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Are the Core and Periphery Irreconcilable? The Curious World of Publishing in Contemporary International Relations

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While divisive inter- and intraparadigm debates over theories and methodology abound in the discourse of International Relations, issues surrounding geographically based divides between developed and developing world International Relations scholars have received considerably less attention. Trends of globalization and internationalization in the past decade have strengthened the argument that such divides must be bridged. This article first investigates whether there have been changes in the level of dialogue between core and periphery IR scholars throughout the 1990s by looking at publishing practices in twenty leading IR journals worldwide over seven years. It suggests explanations for the continuing lack of communication based on interviews with IR scholars from the developing world.

Keywords: professional development, publishing, core and periphery

The fragmentation and cleavages of multiple perspectives and approaches constitute a first set of boundaries among disciplinary scholars of International Relations,¹ and has long received the attention of a significant amount of work (e.g., Gurian, 1946; Wright, 1955; Kaplan, 1961; Neal and Hamlett, 1969; Olson, 1972; Olson and Groom, 1991). A second set of boundaries, however, could be considered as geographically determined. These spatial divisions and limitations have long been recognized,² but have yet to become a focus of the current efforts to build bridges among segregated elements and approaches within the discipline. Although any attempt to lower geographic and nationality-based bound-

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¹This group is categorized as "disciplinary" by Schmidt (1998).

²The spatial boundaries discussion has been generally based on the debate over whether or not the International Relations discipline was solely an American one. Primary works have been Neal and Hamlett's 1969 article and those by Hoffman (1977), Palmer (1980), Alker and Biersteker (1984), and K. J. Holsti (1985).

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aries requires addressing a variety of complex fundamental issues ranging from foreign language access to transportation costs for meetings at the international level,³ it is nevertheless necessary to do so.

There are several reasons to challenge the discipline's spatial boundaries. First, International Relations must be international in order to satisfy both the name and constitution of the discipline's leading North American association, the International Studies Association (ISA). As the second article of the ISA Constitution says, "The purpose of the Association is to serve the needs and enhance the capacities of scholars, practitioners, and others without regard to nationality, having a professional interest in expanding, disseminating and applying knowledge of interrelations among nations and peoples."

Second, due to the processes of rapid intensification of transnational activities and the telecommunication revolution, scholars from the periphery are becoming increasingly familiar with the cutting-edge developments in the discipline. Through these same processes, the traditional hierarchies between issues that are considered either solely core or periphery-related are beginning to gradually break down, and world issues are beginning to have a more equal effect on collective agendas. Uncontrolled population growth in the South, for example, produces high amounts of migration to the North, and becomes a core issue and problem. The nuclear proliferation potential and smuggling pose threats to collective survival and prosperity. In order to respond to such developments in the global village, the IR discipline cannot afford to maintain spatial boundaries within, while these same boundaries are being weakened without through increasing globalization.

The third reason concerns theoretical development and progress within the discipline. Variation stemming from national settings and from across international boundaries can positively influence the trajectory of the field (Kahler, 1993). Furthermore, conceptual failures may become inevitable if concepts are generated only in one particular setting but are applied to very different ones (Neuman, 1998). For example, we can observe the failure of the neorealist account to adequately explain the situation in the developing world where the state itself does not play the role that the realist paradigm assumes. An interdisciplinary and cosmopolitan discipline that gains from many different national discourses would not only lower the likelihood of such failures, but could also reduce the time wasted on excessive concentration on one dimension at the expense of other approaches.

Russian literary critic and noted theoretician on dialogue Mikhail Bakhtin argued that discourse constitutes a point of collision for two opposing forces in language: the centripetal forces of a ruling "correct" language that are working toward a verbal and ideological unification or centralization, and the centrifugal forces of decentralization (1981). Drawing on his observations, it seems likely that in the discourse of an academic disciplinary community, the centripetal forces will influence not only factors such as the correct format or appropriate writing style of a research article, for example, but also ideological issues of what questions are being asked and how and where the answers to these questions can be found. If within an academic community there is a difference as based on cultural or national backgrounds between the problems being addressed and the approaches to problem-solving, the potential then weakens for productive dialogue between researchers from different countries. There is also more likely to be a dominance within the discipline of perspectives and discourse stemming from a country that is politically and economically stronger.

For some IR scholars, however, the determination that IR is monopolized or owned by the United States or "core" has been seen as weakening since Stanley

³ These issues among others were raised during a discussion with former ISA president Margaret Hermann and other scholars at the ISA Midwest Convention in Chicago, November 1998.

