

Who publishes where? Exploring the geographic diversity of global IR journals

Mathis Lohaus

Freie Universität Berlin

Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar

Freie Universität Berlin

This is a pre-copyedited, author-produced version of an article accepted for publication in *International Studies Review* following peer review. The version of record is available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/isr/viaa062>. Author contact: mathis.lohaus@fu-berlin.de

Abstract: To what extent is International Relations (IR) a globalized discipline? We investigate the geographic diversity of authorship in 17 IR journals from Africa, East Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America, and the United Kingdom. Biographical records were collected for the authors of 2362 articles published between 2011 and 2015. To interpret the data, we discuss how publishing patterns are driven by author incentives (supply) in tandem with editorial preferences and strategies (demand). Our main findings are twofold. First, global IR is fragmented and provincial. All journals frequently publish works by authors located in their own region – but the size of these local clusters varies. Geographic diversity is highest in what we identify as the “goldilocks zone” of international publishing: English-language journals that are globally visible but not so competitive that North American authors crowd out other contributions. Second, IR is being globalized through researcher mobility. Many scholars have moved to pursue their doctoral education and then publish as expats, returnees, or part of the diaspora. They are joined by academic tourists publishing in regions to which they have no obvious ties. IR journals thus feature more diverse backgrounds than it may seem at first sight, but many of these authors were educated in North America, the United Kingdom, and Europe.

Acknowledgments: WWV developed the research design and managed the data collection. ML conducted the analyses and was the lead author. The authors thank Frank Havemann, Jochen Gläser, Thomas Risse, Takahiro Yamada, Sho Akahoshi, the participants at the 2019 meeting of the Japanese Association for International Relations, and the ISR editors as well as the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments. Olivia Ding provided crucial research assistance. Special thanks to Mike Tierney, Eric Parajon, and the whole TRIP project for generously helping with data and methods. Moreover, the authors are grateful to the International Relations scholars who provided background information about journals and academic communities. This research was funded by grant RI 798/11-1 (2016-2020) from the German Research Foundation (DFG).

Introduction

A lively debate is ongoing about “global IR,” sometimes also referred to as International Relations “beyond the West.” Many scholars have raised conceptual, normative, and/or empirical points regarding the structure and practices of International Relations research around the world (Inayatullah and Blaney 2004; Tickner and Wæver 2009). Many contributors to the debate compare *what* is researched and published: Can one identify non-Western theories of IR (Acharya and Buzan 2007)? Which substantive issues are studied, using which methods, in which parts of the world (Tickner, Wæver 2009; Tickner and Blaney 2012)? The TRIP project has polled researchers to gain insights into their practices and identities (Wemheuer-Vogelaar, Bell, Navarrete Morales, and Tierney 2016; Maliniak, Peterson, Powers, and Tierney 2018).

A crucial but often overlooked step, however, is to investigate patterns in the authorship of IR research. We focus on the geographic location of authors as a key measure of diversity. Critical scholars of global IR often discuss issues such as dominance, gatekeeping, and the marginalization of authors located in the “periphery” (Tickner 2013; Turton 2016). Others may not see geographic diversity as *normatively* desirable per se. From this point of view, American and Eurocentric biases in the discipline amount to a *quality* problem: by including a wider range of perspectives on world politics, IR theorizing and empirical research could be improved (Hobson 2012; Lake 2016).

Our work contributes to the empirical side of the debate. To analyze how much diversity there is in the discipline, we start with a straightforward question: *whose work is published where?* Journal publications are crucial for participation in the IR discipline. Yet acquiring systematic data on (the lack of) geographic diversity in IR authorship is a challenge. Information is particularly scarce for the “non-dominant and non-privileged parts of the world” (Wæver and Tickner 2009, 1). Even the most thorough empirical analyses (e.g., Kristensen 2015) lack information on journals outside the Web of Science (WoS).¹ We address this gap by analyzing a new set of authorship data for 17 journals from Africa, East Asia, Europe, Latin America, North America, and the United Kingdom. The dataset includes biographical records for 2362 research articles published between 2011 and 2015, thus providing a more comprehensive picture of the discipline.

