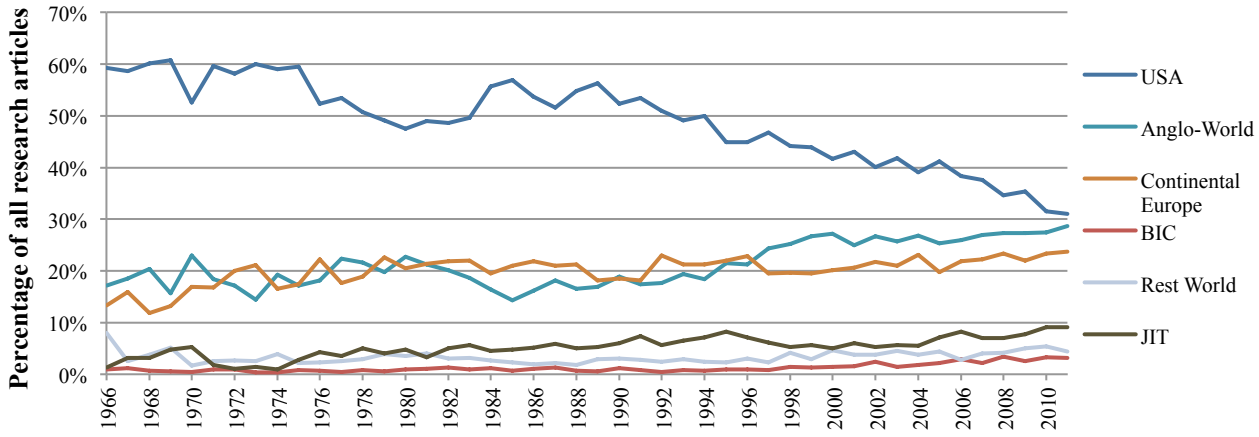

Figure 1. Percentage of research articles indexed in the IR category in the Web of Science from 1966 to 2011 and their distribution across six geographical categories. Data retrieved in May 2012.

Figure 1 clearly shows the declining proportion of articles with a U.S. affiliation in the full set of journals over time. Since 1994 less than half the affiliations in IR journals were in the U.S.. In 2011, the proportion is down to one third. The relative decline of the U.S. is partly caused by the establishment of non-U.S. IR journals since 1966 and their inclusion in the WoS. It is particularly

[7] Hong Kong has a separate category in the Web of Science until 2000. The recent growth of Chinese publications should thus also be seen in this light.

the "Anglo-world" that has taken up a larger share—unlike in science where the relative decline of U.S. publications is accompanied by rise of Chinese publications, now taking the second place (Leydesdorff and Wagner 2008; Zhou and Leydesdorff 2008). Since 1966, the Anglo-World, driven by England and to some extent Canada and Australia, has grown from 17% to 29% of total IR production. Continental Europe also takes up a significant share of IR publications today (24%) compared to 1966 (13%), although it has remained at around 20% since the 1980s. This provides some evidence—at least quantitatively and based on WoS journals—for the claim made by some observers that Continental European IR has stagnated compared to the U.K. and not yet fulfilled the promise embodied in the establishment of *European Journal of International Relations* of making the discipline more global (Friedrichs and Wæver 2009:273).

The picture looks even more depressing from outside Europe and the Anglo-American world. The growing IR communities in Brazil, India and China ('BIC') play a marginal role in mainstream journals. The 'BIC' group accounts for 3.2% in recent years, up from less than 1% before the mid-1990s. China is the main driver with an increase from 0.3-0.4% in the 1980s and 1990s to around 2.5% of total publications in recent years. The 'JIT' group accounts for almost 10% of articles today, with most Korean, Japanese and Taiwanese articles appearing in journals with based in or focused on the respective country. Israel produces a significant number of articles, but, as will become clear below, cannot be counted as "periphery" or "non-Western" considering its *social* location in the discipline.