Hoffman's 1977 article on the subject. Three years after Hoffman, for example, Palmer wrote with cautious optimism that "the study of international relations is taking on new dimensions, not only in the core but also in the periphery, such as Poland and Rumania." He also noted the Latin American contribution of Dependency Theory to the core scholarship of IR (1980). More than a decade later, M. Kahler was equally hopeful. According to him, "international relations no longer remains an American science" since there is a significant amount of spatial distribution of international relations research in the periphery (1993).

The major common underlying factor behind these optimistic assertions has been the understanding that international studies outside of the United States are flourishing. Much of the "flourishing," however, has been observed in Europe, arguably a part of the core itself.⁴ Moreover, even if one accepts the assumption that IR studies are flourishing outside of the United States, does this automatically signify an internationalization of the IR discipline? What does it actually bring to the question of dialogue between scholars from the core and periphery? Since the core enjoys the advantage of setting the cutting-edge theoretical agenda for the discipline, how much recognition does the core give to scholarship from the periphery? Holsti's 1985 work, *The Dividing Discipline*, also noted a proliferation of courses, research institutes, and publications about IR in many countries worldwide. He nevertheless concluded that the pattern of scholarly exchange was one of the core generating the theoretical work but remained largely uninformed of work being done in the periphery (for similar findings see also Pfotenhauer, 1972; Hajjar et al., 1977; and Goldmann, 1995). Furthermore, he noted that the trend seemed to be one of ever increasing "intellectual self-reliance and parochialism" (1985: 145). His prediction seems to be supported by the words of Susan Strange in her 1995 ISA Presidential Address when she said, "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" (1995). Most recently, Ole Waever's report on the sociology of a "not so international discipline" (Waever, 1998), supports both Holsti's and Strange's positions by providing a broad picture of American dominance in IR throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and beginning of the 1990s, with a comparative sociological discussion of reasons behind this situation.

For methodological purposes, Waever restricts his study to Europe and the United States. In this study, however, we take as our premise the idea that in the post-Cold War era of increasing globalization, neither policy prescriptions nor theory construction in IR can afford to ignore the perspectives of the true periphery that lies outside of Europe and North America.⁵ Some scholars may intuitively presume that these same forces of globalization must be serving to bring about at least some adjustments to an American dominance of IR as revealed by journal publications. In order to determine whether or not this is true, we provide in this research a year-by-year picture of core/periphery publication practices in twenty journals over the last decade and supplement our discussion of the results with data collected from interviews with leading IR scholars from the periphery.

⁴ For the similarities between the developmental history and interaction between European and American International Relations disciplines, see Steve Smith's (1985) introduction to *International Relations: British and American Perspectives*.

⁵ Though our use here of the term "true periphery" draws on Waever's distinction between Europe, North America, and the "rest of the world" (Waever, 1998: 696), our own categorization includes in the same group as Europe: Australia and Canada (as primarily English-speaking countries), Israel (for its academic ties with the U.S.), and Japan (as an economically strong, developed country). In general, however, the precise definitions of "core" and "periphery" are not themselves crucial to our findings since the ultimate focus in this research is on dialogue between various geographical groups.

Periphery Scholarship in Core Journals

Methods

We selected the IR journals for this study by first preparing a list of every journal held in our university library that included a subject listing of “international relations.” We then asked three IR professors and two advanced graduate students in IR to select from this list those journals they considered to be the most influential ones in the discipline. A compilation of their most frequently chosen journals resulted in a list of twelve publications from the United States and England. In order to give some geographical diversity to our selection, we then chose from the holdings eight additional English-language journals published in England, Canada, Australia, Germany, Scandinavia, India, and Russia, making a total of twenty. The names of additional journals were suggested by the professors we consulted and by reviewers of this article; unfortunately, they were unavailable in our university library. It seems nevertheless apparent from the findings that even sharply different results from a few more journals would not have been able to significantly alter the study’s overall conclusion.

For sixteen of the twenty journals, we were able to look at bound yearly volumes from at least seven of the years between 1990 and 1997, and in the case of the *Mershon International Studies Review*, the years from its launching in 1994 until 1997. For the remaining three journals, limited library holdings or missing or checked-out volumes restricted our review to six years of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* (1991–96), five years of the Indian journal *International Studies* (1991–92, 1994–96), and four years of *International Affairs* out of Moscow (1992–94, 1997).

With two exceptions, we entered into the database only research articles from each journal, and did not consider review essays, interviews, correspondence between academicians/responses, etc. The first exception to this was the Moscow-based journal *International Affairs*, in which “articles” tend to be a less uniform genre than in most Western journals. Rather than excluding those pieces that did not fit a more traditional definition of a research article, we chose to include all works printed together in the main section of the journal (see Appendix). We also decided to include the debates and review essays of *Mershon ISR* given that the journal was cited as influential by all five of the IR experts we consulted.

