Promoting the Hegemonic Paradigm: The Case Study of the Journal International Security in the Discipline of International Security Studies

Julie Dufort (*Université du Québec à Montréal*), Marc-André Anzueto, (*Université du Québec à Montréal*) and Catherine Goulet-Cloutier (*Université de Montréal*)

Abstract

This paper seeks to shed light on the evolution of the hegemonic paradigm in the subfield of International Security Studies (ISS) by looking at one highly influential journal, *International Security*. Questions we will be considering: What are the parameters of the hegemonic paradigm that characterize ISS? What are its main continuities and ruptures? More generally, how do academic journals contribute to building, maintaining or deconstructing the hegemonic paradigm? Using the method of longitudinal content analysis, this paper highlights the different continuities and ruptures in this so-called hegemonic paradigm. Our aim is to show how *International Security* has contributed to building and maintaining this paradigm and how it can transcend these limits.

Keywords: International Security, International Security Studies, Hegemonic Paradigm, United States, Realism

INTRODUCTION

The history of International Relations (IR) as an academic discipline has been described by many authors as the rise of a "hegemonic paradigm" (Hoffmann, 1977; Holsti, 1985; Macleod, 2010a; Smith, 2000; 2002; Weaver, 1998). We may have one world and rival theories in IR (Snyder, 2004) or "diverse strands of theory using multiple logics" (Reus-Smit and Snidal, 2010: 32) but there exists a dominant way in which political issues are analyzed and understood within the academic community. These factors lead to the marginalization of alternative approaches (Macleod, 2010: 29-30). The evolution of the discipline can therefore be seen in a linear fashion, where adopting mainstream theories and methodologies is an unavoidable obstacle for a researcher seeking success. Even though this view has been implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, promoted by numerous prominent scholars in the last decades (Keohane, 1988; Katzenstein, Keohane, Krasner, 1999; Elman and Elman (ed.) 2003), it has not gone unchallenged. In this regard, one such vigorous challenge has been led by the *Teaching, Research, and International Policy Project* (TRIP) of the *Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations*. Its 2009 report, which presents the results of a cross-national survey of more than 2,000 scholars from ten countries, addresses this hegemonic paradigm in IR. In particular, the report challenges the idea of an American hegemony[i] of the discipline by concluding:

> If hegemony means that most of the resources (richest universities and private foundations in the world), most authors in the top ranked journals (...), and top universities (...) come, overwhelmingly, from the United States, then, yes, American IR is hegemonic. (…) If, however, hegemony means that there is a single discourse, epistemology, ontology, paradigm, method, issue area, or regional expertise among IR scholars as dictated by some mythical American consensus, then there is more diversity than hegemony in IR. *There exists no distinctively American school of thought reflected as a mono-culture across the globe*. (TRIP Survey Report, 2009: 7-8; emphasis added).

How, then, is it possible to reconcile the idea of a hegemonic paradigm with the facts brought to light by the *2009 TRIP Survey Report*? Taking this apparent contradiction into account, our study investigates the different parameters of the hegemonic paradigm and analyzes their evolution in one IR subfield: International Security Studies (ISS).[ii] What are its main continuities and ruptures? More generally, how do journals contribute to building, maintaining or deconstructing the hegemonic paradigm?

Siding with Waever we argue that prominent journals are "the crucial institution of modern sciences" and are, as such, "the most direct measure of the discipline itself". (Waever, 1998: 697) This study aims to shed light on the evolution of the hegemonic paradigm in ISS by looking at one highly influential journal, *International Security*.[iii]

Compared to books, journals represent a more immediate measure and systematic investigation in IR since they are published on a regular basis and authors often present their ideas in journals before publishing them in books (Breuning, Bredehoft and Walton, 2005: 447-448). Journals also help to institutionalize the discipline by acting as "gatekeepers" of scientific knowledge to the extent that editors and reviewers decide what can be published and disseminated (Goldmann, 1995: 247). Considering that careers in research depend overwhelmingly on peer-reviewed publications, journals have a lasting impact on the discipline (Kristensen, 2012: 33). In addition, they participate in a process of institutionalization of ISS. According to Buzan and Hansen, institutionalization is one of the five driving forces of the evolution of ISS, "(…) where "'academic power' comes through most explicitly" (Buzan and Hansen, 2010: 662).[iv] It includes, among other elements, the role of journals in deciding what should be considered as legitimate research. With this in mind, journals like *International Security* can be understood not only as a conveyor belt but also as an actor, who decides what is published, where it is published, for whom, and for what purposes. As an indicator of dominant trends in the subfield of ISS, *International Security* is especially useful in shedding light on the evolution of ISS as a discipline.[v]

Previous research has addressed hegemonic practices in IR (McMillan, 2012) or, more specifically, the hegemonic paradigm through the study of Political Science or IR journals (Breuning, Bredehoft and Walton, 2005; McCormick and Bernick, 1982; Goldmann, 1995; Norris, 1997; Weaver, 1998; Aydinli and Mathews 2000; Mathews and Anderson, 2001; Rice, McCormick and Bergmann, 2002). Nevertheless, none of them have narrowed down their research to the point of analyzing what happens at a subfield level of analysis like ISS.[vi] This is especially important because, as Waever (2010) has shown, journals and scholars in IR and ISS have to deal with different demands.[vii] As part of the new area of research of the sociology of ISS,[viii] this paper aims to pinpoint the field of the hegemonic paradigm through the case study of one top ranked journal, *International Security*.

This research uses the method of longitudinal content analysis to show the ways in which *International Security* has contributed to building and maintaining the hegemonic paradigm in the field of ISS. Five continuities can be highlighted: (1) the American ethnocentrism of IR; (2) the promotion of a positivist epistemology; (3) materialist ontology of IR centering on the nation-states or the nation-states system; (4) a predominance of mainstream theories – realism, liberalism and constructivism; and (5) the limitation of methodology to empirical case studies, quantitative methods and formal models. This study will argue that most components of the hegemonic paradigm have been incorporated and reinforced in *International Security*. However, two ontological ruptures have been found: (1) the increase in the number of sub-national and supranational variables and (2) a diversification of the definition of what constitutes a threat to the nation-state.

The first section defines the hegemonic paradigm as presented in IR and ISS literature. The second section describes the method employed including the coding categories and different steps of content analysis. The third section presents findings, focusing mainly on

continuities and ruptures of the hegemonic paradigm in *International Security*. The conclusion highlights the implications of this research for understanding the subfield of ISS as a whole.

THE HEGEMONIC PARADIGM IN IR AND ISS

In 1977, Stanley Hoffmann described IR as "an American social science" (Hoffmann, 1977).[ix] The academic discipline is likewise considered to be American-dominated because most authors hail from the United States and the issues are centered more often than not around the United States (Smith, 2000; Waever, 1998). Furthermore, while many non-American authors publish in their own countries, a strong tendency to read American journals still persists amongst these scholars.[x] As early as 1983, John Vasquez criticized the hegemony of realist theory by asserting that over 90% of all IR publications between the end of the Second World War and 1970 were influenced by this approach (Vasquez, 1983). This theoretical perspective also had a decisive influence on the evolution of ISS, which "is by birth an Anglo-American discipline" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 19).

Which paradigm? Which hegemony?

Thomas Kuhn's definition of paradigm offers a helpful guide (Khun, 1962). It refers to the set of practices that defined a scientific discipline, i.e., normal science. In his study of the history of science, Kuhn stated, "successive transition from one paradigm to another via revolution is the usual developmental pattern of mature science" (Kuhn, 1962: 12).[xi] In the specific field of IR, Guzzini (1998) highlights a less quoted passage of Kuhn in which he states: "a paradigm governs, in the first instance, not a subject matter, but a group of practitioners. Any study of paradigm directed or paradigm shattering research must begin by locating the responsible group or groups" (Guzzini, 1998: 4). In his appraisal of realism in IR, Guzzini stresses the importance of "locating the scientific community for which realism became the defining paradigm" (Guzzini, 1998: 108). Furthermore, he states that "realism defined a community by setting the boundaries of the discipline (…) the community in turn defined the discipline" (Guzzini, 1998: 6). By analogy, we can picture the role of those realist practitioners in the beginning of IR as a discipline with what Haas (1997) has coined as an epistemic community. Indeed, a transnational network of realist scholars, mainly American and British, have helped decision-makers, especially in the United States, define their security problems and identify various policy solutions during the Cold War. Therefore, we agree with Guzzini's Kuhnian interpretation of paradigmatic shifts, which emphasizes the role of practitioners. This is especially relevant in ISS with recent questions of securitization and desecuritization stressing the important role of security professionals and practitioners.[xii] Nevertheless, for IR and ISS practitioners and scholars, "Realism remains the intellectual password into the corridors of power" (Booth, 2005: 5).