Building on the descriptive data, we explore why geographic diversity varies between journals. The literature on global IR as well as the sociology of science yields several expectations about

¹ Web of Science was maintained by Thomson Reuters until 2016. Since then, it is run by Clarivate Analytics. Its core collection gathers metadata on 18,000 journals, with 3,200 forming the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI).

journal authorship. This can be understood as a two-way process, in which authors select to which journal they submit (supply side), and journals select authors for publication (demand side). As supply-side factors, we consider language barriers as well as the professional incentives for authors; they submit to journals relevant for their career development, which often means English-language outlets visible in the Web of Science. On the demand side, we expect editor and reviewer preferences to be most compatible with authors working or educated in the same region as the journal. At the same time, editors can take steps to encourage diversity. These expectations guide our analysis of the authorship data, which is corroborated by interviews with scholars from different IR communities.

Our main results are twofold. First, IR research around the globe is fragmented and provincial. Within our sample, few authors publish in journals from separate parts of the world. While English-language outlets share authors among themselves, those publishing in other languages and outside of the Web of Science are more isolated. Typically, authors located in the same world region as the journal are responsible for the largest share of articles; yet the size of these local clusters varies. Next to local-language journals, *International Organization* and *International Studies Quarterly* are among the least geographically diverse. As expected, language and career incentives seem to be driving this pattern. Diversity is highest in the *goldilocks zone* of journals that are globally visible but not so much that North Americans crowd out other contributors.

Second, researcher mobility contributes to the globalization of IR research. This becomes evident by comparing the locations of each author's undergraduate degree, doctorate, and professional affiliation at the time of publication. In addition to the many *locals* in each journal, we identify four more types of authors. Individuals that migrated for their doctoral education or career frequently publish as *expats*, *returnees*, or part of the *diaspora*. They are joined by academic *tourists* publishing in regions to which they have no obvious biographical ties. These highly mobile authors often hold doctorates from North America, the United Kingdom, and Europe. Thus, IR journals feature more diverse backgrounds than it may seem at first sight – but many authors were educated in what some call the discipline's core countries.

In the next section, we discuss the literature on global IR and novelty of our contribution. The following part is used to develop heuristic expectations about the supply and demand of journal publishing. A short section on data and methods follows. The empirical analysis proceeds in three steps. We first construct a network of IR authors derived from articles published in 17 journals between 2011 and 2015. Then, we compare authorship composition across journals,

covering geographic locations, links to top-ranked institutions, and the authors' level of experience. Researcher mobility is then analyzed in detail by tracing the geographic locations of undergraduate education, doctoral degrees, and professional affiliations. We conclude with brief remarks on practical implications and ideas for future research.

Global IR: Lively debate, limited empirical analysis

The nature and direction of International Relations has been the subject of lively debate ever since Hoffmann called International Relations an "American Social Science" (Hoffmann 1977). For the sake of brevity, consider two broad narratives. The first concerns the alleged dominance of the United States. Several studies found that US scholars account for a large share of IR research output, particularly when it comes to theory-building. They thus have a strong institutional position, paired with a tendency to reference each other's works rather than research produced outside of the United States (Wæver 1998; Biersteker 2009; Turton 2016). Results from the global TRIP survey show that US scholars enjoy a high status in the eyes of their peers from other regions: "US universities train a disproportionately high percentage of IR scholars worldwide, and US scholars and journals command significant respect" (Maliniak, Peterson, Powers, et al. 2018). At the same time, the discipline is stratified *within* the core. Researchers at top institutions in the United States publish many more articles in top journals than their peers in other parts of the country (Kristensen 2015). Likewise, the "Anglo" sphere of global IR is not homogeneous. Cox and Nossal (2009) identify many differences between the UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in terms of university departments, professors' research interests, scholarly associations, and journals.

A second strand of the global IR debate is focused on diversity. Because the context of knowledge production shapes research outputs, IR is neither uniformly globalized nor purely local (Agnew 2007; Wæver, Tickner 2009). Acharya has called for a global approach that "urges the IR community to look past the American and Western dominance of the field and embrace greater diversity, especially by recognizing the places, roles, and contributions of 'non-Western' peoples and societies" (Acharya 2016). This echoes the earlier question why there is no "non-Western" IR theory, pointing to Asia as a potential source of new developments (Acharya, Buzan 2007, 2017).