In order to categorize the topics we relied primarily on the article titles. To do this we first familiarized ourselves with the general nature of each journal by examining several articles, then separately coded the works and discussed any conflicting results until reaching a consensus. In cases of ambiguous titles, we referred either to the abstract or to the actual article for clarification. Most articles were categorized into two broad categories: “theoretical/conceptual” and “policy/case study.” As the names imply, the first category refers to articles that are of a purely theoretical nature or that appear intended to contribute to the theoretical study of the International Relations discipline; for example, “What’s the Matter with Realism?” (*Review of International Studies*, 1990, no. 4). If a particular country or region was cited in the title, the article was categorized as a case study, even if it was still theoretical in nature. Also included in the category of the theoretical/conceptual were the large-*N* studies which dominated in particular the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Further categories were added depending on the journal; for example, we used the category of “economics” for those articles that focused on economic/financial issues and mentioned at least one country/region/regime in the title. Articles that were about economics but were purely theoretical in nature, e.g., a theoretical discussion of economics and political sovereignty, were categorized as theoretical/conceptual. We used the category of history only for those articles

that were focused entirely on events that ended at least ten years prior to the publication date of the journal.

Additional categories, such as “psychological/behavioral,” were added in a few exceptional cases to cover articles like “Security Feelings among Jewish Settlers in the Occupied Territories: A Study of Communal and Personal Antecedents” in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1995, no. 2). “Methodology” was added for *World Politics*, and “diplomacy” for the *Review of International Studies*. Several categories were added for the Moscow journal *International Affairs*, including “memoirs,” “diplomacy,” “popular topics,” and “guest club.”

Once we had defined the topic of the article, we also made note of all countries or regions mentioned in the title. Certain organizations or international regimes, such as the UN, NATO, or ASEAN, were listed as well in this section. If a country was clearly the focus of an article but was not directly identified by name in the title, e.g., “The Zhironovsky Threat” (*Foreign Policy*, 1994, no. 3), it still received a geographical listing—in this case, “Russia/USSR.”

The final main consideration in designing this study was the grouping of the authors. Based on the biographical information provided by the journal, the authors were categorized into four groups: the core, or group 4, consisting of those authors of U.S. nationality or affiliation; the periphery of the core, or group 3, for authors affiliated with institutions in Canada, England, Western Europe, Israel, or Australia, or of these nationalities; the core of the periphery, group 2, for Indian, Japanese, Russian, East European, Chinese, or Korean authors, or for scholars affiliated with institutions in these countries; and the periphery, or group 1, referring to all others.

A final division was made within groups 3 and 4 in an attempt to locate any periphery contributors affiliated with core institutions, and thereby allow maximum credit to the possibility of “outside group” contributions. In order to try and determine nationality when the relevant biographical information was not given, we modified a coding scheme first devised by John Swales for his study of non-native English speakers’ publishing rates in the Health Sciences and in Economics (Swales, 1985). Swales’s system looks at the authors’ first and last names, institutional affiliation, citations, and relevant footnotes or endnotes, and then ranks an author’s status as ranging between native English speaker and non-native speaker. Therefore, any contributor whose first and last names were both considered by separate coders as being non-anglophone were marked as “foreign name,” indicating a possible foreign nationality, regardless of their group 4 affiliation. In ambiguous cases we also looked for references to foreign language citations in the footnotes or endnotes. This was done as well for group 3 affiliated contributors; however, in these cases “foreign name” referred to those names that were neither clearly English nor of West European origin. Because of the overall reliance on names and the often limited biographical information given, we were unable to incorporate a gender-based classification into the database.

Findings from the Predominantly Theory-based Journals

This study looked at seven American journals (see Table A1) of a predominantly theoretical nature: (1) *Journal of International Affairs*, (2) *Mershon International Studies Review*, (3) *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (4) *International Organization*, (5) *International Studies Quarterly*, (6) *International Security*, and (7) *World Politics*. Among them, the average total number of contributors coming from outside of group 4 was 15.25%, and the average number of contributors from just groups 2 and 1 was 3.28%. The average number of contributors from groups 2 and 1, when combined with those group 3 or 4 authors with foreign names, rises to 10.47% (Figure 1).

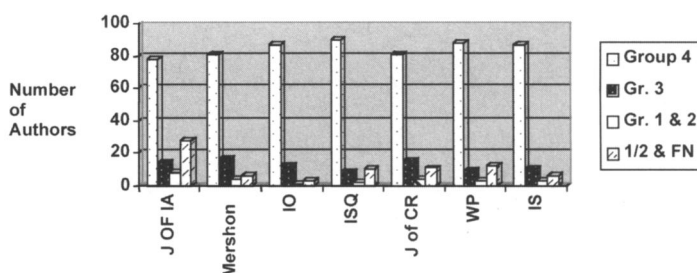


FIG. 1. Average distribution of authors by affiliation in American IR journals, 1990–97.