The second term that has to be defined is "hegemony." Using a Gramscian meaning of the word, Robert W. Cox (1986) insisted on the fact that there can be

"dominance without hegemony; hegemony is one possible form dominance may take" (Cox, 1986: 251). Cox's notion of hegemony refers to ideological and intersubjective dimensions of power. For a paradigm to exert a hegemonic influence over a discipline there must be a combination of consent and coercion. Hence, if "theory is always for someone and for some purpose," (Cox, 1986: 207) we need to understand and interpret the process of knowledge production so that theories' major silences are spoken (Der Derian and Shapiro, 1989; George, 1994). These silences are linked to the relation between knowledge and power, and how the two participate in constructing the world as we see it. If defining common sense is the ultimate act of political power (George, 1994), delimiting the boundaries of a discipline is also a political act.[xiii] With this definition in mind, the hegemonic paradigm in the discipline of IR and its subfield of ISS must be more than geographically-centered. It has to shape "what it is that people choose to write" and "how people write" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 39-40).

In sum, we define the hegemonic paradigm as a reification of mainstream IR knowledge in ISS by the orientation and shaping of epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies by scholars and practitioners. Together, these main parameters constitute a dominant way in which security issues are understood and analyzed, and this unites the academic community. Before looking at how *International Security* has contributed in building and maintaining the hegemonic paradigm, it is first necessary to define its content in the field of IR, and subsequently, in its subfield, ISS.

The hegemonic paradigm in IR and ISS: the realist lexicon

Since the role of practitioners is important in the creation of a paradigm, the use of an idiosyncratic lexicon reifies the hegemonic paradigm in IR. In fact, most terminology used by earlier practitioners and theorists rotate around notions of *high politics* in IR, which are intimately linked with the realist tradition.[xiv] Even if it is difficult to draw a clear boundary between ISS and IR, it is important to remember, "what distinguishes ISS from the general field of IR is its focus on the use of force in international relations" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 16).

It is also worth noting that much of the realist lexicon (power, balance of power, sovereignty, anarchy and national interest) was heavily criticized during the second great debate (Hollis and Smith, 1990), but still prevails in IR and ISS.[xv] We should not underestimate the notion of "great debates" in the development of the discipline. As Waever asserted, "a debate produces a shared frame of reference and expresses a less than totally fragmented discipline" (Waever, 1998: 716). For instance, Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* (1979) had a field-changing effect on IR theory and ISS through its attempt to present a more scientific version of realism. It was successful, especially among security scholars, in getting realism "back to the centre of the discipline; after being the theory of the past, it became the theory of the future" (Waever, 2011: 81). Considering that "realism is a broad church" (Buzan, 1996: 62) with various denominations, the relevance of these debates in IR are linked to what drives the social

sciences, including ISS, which are questions on epistemology, methodology and the choice of research focus (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 57).[xvi]

Narratives on the creation and evolution by some the most prominent IR and ISS scholars are also useful for understanding the hegemonic paradigm. After the neo-neo synthesis in the 1980s, the 1990s witnessed increasing signs of rapprochement between rationalist researchers and those labeled as reflectivists (Waever, 1996: 175). Acknowledging the substantial dissatisfaction with rationalist theories during and after the Cold War (e.g., the variants of realism and liberalism), Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner (1999) presented the revival of sociological and cultural perspectives in the 90s as a point of complementarity to the common knowledge of IR. These debates also reinvigorate the contending theories and challenge the complacency toward which internal research programs sometimes gravitate (Reus-Smith and Snidal, 2010: 30). Despite the "constructivist turn" in the 90s, which brought forth the question of identity to the dominant discourse of IR and ISS (Hansen, 2006)[xvii] and the widening and deepening of the concept of security (Buzan and Hansen, 2009), realism has kept its dominant stance in ISS. This situation is far from being inconsequential since realism is part of the collective memory and self-definition of international actors, academics and politicians alike. By giving "answers" to great power politics, realism "does not passively reflect the world; it does something to it," mostly through a state-centric and a military conception of security studies (Guzzini, 1998: 227).

The hegemonic paradigm in ISS and its five main components

In order to analyze in detail the hegemonic paradigm, we can divide it into 5 main components: ethnocentrism, epistemology and normative stance, ontology, theory, and methodology/method. Theses five components are a mix of what Steve Smith (1996) and Macleod and O'Meara (2010) consider as the main criteria for evaluating a scientific article in IR.

The first component of the hegemonic paradigm concerns ethnocentricity. According to Buzan and Hansen, ISS "grew out of debates over how to protect the state against external and internal threats after the Second World War," mostly in an American realist perspective (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 8).[xviii] Positivism, or more accurately, empiricist epistemology, composes the second element of the hegemonic paradigm in ISS. The positivist turn in American social science in the 1950s pushed realist scholars to adopt a more scientific approach to IR which affected its epistemology, normativity and methodology (Smith, 1996; 2002; Guzzini 1998).[xix] Besides being concerned with "the real world", research projects need to "make a specific contribution to an identifiable scholarly literature by increasing our collective ability to construct verified scientific explanations of some aspect of the world" (King *et al*., 1994: 15). This epistemological stance greatly influences the third component of the hegemonic paradigm in ISS, namely its state-centric ontology and military conception of security. As Stephen Walt said in defense of this traditionalist point of view, ISS should remain "the study of the threat, use, and control of military force" (Walt, 1991: 212). The tendency towards viewing the

nation-state as the sole referent object of security, and as a way to understand security in exclusively military terms, has been criticized by numerous authors.[xx] However, there is still a preference for realist, liberal and conventional constructivist research programs (Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner, 1999).[xxi] This theoretical triangle is the fourth component of the hegemonic paradigm in ISS. Despite the "constructivist turn" documented mostly in the end of the 1990s, most IR theories are attached to a positivist epistemology with a clear preference for quantitative, formal methods and empiric case studies (Sprinz and Wolinska-Nahmias, 2004). Nonetheless, qualitative methodologies, such as sociohistorical approaches, discourse analysis or deconstruction, have forged their own path in the last three decades.

Even though what unites the advocates of the hegemonic paradigm varies greatly, we can summarize the literature by highlighting five main components of the hegemonic paradigm in ISS, which will constitute the points of departure for our analysis:

1. ISS is considered ethnocentric: not only are American authors and journals predominant but this discipline is generally seen as being primarily concerned with issues related to U.S. interests.
2. The hegemonic paradigm promotes a positivist epistemology which includes four criteria: (1) the possibility to study social science issues in the same manner as natural phenomena; (2) the clear distinction between (objective) facts and (subjective) values; (3) the belief that the social world presents regularities that can be uncovered and explained with theories; and (4) the view that neutral facts are essential in order to determine the truth of a statement (empiricist epistemology).[xxii]
3. In its ontology, ISS is seen as relations of cooperation and conflict between unitary and rational states, which seek to maximize their national interest. It also adopts a predominantly materialist ontology centering on the nation-states. The state interest *par excellence* is considered to be its own security from military threats.
4. The main debate is between realism, liberalism and, to a lesser extent, constructivism. Other theories, especially those that do not adopt a positivist approach to science, are consistently marginalized.[xxiii]
5. The positivist bias of IR limits methodology to empiric case studies, formal models and quantitative approaches.[xxiv]

METHOD

As already stated, our aim is to determine the extent to which components of the hegemonic paradigm are present in *International Security*, and if so, which ones, and in what ways, does this situation evolve over time. It is important to note that the objective of this paper is not to prove whether the paradigm is indeed hegemonic. This would require a much more extensive study (TRIP Project, 2009; Tickner and Waever, 2009). This longitudinal content analysis will demonstrate how a journal – seen as a "producer"

of intellectual output – participates in the production of knowledge and, in this specific case study of *International Security*, how it contributes to maintaining or altering the hegemonic paradigm in the field of ISS. As explained earlier, *International Security* constitutes an ideal measure of the discipline, as it has consistently been ranked among the five most influential journals in IR since the 1990s. Other prominent journals in ISS such as *Security Dialogue, Journal of Strategic Studies* and *Security Studies* have also scored high on the impact factor.[xxv] Nonetheless, *International Security* remains the most influential journal targeting the niche of ISS.