Many contributors to the global IR debate agree that diversity is *normatively desirable*. If International Relations research is meant to address issues across the world, including a wide range of voices becomes a matter of fair representation. However, we contend that authorship patterns are worth studying even if one does not subscribe to that position, because diversity

matters for the *quality* of IR research. Lake (2016) argues that researchers' experiences shape their intuitions and theoretical reasoning. Others explore in detail how American cognitive frames and biases shape what is being studied and the accuracy of analysis in IR research (Colgan 2019). This echoes debates about Eurocentrism in theories about world politics (Hobson 2012).

Similar to feminist insights on standpoint theory (Harding 1991, 2015), scholars of global IR argue that authors' geographical location shapes their research, which is sometimes referred to as "geo-epistemology" (Canaparo 2009; Wæver, Tickner 2009; Wemheuer-Vogelaar and Peters 2016). While the notion of diversity includes many facets such as age, ethnicity or gender, our analysis focuses on geography as a broad measure of biographical background. Increasing geographic diversity thus serves to broaden our intellectual perspective: "The different intuitions carried by now-under-represented scholars will expose previously hidden assumptions, provoke new insights, provide inspiration for new theories, and likely produce new hypotheses that help identify new empirical regularities. We will all know more about international politics if we create a more diverse community of scholars" (Lake 2016).

Empirical research on global IR often consists of case studies for various parts of the world (Tickner, Wæver 2009; Tickner, Blaney 2012; Peters and Wemheuer-Vogelaar 2016). Some IR scholars have drawn on the sociology of science. Hagmann and Biersteker investigate how International Relations is being taught in American and European graduate programs (Hagmann and Biersteker 2014). Kristensen analyzes articles from journals included in the Web of Science, exploring the geographical concentration among US authors as well as theoretical and methodological paradigms in research articles (Kristensen 2015, 2016, 2018). Seabrooke and Young identify different parts of International Political Economy (IPE) scholarship, looking at both publications and teaching (Seabrooke and Young 2017). Multiple authors investigate how theory is constructed, drawing on survey data and software-guided content analysis (Wemheuer-Vogelaar, Bell, Navarrete Morales, et al. 2016; Saideman 2018; Maliniak, Peterson, Powers, et al. 2018; Whyte 2019).

Yet surprisingly few studies have investigated geographic diversity in IR by means of journal authorship.² One notable exception is Wæver's (1998) "comparative sociology" of IR. He maps

² Authorship diversity is key in research on the role of gender and ethnicity. According to recent analyses, women are underrepresented in political science and IR journals – see Teele and Thelen (2017); Djupe, Smith, and Sokhey (2019); König and Ropers (2018). Female authors also appear to be cited less frequently, although controlling for all relevant factors is difficult – see Maliniak, Powers, and Walter (2013); Zigerell (2015). Analyses of reading lists and syllabi find evidence of a bias against female authors – see Phull, Ciflikli, and Meibauer (2018); Colgan

the authors for eight IR journals at six points in time between 1970 and 1995 according to their country of residency. This sample of American, British, and European “leading journals” turns out to be almost exclusively populated by authors from these regions, with very few from the rest of the world (Wæver 1998). A recent study confirms the high frequency of US authors in *International Organization* and *International Studies Quarterly*, while also showing that English-language outlets from East Asia and Europe appear more diverse (Gläser and Aman 2017, 1481–83). Still, these inquiries are limited to journals that are accessible through aggregated indices. Ironically, blind spots remain in exactly those spaces that the global IR debate urges us to consider. Only by (also) investigating the scholarship published outside of the Web of Science can we come closer to a full picture of *global IR*.

Expectations about supply, demand, and authorship diversity

Our approach combines the concepts developed in the global IR debate with a macro-comparative empirical perspective inspired by the sociology of science. We expect the composition of authorship to differ in meaningful ways between IR journals. Geography matters in terms of educational background – particularly the source of the author’s doctoral degree – and professional affiliation at the time of publication. While scholarly journals are open to contributions from anywhere, we expect a strong correlation between journal location and the authors’ educational and professional background (cf. Wæver, Tickner 2009). This can be understood as a two-way selection process: authors select journals for submission (supply side), and journals select authors for publication (demand side).