These averages are still lower if you remove the *Journal of International Affairs*. This journal has a relatively high percentage of periphery and foreign name contributors, with 8.82% of all contributors coming from groups 1 and 2, and 27.45% when you combine them with foreign name core-affiliated authors. The design of the journal may provide some explanation for the higher number of foreign contributors. Each issue has a theme which, in the eight years covered, was sometimes a topic (e.g., human rights, or the environment) and sometimes a geographical region. Particularly in the latter, the journal is more likely to include regional experts. For example, in the 1996 issue, which has nineteen articles focusing on China, seven of the foreign names within the group 4 category are Chinese, and the two group 2 contributors are both from Chinese universities. It is interesting to note that in the volume in which the theme was IR theory (1990, vol. 13), twelve of the thirteen contributors were from the United States, and one was Canadian. None had foreign names.

In the *Merston International Studies Review* the one example of a writer from the periphery is in 1996, when a South Korean wrote on the Korean issue. The *Journal of Conflict Resolution* has a fairly high percentage of non-group 4 contributors (19.13%), but these are primarily from group 3. The actual percentage of authors from the periphery is only 3.5%, rising to 10.78% if you include foreign names from groups 3 and 4. The nature of the journal may again be significant in the slightly higher numbers. The dominance of large-*N* studies in the journal presumably contributes to its having the highest average of authors per study (1.72 authors per study). Many of the foreigners listed as contributors were actually part of an author team made up of two or more writers, including one core native. Furthermore, the trend shows a decrease in the percentage of contributors from the periphery, with no group 1 contributors in the years 1994–97, and no contributors at all from the periphery (neither group 1 nor 2) in 1996–97. Among the core-affiliated contributors, the number of foreign names has also fallen, from a high of nine in 1993, to three, two, two, and three, respectively, in the four subsequent years.

The final four American “theory” journals share similar numbers. Among them, the average number of non-group 4 contributors is 11.6%, the average number from the periphery is 1.87%, and the average if you combine periphery with foreign-named core affiliates is 7.96%.

Comparing these seven journals with the two predominantly theory journals out of Britain (the *Journal of Strategic Studies* and the *Review of International Studies*) reveals fairly similar results (see Table A2). The *Journal of Strategic Studies* has an even division of group 3 and 4 contributors (79 and 77, respectively) but just six from the periphery (3.7%), and just thirteen (8.02%) if you add in foreign-named core affiliates. Five of the six contributors from the periphery can again be directly connected with writing on topics related to their native country. This

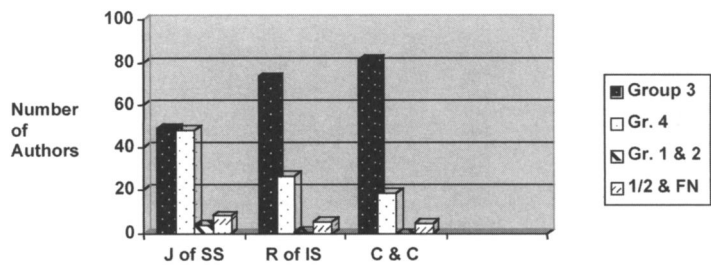


FIG. 2. Average distribution of authors by affiliation in non-American IR journals, 1990–97.

includes the 1997 contribution by a U.S.-educated Turkish academic writing on Turkey, and the four writers out of Malaysia, Thailand, and Japan, who contributed to the 1995 volume focused on the Asia-Pacific region.

The *Review of International Studies* has fewer group 4 contributors, only 26.53%, and only one contributor from the periphery (in 1991), giving an average of just .68%. This increases only a bit to 5.44% if you add in contributors with foreign names and group 3 or 4 affiliation.

The foreign names with core affiliation in the two British journals combined total ten from group 4 and four from group 3. These numbers, 8.62% and 2.73% of their respective groups, are quite similar to the average of foreign names with core affiliation found in the American journals, which had an average of 4.08%—excluding the *Journal of International Affairs* which is high at 23.89%.

In the last of the predominantly theory-oriented journals, *Cooperation and Conflict*—*Nordic Journal of International Studies*, there are no examples in the seven years covered of any contributors from the periphery. Twenty of the 108 authors, or 18.5%, are affiliated with American institutions, with five of these having foreign names. Of the five foreign names, however, four are Scandinavian-origin names, leaving a total of just one contributor out of a total of 108 having any possible periphery connection (Figure 2).