Article selection

Four volumes were randomly selected for longitudinal content analysis. In order to grasp the evolution of the journal through time, it was deemed necessary to select one volume for each complete decade since the founding of the journal in 1976 (hence the exclusion of the 2010s). In this manner, the following volumes were examined: Vol. 1 (1976-1977), Vol. 7 (1982-1983), Vol. 19 (1994-1995) and Vol. 31 (2006-2007). There were four issues for each volume. The content of all articles, conference papers and responses was coded, using a systematic content analysis. The only items excluded were review essays and commentaries. A total of 111 articles were coded, distributed in the following way: 36 articles in Vol. 1; 33 articles in Vol. 7; 21 articles in Vol. 19; and 21 articles in Vol. 31 (see table 1).

Table 1. Number of articles, by journal issue, by volume

Volume (year)	No.	Number of articles
1 (1976-1977)	1	9
	2	9
	3	10
	4	8
7 (1982-1983)	1	9
	2	9
	3	8
	4	7
19 (1994-1995)	1	6
	2	5
	3	5
	4	5
31 (2006-2007)	1	5
	2	5
	3	5
	4	6

Criteria for analysis

The five components of the hegemonic paradigm described in section 1 were broken down for this content analysis (see table 2). First, we coded the *American ethnocentrism* on three dimensions: (1) the authors' affiliation to an American organization (vs. attached to an organization outside the U.S.);[xxvi] (2) the main topic concerns American politics or policies (vs. no explicit concern); and (3) a preoccupation with American interests (vs. no explicit preoccupation).

       Second, we examined the *positivist epistemology* with four elements: (1) the adherence to the four criteria of positivism (vs. non- or post-positivism);[xxvii] (2) the purpose of analysis is to explain and/or predict (vs. interpret and constitute); (3) the formulation of policy recommendations in order to solve what are seen as IR problems (vs. no explicit policy recommendation); and (4) the absence of a reflexive process (vs. reflexive process).[xxviii]

       Third, we measured three elements within the *materialist ontology*: (1) whether or not the ontological basis is materialist or idealist;[xxix] (2) if the state remains the only unit of analysis and referent object of security or the deepening concept which includes other actors; and (3) either security is defined in military terms or the widening idea that also considers the economic, environmental, societal, and/or political dimensions.

       Fourth, we verified the *predominance of mainstream theories* by centering on two elements: (1) the theoretical framework which employs realism, liberalism or mainstream constructivism (vs. other theories such as critical theory, postmodernism, and so forth);[xxx] and (2) the presence of a strategy of dominance such as marginalization, distortion or cooptation of alternative theories and approaches (vs. absence of such a strategy).[xxxi]

       The coding was completed by classifying *methodology* and *method* into two elements: (1) the type of method used was quantitative analysis, empirical case studies or formal models (vs. all others such as discourse analysis, deconstruction, qualitative and interpretative methods, socio-historical approach, and so forth); and (2) recourse to mathematics and/or statistics (vs. purely qualitative approaches).

Table 2. Selected criteria of content analysis

U.S. Ethno-centrism	Epistemology and Normative Stance	Ontology	Theory	Methodology and Method
Author's affiliation U.S./outside U.S.	Status of science Positivism / non- or post-positivism	Ontological basis Materialism / Idealism	Theoretical framework Mainstream IR theories (realism, liberalism, constructivism) vs. other theories	Method Quantitative analysis and formal models vs. all others (esp. qualitative)
Main topic Concerns American politics and/or policy? (Y/N)	Purpose of analysis Explain and/or predict vs. constitute	Unit of analysis Includes other actors beside the State? (Y/N) Which ones? Deepens the concept of security to include other actors/referents objects? (Y/N) Which ones?	Strategies of dominance Marginalization, distortion or cooptation of alternative theories and approaches? (Y/N)	Quantitative research Recourse to mathematics and/or statistics? (Y/N)
U.S. oriented Explicit preoccupation with U.S. politics or interests? (Y/N)	Policy recommendations Explicit policy recommendations? (Y/N)	Dimensions of security Widens the concept to include other dimensions than military? (Y/N) Which ones?		
	Reflexivity Explicit reflexive process? (Y/N)			

Content analysis

Since it was not possible to classify the articles with specific keywords and phrases, no content analysis software was used. The coding instrument asked each author to classify all articles using the criteria described above. We read and categorized all the articles according to our own thought processes.[xxxii] We first analyzed separately the articles, and then compared and discussed our results. Every time there was a disagreement, we deliberated and clarified the point until we reached a consensus. The reconciled data set reflects the final judgment of each data point. It might seem ironic to use a systematic content analysis as a methodology to critique a journal for promoting the hegemonic paradigm. We do not pretend to be completely outside of this paradigm as we are aware that this article reproduces hegemonic narratives. For example, the three authors decided to write this article in English, even though all of them are based in a French-speaking university. However, even if our results are mainly quantitative, most of them are driven by an interpretative analysis – where there is an inherent subjectivity in our results.
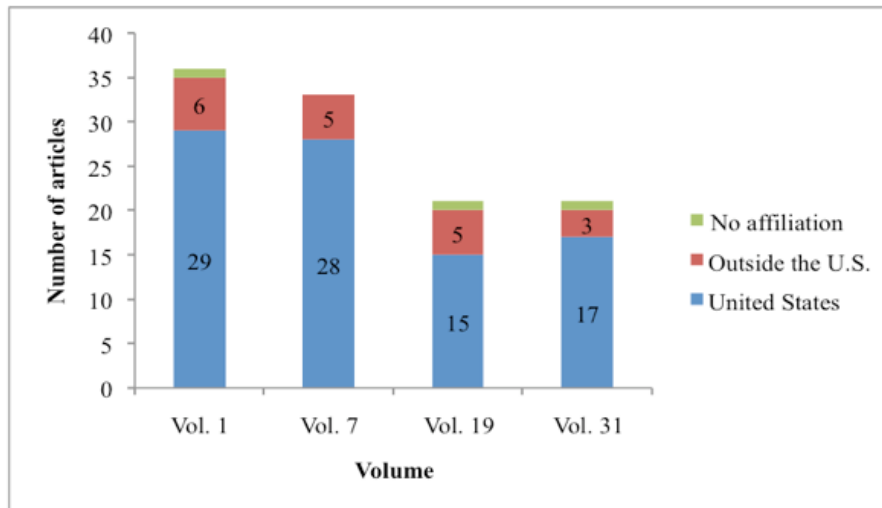
FINDINGS

Each of the five components of the hegemonic paradigm, as seen in the journal *International Security*, will now be discussed, with a particular emphasis on continuities and ruptures. A discussion on the objectives and ambitions of the journal with regards to the hegemonic paradigm in ISS will then close this section.

IR is ethnocentric and US-dominated

The first characteristic of the hegemonic paradigm to verify is whether *International Security* is ethnocentric and U.S.-dominated.[xxxiii] To help us understand what we mean by American interest in the hegemonic paradigm in ISS, it is useful to immediately point out what the type of article sought by *International Security*. Articles published in the journal fall into four broad categories: policy, theory, history and technology. According to their website, the journal is "more likely to publish an article on the future of U.S.-European relations or the prospects for peace in the twenty-first century than one on civil-military relations in a small country" (FAQ - *International Security* Website, 2013). Furthermore, the idiosyncrasy of the realist tradition in security studies, i.e. the emphasis on *high politics*, seems to prevail in the guidance to the authors who wish to submit a paper.[xxxiv] *International Security* excludes analysis that could be more relevant to the Third World, defining "serious policy issues" or progress in Western terms (Reus-Smit and Duncal, 2010: 27). As shown in chart 1, there is a clear prevalence of authors from U.S. universities and organizations. The proportion of authors affiliated with an American university or organization[xxxv] is relatively stable at around 85% throughout the period, despite a slight decrease in volume 19 to 75%.