IR is not as 'American' as it was 45 years ago. U.S. scholars take up a decreasing proportion of total articles. The main explanation is the growing production in a few Anglo-Saxon and European countries and not least a growing number of total articles. Therefore, a less "American" discipline is not necessarily a truly international discipline that better represent nations, peoples and cultures around the world. A sign of somewhat improving 'internationalness' is that 80 different countries were represented in IR journals in the late 2000s compared to around 40 different countries in the 1960s and early 1970s. Moreover, while the top five producers (usually USA, England, Germany, Canada, Australia) accounted for 84% in 1970, their share decreased to 75% in 1980, 77% in 1990, 72% in 2000 and 60% in 2010.

These figures are based on all research articles in the database, but the full set might show decreasing 'Americanness' and increasing 'internationalness' simply because several non-U.S. journals have been added to the WoS database since the 1960s and this is where most non-U.S. scholars tend to publish. Therefore, it is worth looking at geographical distribution in top journals to analyze whether similar trends towards growing publication of non-U.S. scholars can be identified. Since the purpose here is to select only the most widely disseminated and recognized journals in IR, not to compare with other disciplines, I do not rely exclusively on Impact Factor rankings. In addition, I have used reputational surveys among scholars and secondary literature to identify leading journals. This yields a sample including eight of the ten top journals studied above (excluding *ISP* and *CMLR*). Instead, I have added two additional journals: *Review of International Studies (RIS)* and *Millennium (MIL)* because they represent the top journals in the field according to reputational surveys among scholars (Maliniak et al. 2012:51). I have also chosen these ten journals to achieve comparability with previous research (Goldmann 1995; Wæver 1998; Aydinli and Mathews 2000; Breuning et al. 2005).[8] As figure 2 shows, 'U.S. decline' can also be identified when we focus only on top journals.

[8]This set of 'top journals' is somewhat presentist by including newer journals like EJIR. Moreover, some journals account for a larger percentage of total articles (FA 22%, RIS 19%, ISQ 18%) than others (MIL 5%, WP 6%, IO 8%, IS 9%, JCR 13%), but removing *Foreign Affairs* does not alter the trend below markedly.

Figure 2. Research articles in 10 leading IR journals, 1966-2011

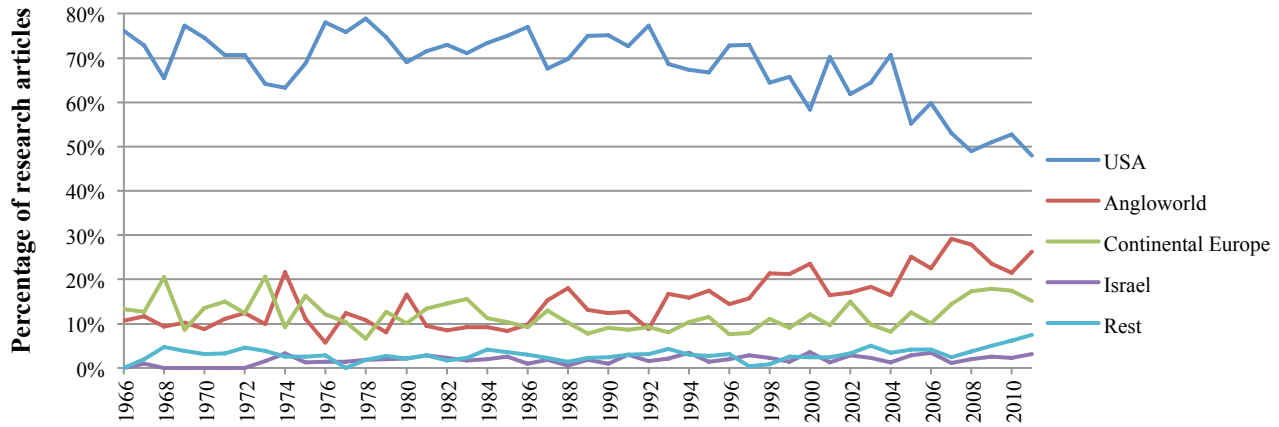

Figure 2. Percentage of research articles published in *International Organization, International Security, World Politics, Journal of Conflict Resolution, International Studies Quarterly, European Journal of International Relations, Foreign Affairs, Journal of Peace Research*, *Review of International Studies* and *Millennium* from 1966 to 2011 and their distribution across five geographical categories. Data retrieved in May 2012.