Policy Journals

Three American-based policy journals were examined: *World Policy*, *Orbis*, and *Foreign Policy* (Table A3). The results were quite similar to those in the more theory-dominated journals. On average, the total percentage of non-group 4 contributors was 12.68, shrinking to 3.06 for contributors from the periphery, and rising to an average of 11.78% if you combine periphery with foreign name core affiliates.

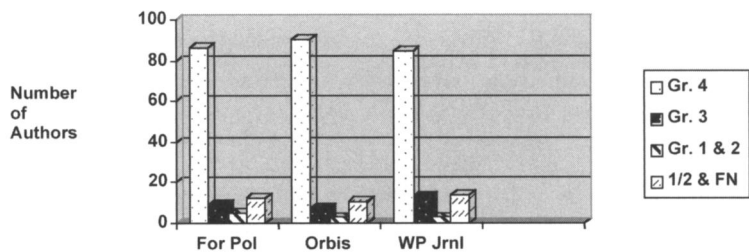


FIG. 3. Average distribution of authors by affiliation in American policy journals, 1990–97.

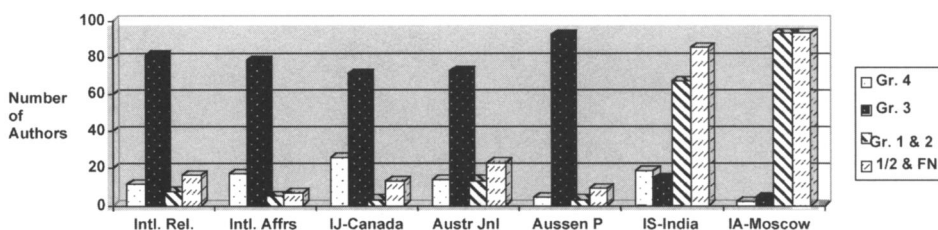


FIG. 4. Average distribution of authors by affiliation in non-American policy journals, 1990–97.

From group 3 we looked at five journals that were determined to be predominantly policy/case study oriented. These were *International Relations* and *International Affairs* out of England, *International Journal* from the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, and *Aussen Politik—the German Foreign Affairs Review* (see Table A4). Among these journals the average percentage of contributors from outside of groups 3 and 4 was 7.17%, rising to 13.9% when foreign name core affiliates are included. The *Australian Journal of International Affairs* had the highest percentage of periphery and foreign name contributors at 22.98%, and *International Affairs* had the lowest, at 6.77%. *Aussen Politik* had very few contributors from outside of group 3, only 7.53%, but of those, the slight majority (eleven out of twenty) were either periphery-affiliated or foreign name core affiliates.

The Indian journal *International Studies* was considered primarily a policy/case study-oriented journal since 67.02% of the articles in the five years covered fall into that category. Theoretical/conceptual articles account for 10.63%, historical accounts for 17.02%, and the remainder are divided into economic and international law/human rights. In terms of context, this puts the journal in a similar category to the Canadian and Australian journals in which theoretical articles numbered 11.83% and 19.04%, respectively, and policy/case studies were 71% and 51.19%. More than half of the contributors (62.88%) to *International Studies* were affiliated with group 2 universities, and the majority of those (72.13%) were affiliated directly with Jawaharlal Nehru University, which publishes the journal. A significant number of group 3 and 4 contributors was noted (32.98%), and there were a total of 4.25% of contributors from group 1.

The final journal, *International Affairs* out of Moscow, is also classified as a policy journal since only 1.99% of the articles could be categorized as theoretical/conceptual. Articles on economics—primarily issues of trade between Russia and various regions or former republics of the USSR—made up 17.56% of the articles, 9.78% were historical accounts or memoirs, 5.58% were about diplomacy, and 6.98% were cultural essays or discussions of popular issues, e.g., astrological studies of world leaders. More than 90% of the authors were from Russia or the former Soviet republics.

Geographical Regions—Coverage of the Periphery

In terms of geographical areas covered in the nine policy journals, Jawaharlal Nehru University's *International Studies* has the largest emphasis on the periphery. Of all countries/regions mentioned in the article titles, 74.73% belong to the periphery, including articles mentioning "the South" or the "Third World" as regions, or the Kurds as a topic. Russia/USSR is referred to in 4.21% of the articles, and the core world in 21.05% of the articles.

Among the three American journals and the British journal *International Relations*, the results are quite uniform. On average, 41.86% of the countries/regions

mentioned belong to the periphery, 21.35% covered Russia/USSR/Eastern Europe/China, and the remaining 36.79% were devoted to the core.