Chart 1: Author's Affiliation

In addition, most of the authors that are not affiliated with American universities and organizations are from Western countries. Of the 19 authors that are affiliated with an organization outside the U.S., ten come from Europe (mostly France and Great Britain), two from Australia, and one from Canada. Outside the West, only four countries are represented, all from Asia (Japan, South Korea, India and Singapore). It should be noted that this ethnocentrism is not only present in the individual author's affiliation. The journal's scientific committee has consistently been comprised of mainly American scholars, even though the number of members has tripled between 1980 and 2000. In 2006-2007, the committee membership was 86% American. All others were affiliated with universities from Great Britain or Germany.

This American ethnocentrism is nevertheless not so evident if we look closer into research topics. Throughout the years, there is a significant decrease in the number of articles that exclusively concentrate on U.S. politics. While 14 articles (38%) in the first volume deal only with U.S. politics and interests, volumes 19 and 31 respectively contain 0 and 1 such articles. However, this is not to say that other articles do not include an explicit preoccupation with American politics and security. In fact, 69% of articles related their research topic to American interests. Mainly, the articles relate to American interests by studying a country (for example, the USSR or Japan) or region (for example, the Middle East) and including an explicit statement about how this is relevant to U.S. foreign policy. In sum, the focus of the journal went from dealing exclusively with U.S. politics and interests to a more nuanced and international conception of security. Furthermore, it is important to note that only 6 out of 111 articles in *International Security* deal with African issues[xxxvi] even though an increased number of inter-state and intra-state conflicts occurred on this continent and have resulted in important *United Nations* (UN) and regional peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions (Durch, 2006).
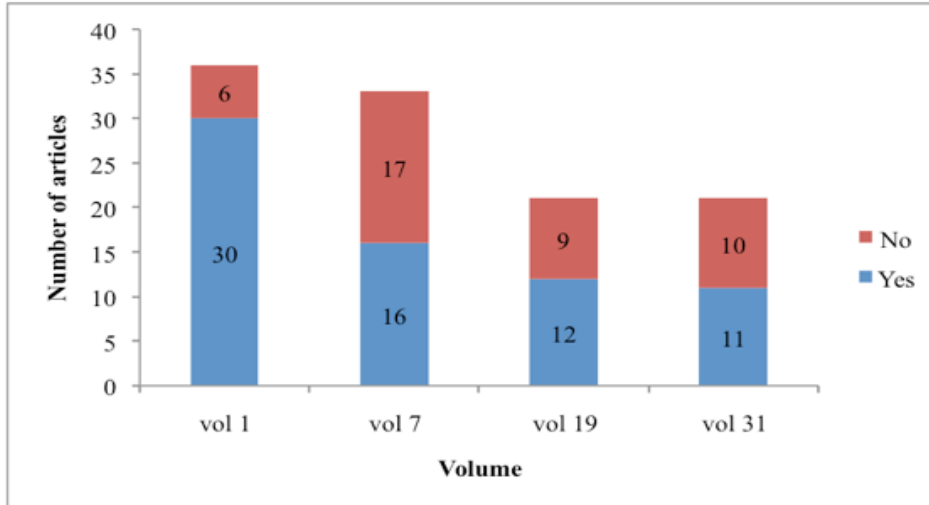
In brief, *International Security* contributes to ISS ethnocentrism by giving a prominent place to American authors who discuss American politics and national interests. Even though one can argue that American dominance is understandable in US-based journals, the selection does represent a "missed opportunity" for a more pluralistic IR discipline (Breuning, Bredehoft and Walton, 2005: 456).

Positivist epistemology

The second characteristic of the hegemonic paradigm is the predominance of a positivist epistemology. Here we refer to Cox's distinction between *problem-solving theory* and *critical theory* in which the first one is based on the *ceteris paribus* assumption (Cox, 1986: 208). [xxxvii] Therefore, policy recommendations are better suited to an epistemological stance that accepts the parameters of the present order and do not seek to challenge it.[xxxviii] From a theoretical standpoint, *International Security* publishes articles "that propose, test, refine, or apply theories of international relations that are relevant to the use, threat, and control of force". In practical terms, the articles studied clearly favor positivism rather than post-positivism or non-positivism. A typical analysis under study considered international actors as rational in the sense that they seek the best means to maximize their ends. Furthermore, the purpose of analyzing all the articles was to explain and predict. Constitutive theory, which aims to understand the process of knowledge production, is entirely absent from the four volumes of *International Security*.
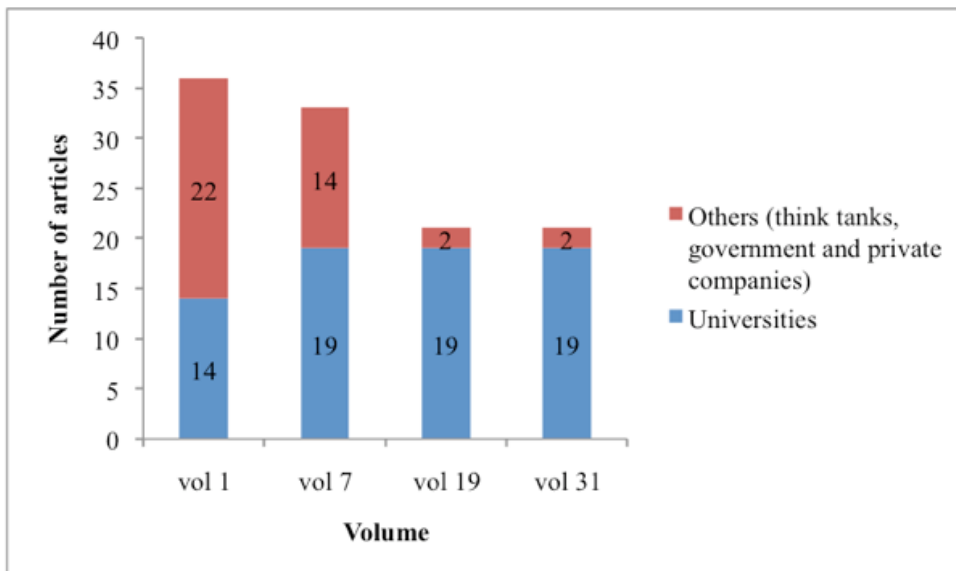
The authors being studied do not limit their analysis to explanation: more than 60% of all articles also have explicit policy recommendations. As shown in Chart 2, this tendency to prescribe policies to decision-makers tends to decrease with time. In the first volume, 83% of all articles formulate policy recommendations, while the proportion goes down to 52% in volume 31.

Chart 2: Prescription of explicit policy recommendations

This may be a result of an incremental change in the authors' profession. As shown on Chart 3, there is an increase in the publication of articles written by scholars as compared to policymakers, bureaucrats or think tank researchers. While 38% of authors come from academic circles in the first volume, this number goes up to more than 90% in volumes 19 and 31.

Chart 3: Occupation of authors

To continue on the positivist epistemology, it is remarkable that almost all articles avoid an explicit reflexive process and make a clear, albeit implicit, distinction between facts and values. In this perspective, facts are considered neutral and scientific knowledge is seen as being independent from values. In *International Security*, most of the authors (92% of all articles) do not explicitly state their normative stance. This statistic has been constant throughout the period in question.
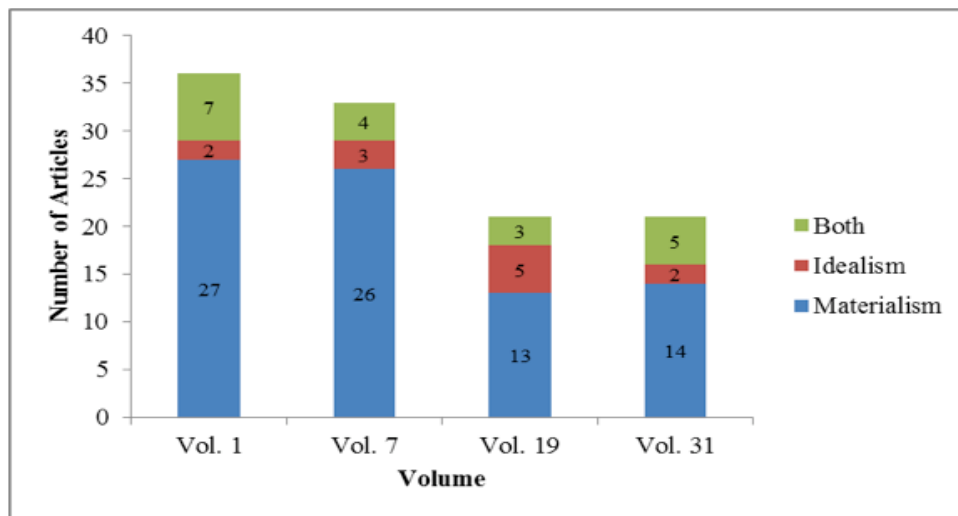
With these results, little doubt remains whether or not *International Security* promotes a positivist epistemology. This may be partially explained by the pragmatic purpose of the journal, which is applied learning (Miller, 2001).