As the U.S. decline from around 70% to 50% of articles in top journals illustrates, U.S.-based scholars are also comparatively less dominant as producers of articles in the discipline's most widely recognized and disseminated journals. This is largely due to inclusion of European journals in the data set during the 1990s. *International Security* is included from 1981, which increased the U.S. proportion in subsequent years. But when *Millennium* is listed in 1985, *RIS* in 1995 and *EJIR* in 1997, the proportions of the Anglo-world and Continental Europe grow. For this data set, it makes little sense to construct separate categories for the countries outside the U.S., Anglo-world and Europe because they produce so few articles. Instead, I have separated Israel from the 'Rest' to illustrate that the two account for an almost equal proportion of articles until the late 2000s when the 'Rest' seems to enter the top journals. In 2011, this is driven primarily by countries like China, Singapore and Turkey—and primarily in *RIS*. In the five U.S. based journals *IO*, *IS*, *ISQ*, *WP* and *FA*, U.S. scholars still account for 73% of the articles in 2011. It should be noted that although the U.S. proportion is in decline over time, this trend is less noted in the ten top journals (48% in 2011) than in the full set of journals (31% in 2011), and even less so the five top U.S. journals studied (73% in 2011). With this in mind, the top of the discipline has gradually become more equal from a national perspective. The national distribution of articles is only one aspect of stratification, however, and the following section thus outlines a more nuanced geomapping of the discipline, which focuses on inequality patterns at the subnational level and social networks among elite clusters of IR producers.

Mapping the Geography of IR

The remainder of the paper uses new visualization tools to map the geography of IR. In addition to the gross national approach, it visualizes the sub-national production at the city and institutional level and maps the global network among them to provide an alternative view of stratification and elite dominance in IR. Concretely, it uses a GPS geocoder to produce city coordinates of research articles in the 2010 set of top ten journals and Google Maps to visualize them (following the procedure of Leydesdorff and Persson 2010). The visualizations show cities that produce publications for the ten top journals analyzed above as dots on the map. But these scattered dots

constitute only part of the geographical structure of IR publications. The production of knowledge also takes place in a social and networked space connecting these dots. The mappings below thus also visualize a hitherto neglected aspect of the geography of IR: the network of co-authorships between cities and institutions around the world.

Co-authorships constitute social networks in the discipline, assuming, of course, that co-authors had some level of communication and collaboration. Co-authorships are used here as indicators of the formation of interpersonal ties, co-location in a social rather than geographical space. In addition to the geographical distribution of articles, co-authorship linkages constitute latent, and often ignored, social structures between what is usually taken as the 'core' and the 'periphery' and show internal differentiation patterns in the 'core'. In the maps below, red lines are drawn to signify co-authorships when an article has two or more geographical affiliations that are not the same. The focus on sub-national structures and co-authorships of course implies that a U.S. article coauthored by scholars based in two different U.S. cities will show both cities as producers, and thus put a dot in each city and the line between them, unlike the procedure followed in the analysis above where the focus was exclusively on the national level and the subnational structure was not part of the analysis. Cities with one or more co-authorship links are marked as red dots, whereas cities with a scientific output but no co-authorship links are marked with orange.

Figure 3. The global distribution of research articles in ten top journals, 2010

Figure 3. The geographical distribution of research articles published in 2010 in *International Organization, International Security, World Politics, Journal of Conflict Resolution, International Studies Quarterly, European Journal of International Relations, Foreign Affairs, Journal of Peace Research*. *Review of International Studies* and *Millennium*. Size of dots indicates number of research articles authored or coauthored by scholars based in the given city. The focus is on number of articles coming out of different cities, not whether the authorship was single or fractional. Like the procedure followed above, authorship in a coauthored article is not weighed to count less than in a single-authored article, but increases the size of dots equally. The size of lines is held constant regardless of the number of coauthorship links to simplify the visualization. Data retrieved from Web of Science May 2012, maps are drawn using Google Maps.