The Australian journal has a slightly greater than average percentage of references to the periphery (43.40%), but a still larger focus on the core world (47.92%), the difference being that the former USSR/Russia/Eastern Europe/China combined were the focus of only 8.68% of the articles. The German journal has a fairly low coverage of the periphery (20.92%), versus 42.37% for the core (primarily Germany and Western Europe). The main difference in the German journal is the particularly high percentage of articles (32.60%) on the former USSR/Russia/Eastern Europe. The remaining 4.07% went to China.

The two remaining non-U.S. policy journals, *International Affairs* from the Cambridge University Press and the Canadian journal, were both found to be focused predominantly on the core, with 68.29% and 77.96%, respectively. Conversely, only 15.85% of regions/countries in the former and 11.03% of regions/countries dealt with in the latter were focused on the periphery. Both journals also had a lower than average percentage of articles looking at Russia/USSR/Eastern Europe, with 15.85% and 11.01%, respectively. For articles with geographical references in the Moscow-based journal, 65.40% mentioned Russia/CIS/former USSR, 11.19% Western Europe, 2.32% Eastern Europe and the Balkans, 3.77% the United States, and 5.87% various other core countries. The remaining 10.43% made reference to the periphery.

Predictably, geographical coverage in the ten theory-based journals was much lower than in the policy-based ones. Considering, however, those countries/regions that did receive mention in the article titles, those from the periphery averaged 27% of the total, while core countries in general were referred to in 47.15%. These figures change to 19.41% and 54.56%, respectively, if you remove the *Journal of International Affairs* and the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, which showed an unusually high coverage of the periphery (53.48% and 61.36%).

Discussion

The results of this research indicate that 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. It confirms that even between scholars of the United States and the rest of the core, contribution levels vary but generally remain low. While there is overall limited dialogue, this study also shows that the more highly theory-oriented a journal is, the less likely, on average, it is to include contributors from outside of its group. The few exceptions to this, such as the relatively higher number of foreign name and periphery contributors to *Journal of Conflict Resolution* or the *Journal of International Affairs*, can be explained by the journal's format. In the former, for example, the frequency of multiple authorship on the large-*N* studies, which dominate the journal, makes it more likely to have a foreign scholar writing together with a core contributor. The design of the latter journal, with each volume discussing in detail a particular theme—including geographic regions—may also explain the higher number of foreign contributors.

We also found that in most cases, evidence of contributions from the periphery can be tied to specific articles that focus on the contributor's native country. This indicates that when the periphery is recognized, it is not to contribute to the larger theoretical discussion, but to add understanding of a particular country or region. This is not, of course, a negative way to incorporate scholarship from the periphery; however, the results show that even this form of contribution is generally overlooked. The frequency of coverage of regions or countries from the periphery is actually found to be quite high in many journals, often around

40%. Nevertheless, in these same journals the percentage of contribution from the periphery remains extremely low.

The four arguably leading IR journals, which set the cutting-edge agenda for the discipline, *International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and *World Politics*, have an average of less than 3% of their contributors coming from the periphery, and less than 12% coming from outside the United States. This result ultimately reveals to us the best picture of how infrequently not only the traditional periphery but all scholars outside of the United States are being recognized. Perhaps most ironic is the case of the *International Studies Quarterly*. As the flagship journal of the ISA, an association whose very constitution dictates that it promote inter-group dialogue, less than 10% of its contributors over the past decade have come from outside of the United States, and less than 1½% have come from the periphery.

Are They Not Talking or Are We Not Listening?

Our interviews with IR scholars from the periphery both support these findings and suggest preliminary ideas for why this situation resists change. Seven of the scholars we spoke with completed or will soon complete their doctorates in the United States or Canada, one studied in England and one in Norway. Of the nine, two are writing their dissertations in North American universities, two teach in North America at the ranks of professor and associate professor, three are associate professors in the periphery, and two are full professors at state universities in the periphery. All have published works in English and are engaged in the regular submission of research to journals, though only one has published in a leading journal covered in this study, on issues not related to his native country's foreign policy. This particular scholar, who chose to remain in North America after completing his Ph.D., admits to having become assimilated into the North American system:

I haven't seen too many [famous developing world scholars in IR] unless you're brought up in the U.S. and you have become part of the system . . . the problem is that I myself, after being in the West, you know, I have problems with their work too.

His point is supported by two Ph.D. students in North American IR departments. These students can be seen struggling with the question of assimilation both in terms of their choices of dissertation topics and in their feelings toward scholarship from their native countries. The first student expressed his desire to "divorce himself from the way IR is done in [his native country]," where, he felt, "international studies is not very strong at all." The second student, recalling the early development of his dissertation topic which he "knew was a good case," was led to reconsider when an IR professor said to him, "'So, do you want to end up being a [names country] expert?'" These comments raise the question of what options exist for the IR scholar from the periphery. In fact, both the scholar quoted above and the second Ph.D. student spoke directly to the dilemma that faces the IR scholar from the periphery:

You have to make a choice between being a nobody or a somebody. Either you're going to work on core issues in which you have less confidence and less chance than the 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.