Predominance of a Materialist Ontology

To verify the third hypothesis, it was necessary to determine whether or not *International Security* promotes a materialist ontology; narrows its understanding of IR to relations of cooperation and conflict between nation-states; and limits security to its military dimension.[xxxix] In fact, we agree, "traditional preoccupations with great power politics and technology remain independently strong" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 254).[xl]
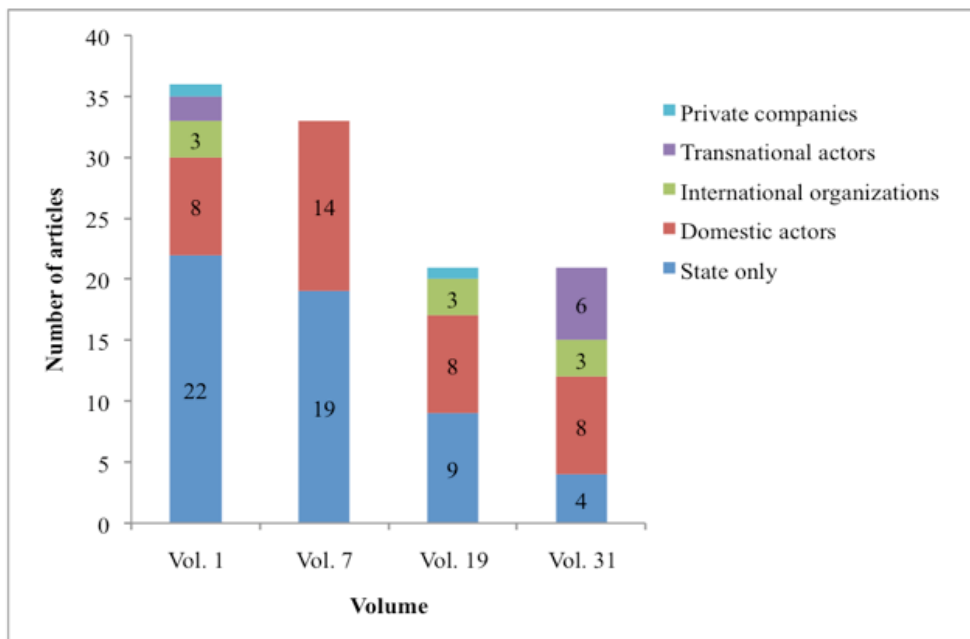
The analysis shows that most of the articles (72%) under study adopt a materialist ontology, which means that they take for granted that social reality pre-exists our efforts to understand it. Another 17% do not adopt a clear ontological stance and prefer to play on both sides of the materialism/idealism spectrum. As seen on Chart 4, it appears that the idealist ontology was slightly predominant (24%) in volume 19 with many articles adopting a relatively critical view of ISS. For example, Owen criticizes the democratic peace theory (Owen, 1994) while Johnston proposes a new way to conceptualize strategic culture in relation to state behavior (Johnston, 1995). However, volume 31 reasserts the prevalence of a materialist ontology in *International Security*.

Chart 4: Predominance of Materialist Ontology

Approaches to security focusing on nation-states have long dominated ISS in two senses: even today, the main unit of analysis is generally the sovereign state (mostly great powers) and the state's interest *par excellence* is considered to be security from military threats. However, as seen in Chart 5, this characteristic of the hegemonic paradigm seems to be changing. There has been an important increase in the number of sub-national and supranational variables that can be qualified as a rupture in the ISS hegemonic paradigm.

Chart 5: Changes in Main Units of Analysis

In the first volume, the traditional conception was predominant: 61% of articles considered nation-states as the only actors relevant to ISS. Despite the dominance of this traditional conception of the international system, we noticed a timid opening to non-state actors, even in the very first volume of *International Security*. For instance, Rosenbaum (1977) predicts the future importance of non-state threats by stating that nuclear terrorism will constitute an important political and social problem in the decades to come.

From volume 19 onward, it is apparent articles taking non-state actors into account have outnumbered those that solely considered sovereign states. After the Cold War, the popularization of theories such as liberalism, conventional constructivism and neoclassical realism, as well as foreign policy approaches like bureaucratic and decision-making process analysis, challenged the conception of the state as a "black box" and as the only important actor of the international system. All of these theories have in common the postulate that the actions of a state in the international system can be partially explained by domestic variables (bureaucracies, decision-makers and social actors), or that they can be constrained by formal or informal international institutions (treaties, norms, organizations, and so forth). In volume 31, for example, preoccupations

about the "war on terrorism" prompted the authors to consider terrorists as important actors in the international system (Cronin, 2006; Kydd and Walter, 2006; Abrahms, 2006; Byman, 2006; De Nevers, 2007). There is thus a clear tendency toward diversification of what constitutes a threat to security.

However, this is not to say that the state has lost its predominance as the referent object of security in IR. Although many articles discuss non-state threats to security, the object of this security remains the state. Indeed, all articles are primarily concerned with the security of the state except for two articles in volume 31 – one considering the security of individuals and another briefly discussing societal security.
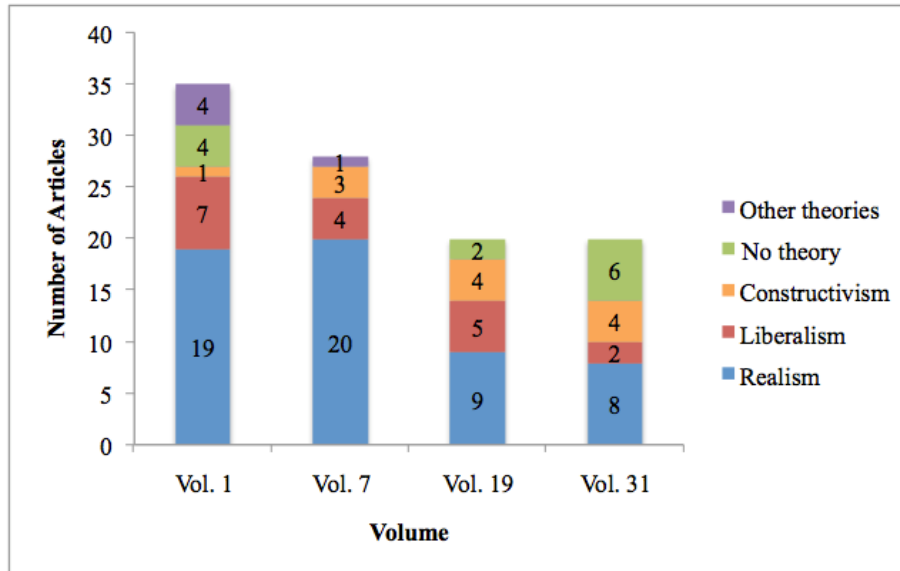
In addition, the state interest *par excellence* is considered to be security from military threats. Throughout the period under review, the predominance of military security is remarkable. Ninety-five percent of studied articles explicitly or implicitly postulate that the main threat to security are foreign militaries and that the ultimate way to solve a security problem is the use of military capabilities by nation-states (especially great powers). Only six articles widen the concept of security and they are dispersed among the volumes analyzed: three articles discuss economic security (Bucy, 1977; Knorr, 1977; Okita, 1982); one deals with environmental and demographical security (Rosenau, 1976); another addresses ideological security (Moreton, 1982); and finally, one considers environmental security (Homer-Dixon, 1994).

In conclusion, there is a diversification in the actors of security: domestic, international and transnational actors are depicted more and more as playing a significant role in the international system. However, we note that the referent object of security remains the state. Even the articles that treat nontraditional dimensions of security – such as environmental scarcity, child soldiers or warlordism – discuss these issues in relation to the security of the state. Therefore, by mainly studying the threat and control of military force, *International Security* ultimately privileges the position of the rational state in the international system.