The global map illustrates that most authors are based in the U.S. and Europe and that most co-authorship links occur within these two regions or across the Atlantic. One exception is Israel, which not only produces a significant number of publications but is also located in the same social

space as the U.S. (but not Europe) judging from its co-authorship linkages. The rest of the world is barely present in the top ten journals and also rarely co-authors articles with authors from North America and Europe. From the global mapping, IR still looks like an "American social science". But a closer look at the regional and city level provides important nuances to this picture. As figure 4 illustrates, IR is certainly not equally distributed within the "American social science".

Figure 4. The North American distribution of research articles in ten top journals, 2010

Figure 4. The figure follows the same methodological procedure as figure 3. Data retrieved from the Web of Science May 2012, maps are drawn using Google Maps.

The seven U.S. states of California, DC, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Texas and New Jersey account for more than 50% of U.S.-based articles. Now, one would not have expected IR publications to be equally distributed across geographical space as topographical features (e.g. the Rocky Mountains) as well as demographics also affect how IR publications cluster geographically.[9] Indeed, these seven states also account for a significant proportion of the U.S. population and one might have expected them to produce many IR articles. It is nevertheless remarkable that *no* publications in the top ten journals in 2010 were authored by scholars located in Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska or Arkansas and that certain highly populated states like Florida are 'underrepresented'.

A similar stratification can be found at the city level where the six cities of Washington DC, Cambridge, New York, Princeton, New Haven, Chicago and LA account for one third of U.S. articles. IR in the United States is largely a bicoastal phenomenon gravitating towards east coast cities as evidenced by the size of nodes in this region and the density of co-authorship networks between them. Stratification within the "American social science" exist not exclusively at the state and city level, but can also be traced to the institutional level where almost one fifth of U.S.-based authors in 2010 are based at Harvard, Georgetown, Yale, Princeton and UCSD.

The dominance of certain institutions is also evident at the journal level. There are 2217 universities in the U.S. (International Association of Universities 2012). Yet, from 1966 to 2012,

[9] I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing this out.

less than 200 of these have appeared in *International Organization* and a group of seven universities account for around one fourth of all institutional affiliations (Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, Stanford, UCSD, Yale, Berkeley). This stratification is even more overwhelming in *International Security* where only four universities account for one fourth of articles (Harvard, MIT, Princeton, Stanford). Similarly, *Journal of Peace Research* has by far published most authors from Oslo. Other journals like *Journal of Conflict Resolution* are less stratified and, even more interestingly, dominated by another set of universities (the top three, Yale, Universities of Michigan and Illinois, account for 7% in total).

In the case of journals with little or no rotation in editorship, the editorial base does play a role in terms of which universities dominate. This might seem very commonsensical, but it is nevertheless worth noting that based on the data available in the Web of Science, it says Harvard University under more than 13% of the authors ever published in *International Security*, while the figures are 11% for LSE in *Millennium* and 8% for PRIO in *Journal of Peace Research,* which means that these institutions account for double to five times as many publications as the second-most published institution. But it should also be noted that even though the editorial base continues to account for most publications, its share of publications has been much lower in recent years. In comparison, no one institution accounts for more than 2-3% of affiliations in *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Studies Quarterly* and *Review of International Studies*.