On the supply side, social norms and professional incentives matter. Language is an obvious factor: while English is IR’s lingua franca, many researchers work in their primary language either by default or on purpose.³ Research communities differ in how much emphasis is put on publications in the local language, which is directly related to broader questions of prestige. Visibility in national or regional debates may be paramount for some researchers, whereas others are keen to publish in journals with a global audience. Professional incentives are a crucial determinant when it comes to choosing a journal. Researchers seeking tenure in the United States need publications in highly ranked journals, and such requirements seem to

(2017); Knight (2019). Other scholars study race in IR theory and in the (American) academy – see Vincent (1982); Krishna (2001); Zvobgo and Loken (2020).

³ Vale (2014) criticizes the pressure to publish in English as exclusionary for non-native speakers; Albert and Zürn (2013) fear that such monoculture will stifle lively debates in the local language; D’Aoust (2012) illustrates the importance of language for sociology of science by drawing on the example of Franco-Canadian IR. Based on TRIP survey data, Wemheuer-Vogelaar and Risse (2018) find that the vast majority German IR researchers work in at least one other language but that many (also) publish in German.

become stricter over time (Warren 2019). Likewise, scholars in other world regions are increasingly assessed in terms of research output, with peer-reviewed articles in prestigious journals as primary indicator. Ministerial and university bureaucracies in countries as different as Brazil, France, Italy, Japan, Mexico, or the United Kingdom all have similar approaches: they use formal or informal rankings of journal prestige to assess academic output.⁴ This creates pressure to publish in certain journals, prioritizing those highly ranked in the Web of Science or similar indices (Vessuri, Guédon, and Cetto 2014; Gläser and Laudel 2016; Jensenius, Htun, Samuels, Singer, Lawrence, and Chwe 2018).

Why, then, do authors publish in “non-mainstream” journals that are *not* indexed by Web of Science or Scopus? Of course, a large number of journals excluded by the major publishing indices may be important and highly regarded in their sub-fields; yet overall they are less visible at the international level (Chavarro, Tang, and Ràfols 2017, 1666). Such “non-mainstream” journals fulfill specific functions: they can be used as training grounds for early-career researchers, as bridges between national audiences and global ideas, and as venues to discuss issues not covered in the mainstream (Chavarro, Tang, Ràfols 2017). Scholars may value visibility in the eyes of national and regional peers higher than the potential international audience. While all researchers face some form of incentives or pressure, the details differ between groups (Friedrichs and Wæver 2009; Turton 2016; Alejandro 2019).

On the demand side, peer review is the key selection mechanism. Editors and reviewers act as gatekeepers (Turton 2016). Peer review is intended as a measure of quality control that draws on pre-defined research standards. Yet the global IR debate emphasizes that peer review also involves preferences. Journal editors and reviewers may prefer works that resemble their own in terms of methods, theories, or subject matter. As a result, each journal puts a premium on certain modes of research, making it easier for individuals with the corresponding socialization and training to publish their work (cf. Leeds, Tickner, Wight, and Alba-Ulloa 2019). Lake applies this logic to IR in the United States:

“The topics that are appropriate for study and the approaches that seem sensible and reasonable are guided by the intuitions of the existing gatekeepers, creating a self-reinforcing community standard. (...) There is, I

⁴ National journal rankings are produced, for example, by CAPES in Brazil, CNRS in France, ANVUR in Italy, or SNI in Mexico. In other countries, such as Canada, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, or the United States, the central government does not produce official journal rankings. Still, peer-reviewed publications in internationally visible publications are highly valued by external reviewers when it comes to hiring decisions and grant applications (interviews #1 to #10).

want to emphasize, nothing nefarious about this gatekeeping process or its effects. Gatekeepers are rarely self-conscious in their biases and even less, I believe, intentional in their exclusionary practices. It is just that standards about what constitutes “good work” are shaped by our intuitions and, in turn, life experiences that are themselves shaped by and reflect various ascriptive characteristics.” (Lake 2016)

These actions may be deliberate or subconscious; results may be driven by editors, reviewers, authors, or combinations thereof. Some scholars of global IR emphasize that biases within “core” journals disadvantage outsiders, and that they are particularly challenging for minority groups (Tickner 2013). However, there is no theoretical reason why white men in the United States – the group on which Lake (2016) focuses – should be the only ones preferring work that matches their own intuitions. If the preference for familiar work is universal among gatekeepers, we should expect large local clusters in journals *everywhere*, with different insiders and outsiders depending on the case.