Domination of mainstream theories

The fourth hypothesis concerns the predominance of the three mainstream theories (realism, liberalism and constructivism) at the expense of critical theories (Critical theory, postmodernism, postcolonial theory, and so forth). [xli] Of the 103 articles, Chart 6 demonstrates how *International Security* published mainly articles using mainstream theories.

Chart 6: Predominance of Mainstream Theories

More than half (54%) of all articles employed a variant of realism, while liberalism and constructivism respectively account for 17% and 11% of articles. We gathered under the terms "other theories" all articles that do not employ mainstream theories but that favored other rationalist theories such as neoconservatism (Schlesinger, 1976; Rosenbaum, 1977), peace studies theory (Singer, 1976), English School (Bull, 1976), and so forth. Furthermore, a few articles such as Brodie (1976), Quester (1976) and Byman (2006) did not employ any specific theory.[xlii] In conclusion, there is no clear diversification in the theories employed over the period in question. *International Studies* continues to publish mainly articles associated with realism, liberalism and mainstream constructivism.

In addition to the theories employed in the articles, special attention has been paid to the presence or absence of strategies of dominance: marginalization, distortion and cooptation. It is important to note that by highlighting these strategies, we are not inferring any conscious intent on the part of individual authors. Moreover, although it is sometimes hard to determine whether or not a strategy is present, in many cases this presence was made clear by the analysis. Volume 19, in particular, contained numerous articles using marginalization, distortion or cooptation.[xliii] This is hardly surprising, since the Cold War marked the beginning of widespread questioning of dominant theories and traditional approaches. In this context, it can be argued that the hegemonic paradigm faced greater challenges in this period and, therefore, needed recourse to these strategies to remain predominant.
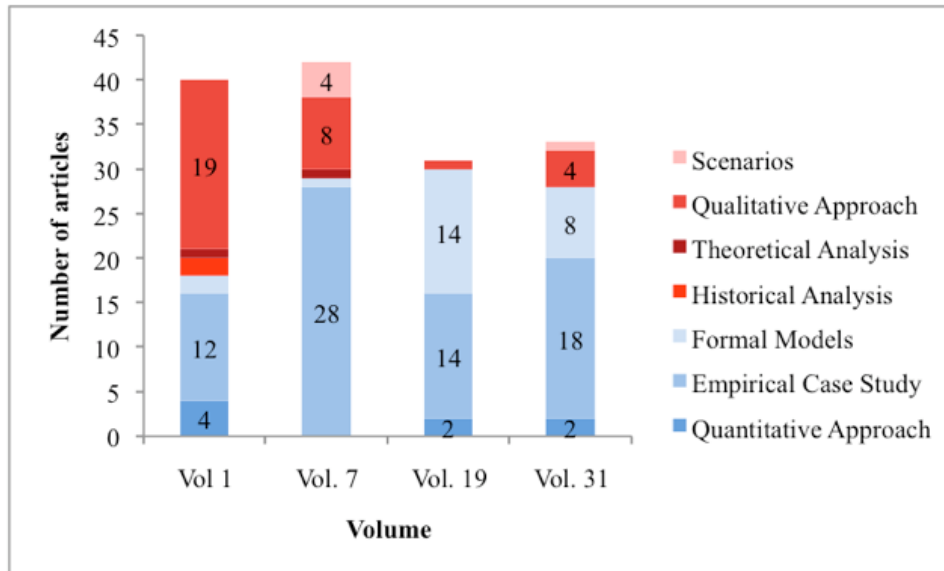
The marginalization of alternative theories is, of course, the most difficult strategy to assess because it involves characterizing an absence as a *silencing*. However, the proportion of theoretical approaches as seen in Chart 6 – and the total absence of critical or "peripheral" theories – speaks volumes. The strategy of distortion was mainly present in the second issue of volume 19, which was dedicated to democratic peace theory. In this issue, only one article supports this theory, while two others criticize and ridicule it (Layne, 1994; Spiro, 1994). Both authors conclude that realism is superior in explaining and predicting the states' actions. Cooptation has also been found in the articles, mostly by incorporating constructivist ideas into neoclassical realism research. For example, against realism's detractors after the end of the Cold war, William C. Wohlforth (1994-95) argues that by seizing subnational variables, such as beliefs and ideas, realism can account for change in terms of power.

Besides the popularization of neoclassical realism, there has also been a multiplication of articles using mainstream constructivism. Indeed, four articles in volume 19 and another four in volume 31 use constructivism. Two authors adopted constructivist variables in a predominantly realist perspective of world politics, which may indicate a cooptation strategy.[xliv] From this perspective, it appears that not only does *International Security* convey mainstream theories; it also gives space to strategies which participate in perpetuating the hegemonic paradigm's dominance in the ISS discipline.

Limitation of methodology and methods to empirical case studies, formal models and quantitative analysis

The last hypothesis concerns the limitation of methodology to empirical case studies, formal models and quantitative analysis. As shown in Chart 7, *International Security* does indeed favor the three main methods that are part of the hegemonic paradigm.[xlv] Over time, the proportion of methods employed which are associated with the hegemonic paradigm (indicated by the blue portion of the chart) has increased at the expense of other methods i.e. scenarios, qualitative approaches, theoretical and historical approaches (as represented in the red portion of the chart). While almost half of the methods employed in the first volume were associated with the hegemonic paradigm (45%), the proportion is higher in volumes 7 (69%), 19 (97%) and 31 (85%).

Chart 7: Predominance of Hegemonic Paradigm Methods

As Stephen Walt once stated, "to put it bluntly, if reliance on formal methods becomes the sine qua non of "scientific" inquiry, then scholars who do not use them will eventually be marginalized within their respective fields" (Walt, 1999: 14). Chart 7 illustrates this insight. In fact, since the publication's first issue, formal models (rational choice theory, game theory, and so forth) have increased while qualitative approaches have diminished. However, it is surprising that only 13% of all articles studied employ statistics or mathematical models as a means of analysis. This runs contrary to both the hegemonic paradigm approach to IR and the study led by Sprinz and Wolinska-Nahmias (2004) cited above.

Comparing the findings with the journal's principals

Since it is perilous to criticize a journal for aims that are not explicitly expressed by current and past editors, contextualizing our previous findings is imperative. In the foreword to the first issue of *International Security* in 1976, the founding editors, Paul Doty, Albert Carnesale and Michael Natcht shared their vision and the role that they hoped the journal would play:

> We view international security as embracing *all of those factors*, which have a direct bearing on the structure of the nation state system and the sovereignty of its members, with particular emphasis on the use, threat and control of force. Our goal is to provide timely analyses of these issues through contributions that reflect *diverse points of view and varied professional experiences*. This *interdisciplinary*

>*journal* is offered as a *vehicle for communication among those scholars, scientists, industrialists, military and government officials and members of the public* who bear a continuing concern for this aspect of international life (quoted in Miller, 2001: 7, emphasis added).

These four original objectives have remained constant since the journal's founding, and is demonstrated by the fact that the journal's website still uses similar phrases to describe its mission statement.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that some patterns of the hegemonic paradigm were maintained in the journal. The preponderance of articles that employ a positivist epistemology, a materialist ontology and a limited methodology reflect the aims of a journal prone to publishing generalizations[xlvi] and prescribing policies for decision-makers. Both the authors and editors' narrow view of security, which holds the nation-state as the referent object of security, was borne out by the evidence and reinforced by our reading of the journal's stated objectives. However, our findings show that the journal is also willing to accept a diversification of what constitutes a threat to the nation-state and to consider new sub-national and supranational variables in the current context of globalization. Nonetheless, the ambition of being an interdisciplinary journal that is open to diverse perspectives is not supported by our findings. Not only are authors mostly American, they are also overwhelmingly closely related with the elite of the *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*, the very center that publishes *International Security*. For example, 38% of all authors published in volume 31 were linked to the *Belfer Center* as former/incumbent members of the board of editors or research fellows. This brings us to reformulate Susan Strange's (1982) famous question on IPE: "*Cui bono*" *International Security* i.e. to whom does it benefit?

CONCLUSION

This longitudinal study allowed us to reflect upon the evolution of ISS and discover some of its patterns through the case study of a well-recognized journal, *International Security*. By highlighting to what extent the journal helps in building and maintaining the hegemonic paradigm in ISS, our research verifies these five hypotheses: American ethnocentrism, positivist epistemology, materialist ontology, predominance of mainstream theories, and limitation of methodology.