When I was working on my Ph.D. I was going to work on my native country, it was natural, I thought I would've been more successful doing that. But my advisor, who was, I should say, a very well known political scientist, suggested to me that, can you think of some larger processes, you know, that are cases. I finally agreed with him because whatever influence or impact I could make in the literature came out of the ability to have different cases of similar conflicts.

One result of this dilemma may initially be the loss of scholars from the periphery to other branches of political science. As one such scholar in IR at a university in the United States is reported to have advised one of his students, "We all start out in IR and end up in comparative politics." Does this loss, either through changed study focus or through assimilation, mean a loss for the discipline? In one participant's words: "I guess the problem is that we never knew what periphery scholarship was exactly, so we don't know what we are losing or what we have lost."

Of the scholars who had left the United States, all of their publications in English, either in journals, as books, or as chapters in edited volumes, were on topics related to their native countries or regions. While many pointed to a general lack of financial sponsorship for academic research and the pressures they felt—both in terms of economic rewards and personal recognition—to be involved in "popular" foreign policy issues, they also spoke of other, less pragmatic restrictions to their publishing in leading U.S. journals. One Middle Eastern scholar, revealing a concern that her works would not be accepted if submitted in her name alone, chose to submit articles co-authored by her former, core, professors. While her tactic seems to have improved her chances for publication in the U.S., the unspoken division of labor that arises from this ideally symbiotic relationship inevitably relegates her, as a scholar from the periphery, to the role of regional expert. An added imbalance results from the fact that while the core scholar may earn further legitimacy from a joint publication by adding to his expertise of a region, the scholar from the periphery is not similarly recognized by the core as having gained theoretical expertise. Another scholar, who has been sending his works to leading U.S. journals for years with only very rare successes, believes that because of his "very non-Western sounding name" he frequently does not even receive a review.

One young scholar recalling his graduate studies in the U.S. mentions the trouble he had talking with his IR professors:

It looked like I couldn't communicate in the way I was supposed to with the professors when we were discussing IR theory. I would give examples always, from the world . . . mostly from the developing world. For political correctness or something, the professor couldn't just say, "that doesn't matter" or "small states aren't important," so he'd say something instead like, "hmm, there's an anomaly" or "that doesn't quite fit." . . . Sometimes I would get this face that looks like they didn't get what I was saying.

These feelings seem to be shared by a leading Turkish IR scholar. This professor, who is highly published in the United States on Turkish regional issues, is fluent in English, and is often invited to lecture at top American universities, told of how even in oral discussions with his U.S. counterparts, only his views on Turkey are given credit. Any attempts he makes to contribute to the larger theoretical discussion are dismissed, a fact that, he bluntly admits, "hurts . . . a lot."

While this sentiment may be shared by many of us when expressing our frustrations about the overall restricted number of articles selected for publication in leading IR journals, it is important to recognize that high rejection rates affect even more harshly those scholars whose works are not immediately in line with the ruling "centripetal" forces in terms of form or questions addressed.

Conclusion

Whose Responsibility Is It Anyway?

The discipline of IR may be flourishing outside of the USA, but this research has shown that the disciplinary community has nevertheless been unable, even in the post-Cold War era of globalization, to break down the spatial boundaries that divide its members. Leading disciplinary organizations and publications have failed to generate a significant increase in scholarly dialogue between countries and have been unable to break the dominance of the United States in the theoretical debate.

In terms of IR scholarship from the “true periphery,” a variety of problems lower even further the chances for productive dialogue on theoretical issues. These stem in part from the failure of the periphery to contribute, due to time and money restrictions or to lack of incentive. These also stem in part from the failure of the core to listen, and to assume a sense of responsibility for improving core/periphery dialogue. Admittedly some responsibility remains with the periphery scholars. As one participant said in his interview:

I think it was a big mistake for scholars from the developing world to pick the easy questions, leaving the larger questions to a very small group of scholars. If they had devoted some energy into these larger questions maybe we would've had different theories . . . a little bit more pluralism in the way we look at the world.