Institutional bias is not only a feature of journals with a permanent editorial base, however. Journals with rotating editorship can have a comparably strong bias towards one institution, for example Harvard accounts for 7% of affiliations in *International Organization*. Harvard also accounts for 5% of the institutional affiliations in *World Politics* and 9% in *Foreign Affairs* that have an editorial base elsewhere. Conversely, although *Journal of Conflict Resolution* was edited at Yale for 37 years, only 3% of affiliations are Yale. It is somewhat troubling that highly regarded journals are dominated by a small cluster of institutions, but it is also worth mentioning that this might contribute to making the profile of journals more specialized and that not all researchers are equally interested in submitting to a journal specialized in large-N conflict research or critical reflectivist IR. For example, the fact that universities of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio State, Maryland and Wisconsin are among the ten most published institutions in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* seems to confirm the intuition that mid-western IR institutions do quantitative research, while east coast institutions might be more prone to qualitative case-study research of the type usually published in *International Security* (where none of these mid-western institutions are among the top ten most published). Further research is required to study whether and how certain geo-epistemic networks are connected to different ways of doing IR.

Although different sets of universities dominate different journals, there is also a general pattern of stratification and elite dominance. Most academics in higher education institutions in the U.S. are not 'core' scholars that publish in the field's 'top' journals (as measured by impact factor or surveys like TRIP). Publications in top journals are dominated by elite institutions and in that sense IR is not as "all-American" as the notion of the "American social science" seems to imply. This confirms Biersteker's argument that it is not "America" but a small number of leading U.S. institutions that are hegemonic (Biersteker 2009:310).

A similar stratification is found in Europe. As figure 5 below shows, 'Europe' as a whole is not a dominant producer of IR in these ten journals. Rather, there is a 'periphery within the core' with large countries like France, Spain and Italy contributing very few articles to them.

Figure 5. The European distribution of research articles in ten top journals, 2010

Figure 5. The figure follows the same methodological procedure as figure 3. Data is retrieved from the Web of Science May 2012, maps are drawn using Google Maps.

European production is concentrated in the U.K. with the London area as the primary node connecting Europe to the world in terms of co-authorships. Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands and Scandinavia also account for a large part of European publications with Oslo and Zürich as top producers and central co-authorship nodes (note that more than half of Norway's production is in the Oslo-based *JPR*). So is this actually evidence that IR is becoming "a European as well as American social science"? (Kahler 1993:403). Further inquiry into these European elites raises doubts about their 'Europeanness'. Institutional location is not always an accurate indicator of where authors 'are coming from'. To take some examples, 12 of the 19 papers published by Oslo and Zürich based authors had at least one author based in the U.S. or holding a U.S. doctorate. Among the 7 that did not, 4 had at least one author with a U.K. doctorate. All papers published by authors based in Zürich and Oslo (except Neumann's on autoethnography) used large-n datasets, statistical analysis and formal modeling. While the dominance of U.S.-*based* authors is in decline, U.S. influence is still felt through doctoral training, the migration of U.S. scholars and co-authorships. Of the 139 papers from 2010 with no U.S.-based author or coauthor, 28% of the authors held a Ph.D. from the U.S. This was especially the case for authors based in Canada, Switzerland and Norway where around half or more held a U.S. doctorate. U.S. doctorates were less widespread among authors based in the U.K., Germany, Sweden and Israel who tended to hold degrees from their own country.

Stratification can also be identified outside North America and Europe. There are 573 universities in mainland China but more than one third of the authors with a Chinese affiliation in all IR journals from 1966 to 2012 are based at four top IR institutions (CASS, Fudan, Peking and Tsinghua university). Similarly, Brazil's three top institutions produce more than a third of the

country's IR articles (University of São Paulo, PUC-Rio and University of Brasília). Out of India's 596 universities, Jawaharlal Nehru University alone accounts for one out of eight IR articles with an Indian affiliation. It is the top universities in each country that publish IR in these journals. It is important to make the distinction between national (U.S.) dominance and elite dominance. The geography of IR is stratified at the nation-state level, but also at the levels of cities, regions and institutions and there is a need to nuance the debate on geographical inequalities and stratification in the discipline. The sociology of science on stratification provides useful insights for this.