By promoting most components of the hegemonic paradigm, *International Security* has played a role in limiting the evolution of ISS. This conclusion draws on Waever's assertion that "(t)he politics of security studies is condensed at moments of decision in relation to publication (and oral presentation): about what to write, say and accept for publication, whom to hire and fund, and whom to listen to and cite, decisions made by scholars, policymakers, foundations, journalists and many others" (Waever, 2010: 649).

The non-pluralism of the journal *International Security* can certainly be criticized but important questions remain. Who is ultimately responsible? Is *International Security*

ethnocentrism entirely intentional? Who can help break the hegemonic paradigm? Can *International Security* help promote a new dialogue without changing its mission statement, which has contributed to building its reputation? The "sociological turn" in the field of IR has brought to light new possible lines of introspective inquiry. Different authors have published on the possibilities for a pluralist science of IR. Their work suggests a number of avenues for future research. Possible new approaches may entail redefining the word "science" to include any empirical inquiry (Jackson, 2011); to acknowledge the importance of non-Western contribution to IR and to build a more methodologically inclusive discipline (Tickner, 2003; 2011); to prioritize debate on a disciplinary level rather than solely on the "theory-paradigm level" (Lapid, 2003); to promote a research agenda that is problem-driven, open to all interpretations of events, interdisciplinary and not constrained by methodological and epistemological boundaries (Smith, 2003). As these authors suggest, such changes can occur in different places such as IR departments, ISA conferences and journals.

Keeping its policy-relevant orientation, *International Security* could adopt strategies that help foster a new dialogue by provoking more ruptures in IR. For example, the journal would benefit by being more "international." It could easily diversify the origins of its editors and publish authors that are not affiliated with American universities and organizations. It could also publish issues on specific themes with articles adopting different perspectives. By publishing articles with opposing epistemological viewpoints, *International Security* could redefine the way we see ISS and allow new ideas to emerge. In the short term, it would be desirable to open the debate on the hegemonic paradigm itself. As Miller said: "Traditionalists and challengers have a different attitude toward the location of boundaries for the field and hence different judgments about what is in and what is outside the field" (Miller, 2010: 645).

Finally, further research is needed on the sociology of ISS. In particular, we need to better understand how ISS functions at a macro level and analyze funding patterns, academic networks and practices, citation methods, hierarchies among scholars and the widespread ranking of journals (Waever, 2010: 650; Buzan and Hansen, 2010: 662). A comparative analysis with other important journals in the field like *Security Dialogue* and *Journal of Peace Research* could solidify some of our findings about the hegemonic paradigm in ISS. Micro level analysis, in turn, could elucidate how scholars choose the journals in which they prefer to publish. Such research should give more insight into the institutionalization of the discipline and help to explain the factors or processes shaping: research, boundaries, and the development of ISS.

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Notes

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[i] The analysis of the *TRIP Survey Report* partially echoes the conclusions of Waever who predicted a decade earlier: "a slow shift from a pattern with only one professional and coherent national market – the US, and the rest of the world more or less peripheral or disconnected – toward a relative American abdication and larger academic communities forming around their own independent cores in Europe" (Waever, 1998: 726).

[ii] We will use the term ISS as in Buzan and Hansen (2009). This umbrella label includes the academic work on international security, security studies, strategic studies and peace research.

[iii] *International Security* has consistently been ranked among the five most influential journals in IR since the 1990s by various research and organizations – such as *Science Watch,* the *2009 TRIP Survey Report,* the *Thomson Reuters Journal Citation,* and the *Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.* With an Impact Factor of 2,739, *International Security* ranks first in Military Studies (Google Scholar Metrics, 2013) and second in International Relations (Thomson Reuters Journal Citation Reports, 2012). The acceptance rate of the journal varies from year to year, but it is usually 5 to 10 percent. According to their website, *International Security* publishes 20 to 25 articles among the 300 manuscripts they receive each year. If we compared with other international journals publishing articles on war and peace, *International Security* is considered much more influential. For instance, *Security Dialogue* ranks 12/82 in International Relations and has an impact factor of 1,612 (Thomson Reuters Journal Citation Reports, 2012) while the *Journal of Peace Research* ranks 6/82 in International Relations and 6/157 in Political Science with an Impact Factor of 2,191 (Journal Citation Reports Thomson Reuters, 2013).

[iv] According to Buzan and Hansen (2009), five driving forces are behind the evolution of ISS: great power politics (mostly the United States after the Second World War), technology (the threat of nuclear weapons), key events (the Cuban crisis, NATO), internal dynamics of academic debates and institutionalization (journals, conferences, think tanks). The interplay of these forces explains both the continuities and transformations of ISS.

[v] For another view on the history of *International Security* and the evolution of ISS, see Miller (2001).

[vi] For example, journals focusing on the niche of ISS tend to publish more politically relevant research while IR journals focus more on theories. Waever asserts: "(t)he sociology of international security studies clearly differs from the sociology of international relations" (Waever, 2010:655).

[vii] ISS and International Political Economy (IPE) are the two main specialties of IR but there exist others such as International Law, European/EU studies, Asia-Pacific studies, development studies and terrorism studies (Kristensen, 2012: 43).

[viii] More than 20 years ago, an article written by Joseph Nye and Sean M. Lynn-Jones (1988) in *International Security* highlighted the gap in IR literature about the intellectual history of ISS. See also *The Evolution of International Security Studies* by Buzan and Hansen (2009) and the debate surrounding this book in *Security Dialogue* (2010).

[ix] Kalevi Holsti highlighted a few years later the American ethnocentrism of political science by showing that most of the academic literature in IR was produced in the United States. American authors account for 74% of all articles in his study (Holsti, 1985: 79).

xx "The pattern is clear: American publish in journals cited everywhere, whereas others publish in journals cited mainly at home. (…) Even for non-Americans, the road to fame goes via American journals, that is, via adaptation to the concerns of US academia" (Goldmann, 1995: 251).

xi Waltz later admitted that his main objective, while writing *Theory of International Politics* (Waltz, 1979), was to "develop a more rigorous theory of international politics than earlier realists had done" (Waltz, 1986, 322). Instead of Kuhn's theory of paradigm shift, some scholars prefer Imre Lakatos's concept of "research program" (Lakatos, 1970). This is precisely what Keohane did in his research programme based on the inconsistencies of realism (Keohane, 1986). See also (Vasquez, 1998; 2003).

xii Beyond Copenhagen School's securitization framework (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998), some critical approaches analyze – with a Foucaultian reading – security and insecurity phenomena through professionals and practitioners (Bigo, 1996; Huysmans, 1998).

xiii Remembering that IR theory remained fundamentally incarcerated in the positivist-realist framework in the 1990s, George stresses that it characterizes the understanding of the world "out there" in the 1940s and 1950s (Jim George, 1994: 14).

xiv According to the realist tradition, the concept of security includes: "(…) the state as the referent object, the use of force as the central concern, external threats as the primary ones, the politics of security as engagement with radical dangers and the adoption of emergency measures, and it studies security through positivist, rationalist epistemologies" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 21).

xv It should be noted that scholars do not agree on these "great debates". For instance, Wilson (1998) argues that the first debate never took place as the different positions largely ignored each other. Waever (1996; 2011), on his side, suggested the existence of a fourth inter-paradigm debate in the 70s between realism, liberalism and Marxist theories. Even if the scholars don't agree, "(…) ask an IR scholar to present the discipline in fifteen minutes, and most likely you will get a story of three great debates" (Waever, 1998: 715). The three great debates in IR usually oppose in chronological order "realists and idealists", "realists versus behaviourists" and "rationalists and reflectivists". As for the "rationalist" research program, a neo-neo synthesis between realism and liberalism occurred during the 1980s. See also (Keohane, 1988; Lapid, 1989; Waever, 1996).

xvi Thereby, realist strategic studies have had a significant impact on the development of ISS. Addressing the "the Waltzian legacy" for students of IR, foreign policy, security studies and politics, Ken Booth thinks that realism and critical theory are inseparable. According to Booth "To argue that structural realism offers a powerful picture of international politics, and that all serious students must engage with it, is certainly not the same as endorsing it; it is, rather, to argue that we must know why ideas are powerful, take its agenda seriously (…)" (Booth, 2011: 9).

xvii According to Lene Hansen the question of identity has been present since the inception of the IR field. She affirms that it was present in classical IR scholarship such as that of E. H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Waltz (Hansen, 2006: 2-3).

xviii Like IR itself, "ISS is mainly a Western subject, largely done in North America, Europe and Australia with all of the Western-centrisms that this entails" (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 1).

xix As Steve Smith pointed out a decade ago: positivism's dominance of the discipline has been, and continues to be, so great that it has come to be seen as almost common sense (Smith, 1996: 38).

xx For example, the Copenhagen School is known to have "widened" and "deepened" the concept of security (Buzan, 1991; Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998). Since then, other approaches have gone beyond the Copenhagen School. Steve Smith (2005) mentions Constructivist security studies (Katzenstein (ed), 1996; Adler and Barnett, 1998), Critical security studies (Krause and Williams (ed), 1997; Booth (ed),

1991, 2005; Wyn Jones (ed), 2001), Feminist security studies (Enloe, 1990; Tickner, 1992), and Poststructuralist Security Studies (Campbell, 1998; Hansen, 2006). In sum, it is important to remember that security became "a slippery term" (McSweeney, 1999) and a "contested concept" (Smith, 2005) in IR and in ISS.