At the same time, some journals might pursue strategies to increase diversity in their authorship. According to a study involving interviews with leading journal editors, such efforts are commonplace (Turton 2016). Editors can, for instance, circulate calls for papers among a wide range of potential authors. These may include offers of support for language editing and translations to assist non-native speakers. Some journals routinely point reviewers to potential biases that they should avoid (Jackson, Powers, Peterson, and Tierney 2020). Note that this can work in two directions: editors might try to help previously underrepresented groups gain more exposure, or to elevate the journal’s prestige by attracting well-known contributors. Such efforts could partially counter the structural effects and path dependency described above.

In sum, the literature yields the following expectations about how supply and demand interact, resulting in varying degrees of authorship diversity:

- 1) Journals receive and publish many articles from authors based in the same region.
- 2) Journals often publish works by authors educated in the respective region, because this shared background increases the compatibility with reviewer preferences.
- 3) Non-English journals are relatively homogenous due to the language barrier.
- 4) Non-English journals often feature early-career authors who use them for training.⁵

⁵ Without data on article contents, this is the only aspect discussed by Chavarro, Tang, and Ràfols (2017) that we can explore.

- 5) English-language and highly ranked journals publish more works by authors from well-regarded national backgrounds and/or top-ranked institutions.
- 6) Editorial teams can take measures to increase authorship diversity.

Of course, supply and demand are intertwined. *International Studies Quarterly* disclosed that 70 percent of articles accepted in 2013-2014 were from the United States, but this is also where 55 percent of submissions originated (Nexon 2016). Similar data for the other journals in the sample would make it possible to assess to what extent the final selection of articles mirrors the initial submissions. Since we lack this information, our approach is limited to analyzing publication outcomes. With this limitation in mind, authorship patterns provide valuable insights into International Relations research around the world. Our paper updates and expands previous efforts (Wæver 1998; Friedrichs, Wæver 2009). Evidence on authorship diversity matters for the discipline's self-perception and the normative debates about global IR. It could also inform choices made by journal editors, reviewers, and authors.

Data on IR authorship around the world

We investigate the authorship patterns of 17 scholarly journals that publish International Relations research. Journals are the appropriate unit of analysis because they represent “the most direct measure of the discipline itself” (Wæver 1998) and serve as channels of communication within and, potentially, between communities (Gläser, Aman 2017). Case selection is based on three factors: community size according to the 2014 TRIP sample, the dominant languages in IR academia, and coverage of many world regions. When feasible, we included one journal published in the respective local language and one published in English.

The resulting sample encompasses six journals from East Asia, three from Latin America, three from North America, three from Continental Europe, one from the United Kingdom, and one from Africa. This list includes four general political science journals, for which we selected only the works identifiable as IR. Our analysis covers the articles published in the five years from 2011 to 2015 (except for Taiwanese *Wenti yu Yanjiu*, for which only 2011-2012 was accessible). We thus investigate a snapshot of IR authorship in a five-year period, not trends over decades. This is due to a need for manually coded information (see below), making the data collection resource- and time-intensive. Owing to the snapshot character of the data, we do not capture the authors' full publishing activity over time.

Our dataset covers 2362 IR research articles published in the selected journals and period.⁶ Because 28 percent of articles are co-authored, the data comprise 3195 sets of authorship information: names, ranks, and institutional affiliations of all authors at the time of publication. We extracted this information from the articles or other parts of the journal issue (e.g., lists of contributors), relying on the print versions in some cases. This leads to 2540 authors who published in one or multiple journals in our sample. It could be interesting to explore how co-authorship relates to geographic diversity, but conclusions are difficult to draw without more information on how individual authors contributed to each article. While co-authorship is more frequent in some journals than in others, teams of authors from different world regions are quite rare across the board (see section A in the supplementary material). That is why we do not differentiate between solo and collaborative authorship records in the following analysis.