We would argue that the larger share, however, must lie with the core, as the side with greater resources and with control over the leading knowledge-producing journals. To begin addressing the issue, various suggestions might be made at the pedagogical, professional, and disciplinary levels. To both ensure and improve the quality of future core/periphery dialogue, we should aim in our teaching and advising for greater disciplinary transparency about the issues touched upon in this article. This would allow students from the periphery to make better informed decisions about who they want to be in the discipline and how they can best achieve their goals. At the same time it would sensitize core students to the complex issues facing their peers from the periphery. At the professional level, addressing the problem directly raised in this article, it could be recommended to scholarly journals that are not already taking appropriate measures that they recruit prominent academics from the periphery for their editorial boards. These academics could also be encouraged to monitor regional journals for promising scholars who could then be solicited for manuscripts. International meetings could also be used as sites for locating scholars from which to solicit works. Given that the skills of reading and writing in a second language require different levels of ability, there are undoubtedly scholars from the periphery who are able to follow the theoretical debates in core IR journals but are uncomfortable with writing their own work in English. Core journals might consider, therefore, accepting article submissions in languages other than English and providing translation services before sending them on to the review boards. Finally, at the disciplinary level, organizations such as the ISA could support greater and richer core/periphery dialogue by promoting and organizing conferences that take place in the periphery. Under the current circumstances, those scholars from the periphery who are able to attend conferences in North America or Western Europe frequently represent a minority of scholars in their country who are already socialized through studying abroad to core methods and concerns. While some may suggest that there are no unique national perspectives on IR, and that, therefore, there is no need to make such an effort, we would caution that disciplinary deafness leads to intellectual loss and stunted disciplinary growth.

Considering the many restrictions and limitations on the periphery’s ability to reach out, the ball must be in the core’s court.

Appendix A. Journals and Years Reviewed

Journal of International Affairs, 1990–97
Mershon International Studies Review, 1994–97
International Organization, 1990–97
International Studies Quarterly, 1991–97
International Security, 1990–97
Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1991–97
World Politics, 1991–97
Review of International Studies, 1990–97
Journal of Strategic Studies, 1990–97
Cooperation and Conflict: Nordic Journal of International Studies, 1991–97
Foreign Policy, 1990–97
Orbis, 1990–97
World Policy Journal, 1990–97
International Relations, 1991–97
International Affairs, 1991–97
International Journal—Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1990–97
Australian Journal of International Affairs, 1991–96
Aussen Politik—German Foreign Affairs, 1990–97
International Studies—JNU, India, 1991–92, 1994–96
International Affairs—Moscow, 1992–94, 1997

TABLE A1. Percentages of Contributors to American Theory-based Journals

<i>Journal Title</i>	<i>Group 4</i>	<i>Groups 3 & 4 combined</i>	<i>Groups 1 & 2 combined</i>	<i>Groups 1 & 2 with foreign name core</i>
<i>Journal of International Affairs</i>	77.9	91.1	8.8	27.4
<i>Mershon International Studies Review</i>	80.6	96.7	3.2	6.4
<i>International Organization</i>	87.2	99.4	.5	3.3
<i>International Studies Quarterly</i>	90.0	98.6	1.3	10.4
<i>International Security</i>	87.3	97.1	2.8	6.3
<i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>	80.8	96.4	3.5	10.7
<i>World Politics</i>	88.8	97.2	2.7	11.8

TABLE A2. Percentages of Contributors to Non-American Theory Journals

<i>Journal Title</i>	<i>Group 3</i>	<i>Groups 3 & 4 combined</i>	<i>Groups 1 & 2 combined</i>	<i>Groups 1 & 2 with foreign name core</i>
<i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i>	48.6	96.2	3.7	8.0
<i>Review of International Studies</i>	72.7	99.3	.68	5.4
<i>Cooperation and Conflict: Nordic Jrnal of Intl Studies</i>	81.4	100.0	0.0	4.6

TABLE A3. Percentages of Contributors to American Policy Journals

Journal Title	Group 4	Groups 3 & 4 combined	Groups 1 & 2 combined	Groups 1 & 2 with foreign name core
Foreign Policy	86.6	95.6	4.3	12.0
Orbis	90.4	97.5	2.4	9.9
World Policy Journal	84.7	97.5	2.4	13.4

TABLE A4. Percentages of Contributors to Non-American Policy Journals

Journal Title	Group 3	Groups 3 & 4 combined	Groups 1 & 2 combined	Groups 1 & 2 with foreign name core
International Relations	80.9	92.5	7.4	16.5
International Affairs	77.9	94.9	5.6	6.7
International Journal—Canadian Inst. of IA	71.0	96.8	3.1	13.1
Australian Journal of International Affairs	72.4	86.2	13.7	22.9
Aussen Politik—German Foreign Affairs	92.4	96.9	3.0	9.3

TABLE A5. Percentage of Contributors to Periphery Journals

Journal Title	Group 4	Groups 3 & 4 combined	Groups 1 & 2 combined	Groups 1 & 2 with foreign name core
International Studies—JNU, India	18.5	32.9	67.0	85.5
International Affairs—Moscow	1.9	6.5	93.4	93.4

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