The expectation derived from the Mertonian literature on stratification in science is that the "Mathew Effect", or cumulative advantages, of top IR departments in the U.S. will help to reproduce the much-lamented "American hegemony" in IR for the foreseeable future. Other institutions also support and reproduce the hegemony of elite universities, for example, conservative and self-reinforcing ranking schemes that define university excellence in terms of English language publications in journals with a high impact factor (i.e. Web of Science indexed) or alumni Nobel laureates (a department that educated a future laureate decades ago may not be cutting edge today) (Kauppi and Erkkilä 2011:319). The top strata of departments continue to attract students from all over the world and scholars from (almost) all over the world continue to prize U.S. and U.K. diplomas the most (Maliniak et al. 2012:60–62). For a long period, this produced a 'brain drain' in academic communities outside North America and Europe.

To continue with the example of China: Several of the most prominent IR scholars in China received their education or have been visiting scholars in the United States (Kristensen and Nielsen 2013). But the academic exodus from China was caused by poor working conditions and low salaries, which have improved as the country grew its economy, improved the research and higher education sector and increased salaries at universities (Yan 1998). Moreover, the improvement of IR programs means that migration is no longer the only way to obtain knowledge about the state of the art in IR. Improved language skills, courses and online access to international journals have made it possible to learn this from outside Europe and North America, and newer generations of scholars are increasingly 'homegrown'. Although still far from the reputation of U.S. institutions, Chinese universities are gradually climbing up the ranking ladders, in large part by playing along with the ranking game in the search for 'world-class' universities and by channeling funding into a few elite 'centers of excellence' (and, implicitly, away from others)—a science policy that has been described as "elitism with a vengeance." (Mohrman 2008:35). It is very likely that IR produced in China and other countries outside the Transatlantic axis will increasingly make its entrance in discipline's mainstream journals, but stratification is likely to persist in that it will be produced by a few scholars based in a few elite institutions, and whether that makes the discipline more international and representative of the world it studies is another matter.

Conclusion

International Relations scholars have cultivated the image that their discipline is an "American Social Science". This self-image, though often lamented, has itself become an important stabilizer of U.S. dominance in the discipline (Friedrichs 2004:2). Empirical studies conducted thus far have presented data that confirms the self-image as a particularly "American social science", and not least interpreted the data that way, and there is certainly room for a revisionist engagement with this narrative. As this article has shown, IR is less "American" than other social sciences, less "American" than in its past and not really as "all-American" as one might think. But it is worth questioning what difference it makes to subject the self-images of the "American social science" to empirical scrutiny if it is a social construct. If its practitioners continue to behave as American social scientists, it will be an American social science.

Despite signs of decreasing U.S. influence and concentration, it should be emphasized that IR as it is found in the journals studied here remains dominated by a few countries in the Anglosphere and Western Europe. Producers of knowledge located elsewhere remain largely absent from mainstream IR. It is tempting to assume that economic and political 'rise' of the non-Euro-American world will automatically lead to a more globalized discipline. Hoffmann's essay on the "American social science" also emphasized the relationship between knowledge and geopolitics when IR was born with "the rise of the United States to world power" (Hoffmann 1977:43), but does this imply that U.S. geopolitical decline eventually leads to the decline of U.S. intellectual hegemony? Will 'rising powers' such as China, India and Brazil eventually take over the discipline? With little more than three percent of total publications in mainstream IR journals, this scenario will probably not materialize in the immediate future and it is not stimulated by the structural path dependencies that maintain elite institutional and Anglophone dominance.

Journals in other social sciences are even more U.S. dominated than IR and yet IR has been particularly worried about U.S. dominance. It is possible that a more geographically balanced distribution of publications is more important in IR than other social sciences because the discipline deals with international conflict, negotiation and dialogue. In other words, it may be much more problematic that the manuals on world politics are written by authors based in a few nations than those on sociology or economics, but the concern with international inequalities and patterns of domination is somewhat idiosyncratic. There is a lot to learn from *international* inequalities, but no need to privilege them. Patterns of stratification are not only national and sociological research on inequalities in the discipline should also address how gender, institutions, degrees, mentors or age affect the opportunity structure facing its members.

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