[xxi] In a special edition of *International Organization*, the "hegemonic paradigm" was redefined in the 1990's with the addition of conventional constructivism, which emphasizes identity and international norms (Katzenstein, Keohane, Krasner, 1999: 38).

[xxii] In practical terms, few authors today adopt such a rigid positivist approach. Nevertheless, "positivism (…]is seen not merely as one explicit alternative among many but rather as the implicit gold standard against which all approaches are evaluated" (Smith, 1996: 13). On the opposite side, non-positivist theories argue that social objects are ontologically different from natural phenomena and, therefore, cannot be studied by the same means and methods. As for post-positivist approaches, they (1) reject the possibility of neutral observation and of the separation of the researcher from his or her object of research; (2) they believe that the world is socially constructed and that it cannot be studied as a natural phenomenon; (3) they defend the importance of theoretical reflexivity or self-awareness regarding one's underlying premises, norms and personal values and their impact on research and knowledge construction. See Macleod (2010a: 13-14).

[xxiii] Outside mainstream theories and at the margins of the discipline, we include feminism, Marxism, poststructuralism/postmodernism, neogramscian approaches, postcolonial theory and Critical theory.

[xxiv] Other methodologies, such as qualitative and interpretative methods, socio-historical approaches, discourse analysis and deconstruction are considered as peripheral if not insignificant. By limiting the methodology, the hegemonic paradigm directs scholars to ask certain questions and not others. For non-quantitative approaches to security see also (Campbell, 1998; Bigo, 1996; Hansen, 2006; Huysmans, 1998).

[xxv] It is important to note that many IR journals publish extensively on the subfield of ISS as shown in Russett and Arnold (2010). Among the ones that publish exclusively in ISS, between 1999 and 2008, *International Security* had an impact factor of 2.824; Security Studies scored 1.024; Security Dialogue, 0.800; and Journal of Strategic Studies, 0.370 (Russett and Arnold, 2010: 591). Developed by Eugene Garfield (1955), the Impact Factor is a tool used to calculate a ratio between citations and recent citable items published.

[xxvi] Because some articles had more than one author, we have considered as non-US-affiliated all articles that contained at a minimum one author who had affiliations to universities outside of the U.S.

[xxvii] Non-positivism and post-positivism adopt a different approach to science. In essence, non-positivist theories (such as the English school) argue that social objects are ontologically different from natural phenomena and, therefore, cannot be studied by the same means and methods. Post-positivist approaches (such as postmodernism and postcolonial theory) (1) reject the possibility of neutral observation and of the separation of the researcher from his or her object of research, (2) believe that the world is socially constructed and that it cannot be studied as a natural phenomenon, (3) defend the importance of theoretical reflexivity or self-awareness regarding one's underlying premises, norms and personal values and their impact on research and knowledge construction (Macleod and O'Meara, 2010: 14-15)

[xxviii] For a more detailed account of reflexivity in IR theory see Neufeld (1995).

[xxix] An article was interpreted as "materialist" if material elements were considered predominant in the explanatory model. On the opposite end, it was considered "idealist" if non-material elements (such as beliefs, values, perceptions, and so forth) were predominant in the explanatory model. Because some articles considered both material and ideal elements to be equally important, these were considered "both materialist and idealist."

xxx Because most authors did not explicitly state their theoretical framework, it was necessary to infer theory, mainly from the level of analysis privileged and the concepts used in the article. Of course, this process – inferring a theory from one's own understanding of the theory and of the article – is highly perilous and debatable. To circumvent this hurdle, the authors have used the criteria proposed in Macleod and O'Meara (2010) to classify texts according to their use of theory. Furthermore, because the object of study is the hegemonic paradigm in ISS, all foreign and domestic policy theories were excluded from this part of the analysis.

xxxi Macleod (2010) argues that the paradigm stays predominant by resorting to three main strategies. The first is the marginalization or silencing of alternative approaches to security and to IR. The second strategy, called distortion, consists of caricaturing alternative theoretical approaches in order to ridicule them. The third strategy is cooptation or appropriation, which consists in seizing disparate elements from alternative theories, in other words, to adapt the more secondary elements of the theory in order to consolidate its core.

xxxii Because most articles did not clearly state their epistemological, ontological and even methodological stance, it was sometimes hard to classify them. We didn't take into account the reputation of the author. We concentrated our analysis toward the content of the article. In addition, the quasi absence of an explicit theoretical stance led to several inconsistencies. For example, some articles, which clearly adopted a neorealist approach, (as seen in the importance of relative power in the anarchic structure of IR) also took for granted the malevolent and aggressive nature of the USSR.

xxxiii Outside the U.S., numerous scholars criticized intellectual boundaries in IR and ISS. But, in light of the overwhelming preponderance of American authors and academic production, these "transgressions" are not considered as undermining the hegemonic paradigm (Smith, 2002; Tickner and Waever, 2009).

xxxiv "We are interested in serious analyses of contemporary security policy issues, theoretical and conceptual issues in security studies, and historical questions related to war and peace. We define "security" broadly to include issues related to the causes, conduct, and consequences of wars" (FAQ - *International Security* website, 2013).

xxxv Three authors had no institutional affiliation and were considered neither US-affiliated nor non-US-affiliated.

xxxvi Among these articles, Menkhaus (2006) deals with governance in Somalia, Vera and Reich (2006) discuss child soldiers, while Atzili (2006) only skims over the African issues with a case study of the Congo. North American scholars wrote all of these articles.

xxxvii Problem-solving theory takes the world as it finds it, with the prevailing social and power relationships and the institutions into which they are organized, as the given framework for action. While critical theory stands apart from the prevailing order of the world and asks how that order came about (Cox, 1986 : 208).

xxxviii In continuity with the first characteristic of the hegemonic paradigm in ISS, again we can quote Cox: "The perspective of different historical periods favor one or the other kind of theory. Periods of apparent stability of fixity of power relations favor the problem-solving approach. The Cold War was one such period" (Cox, 1986: 210).

xxxix According to the FAQS on *International Security*, the journal encourages analyses of contemporary security policy issues and analyses of the scientific and technological dimensions of international security.

xl The authors say the ongoing debate about U.S. grand strategy dating from the 1990s is much less concerned with terrorism than with the thoroughly traditional fixation on the balance of power and the possible rise of great power challengers to the U.S., principally China and the EU. Great power politics could easily return to dominate the security agenda (Buzan and Hansen, 2009: 254-55).

[xli] Because this research concerns the hegemonic paradigm of ISS, all foreign policy or domestic politics theories were excluded from this section. Therefore, the statistics presented in this section exclude the 8 articles that used theories of foreign policy or domestic politics (mainly bureaucratic and decision-making process analysis).

[xlii] These articles were either reviewing or abstaining from debates within ISS or else prescribing policies on security issues with no clear theoretical stance.

[xliii] See for example, Layne (1994), Mearsheimer, (1994) and Owen (1994).

[xliv] For example, see Atzili (2006-2007) and de Nevers (2007).

[xlv] The number of methods employed exceeds the number of articles because authors often use more than one method.

[xlvi] See, for example, the generalizations of the Democratic peace theory (Owen, 1994) or the concept of irrationality for a state such as USSR (German, 1976) or terrorist groups (Abrahms, 2006).