In addition, the dataset includes biographical information for each author, tracking when and where they completed the most important steps of their education (bachelor's degree and doctorate). This part of the data collection builds on work done by the TRIP researchers, who generously shared their authorship data on EJIR, IO, and ISQ with us (Maliniak, Peterson, and Tierney 2011). Moreover, we interviewed scholars from different world regions for information on journals and publishing habits (see list of interviews). Web research was conducted by research assistants with language and country knowledge. While most authors provide biographical information on personal and departmental websites or via professional social networks, such data occasionally proved difficult to gather. Affiliation data is available for 97 percent of all authorship records, pointing to 917 different institutions. We also know where and when 81 percent of the authors obtained their doctorate. These 2065 individuals hold doctorates from 462 different institutions. Identifying the origins of undergraduate degrees was more challenging; this data is available for 66 percent of authors, who have degrees from 713 different universities. We did not attempt to gather information on citizenship or ethnicity.

Based on the institutional affiliations and the origins of doctoral degrees, we further track whether authors are linked to top-ranked institutions. This draws on the 2014 TRIP survey results for the global sample, in which IR scholars named the universities with the best PhD programs in the field. We consider an institution top-ranked when it appears among the 100

⁶ The sample excludes articles marked as “controversy”, “essay”, “review” or “book review.” When journal issues contained a “symposium” or other collection of related pieces, we included the substantial articles but excluded short introductions to those sections. For future research, it would be desirable to also consider research monographs published by university presses as well as commercial publishers. Detailed information on each journal is available in section A of the supplementary material.

most frequently named departments. On that list, 44 entries are from the United States, 16 from the United Kingdom, and 8 from Canada. There are two to four entries each for Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, and Switzerland, followed by 10 states with a single institution.⁷

The network(s) of International Relations authors

To analyze the data, we construct a bimodal network that links authors and journals.⁸ In the graph, each author is represented by a small dot. Each journal is marked by its abbreviated name (compare table 1). Authorship is mapped as a bimodal network: no direct links exist between individuals. Instead, authors and journals are linked whenever a researcher has published in a journal. Because *World Economics and Politics* from China published 452 articles between 2011 and 2015, figure 1 shows it surrounded by a much larger cloud of authors than the German *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* with 68. In addition, journals' position in the network graph roughly corresponds to the number of shared authors between them. Beyond this aspect of their relationship, however, the positions are random and do not indicate similarity between authors or journals.

The key measure of a journal's integration into the network is its linkage through multi-journal authors (MJAs), who published in more than one outlet in the sample. The biggest authorship overlaps can be found between IO and ISQ (64 authors), EJIR and RIS (41), and EJIR and ISQ (26). *International Organization*, *International Studies Quarterly*, and the *European Journal of International Relations* are the three top-ranked outlets in our sample, as measured by the TRIP survey of the global IR community (Maliniak, Peterson, Tierney 2011). Between 23 and 39 percent of authors in these top-3 outlets also published an article elsewhere in the sample (see table 1). Only one other journal is equally well integrated into the network: 36 percent of authors in the *Chinese Journal of International Politics* are MJAs. CJIP and the *Review of International Studies* further stand out because they share authors with 11 and 10 other journals, respectively.

Authors in the top-ranked journals as well as RIS and CJIP thus seem well positioned to also publish elsewhere. In contrast, fewer linkages can be found with journals that cater to local communities and publish articles in languages other than English. None of the authors who

⁷ Many thanks to our excellent coders at Freie Universität Berlin, the College of William & Mary, and Kwansai Gakuin University: Nathassia Arrua, Alessia Barbanti, Hannah Berk, Sebastian Breuer, Jack Galloway, Sydney Guo, Valentin Handrick, Gesche Hullmann, Sonia Li, Lixue Lin-Siedler, Yuna Miyoshi, Yusuke Nanase, Sarah Neugebauer, Mariana Paulino, Mingjie Peng, Jonas Richter, Saskia Röhle, and Arianna Talaie. We are grateful to the TRIP team for sharing their data on top-ranked institutions.

⁸ We used R (version 3.6.1) with the *tidyverse* toolkit for data preparation; *igraph* and *vegan* for the network and diversity analysis; *ggplot2* with *ggalt*, *ggalluvial*, and *RColorBrewer* for visualization. See section A of the supplementary material for a simplified network showing journals without individual authors.

published in the Italian RISP show up elsewhere in the sample. Other local journals show a similar pattern, with less than 10 percent of their authors having published in another outlet sampled during the five-year period. The exception is the German ZIB, whose MJA share of 14 percent mainly stems from overlaps with RIS (UK) and the pan-European EJIR. Overall, authors publishing in local-language journals are relatively isolated in our network.

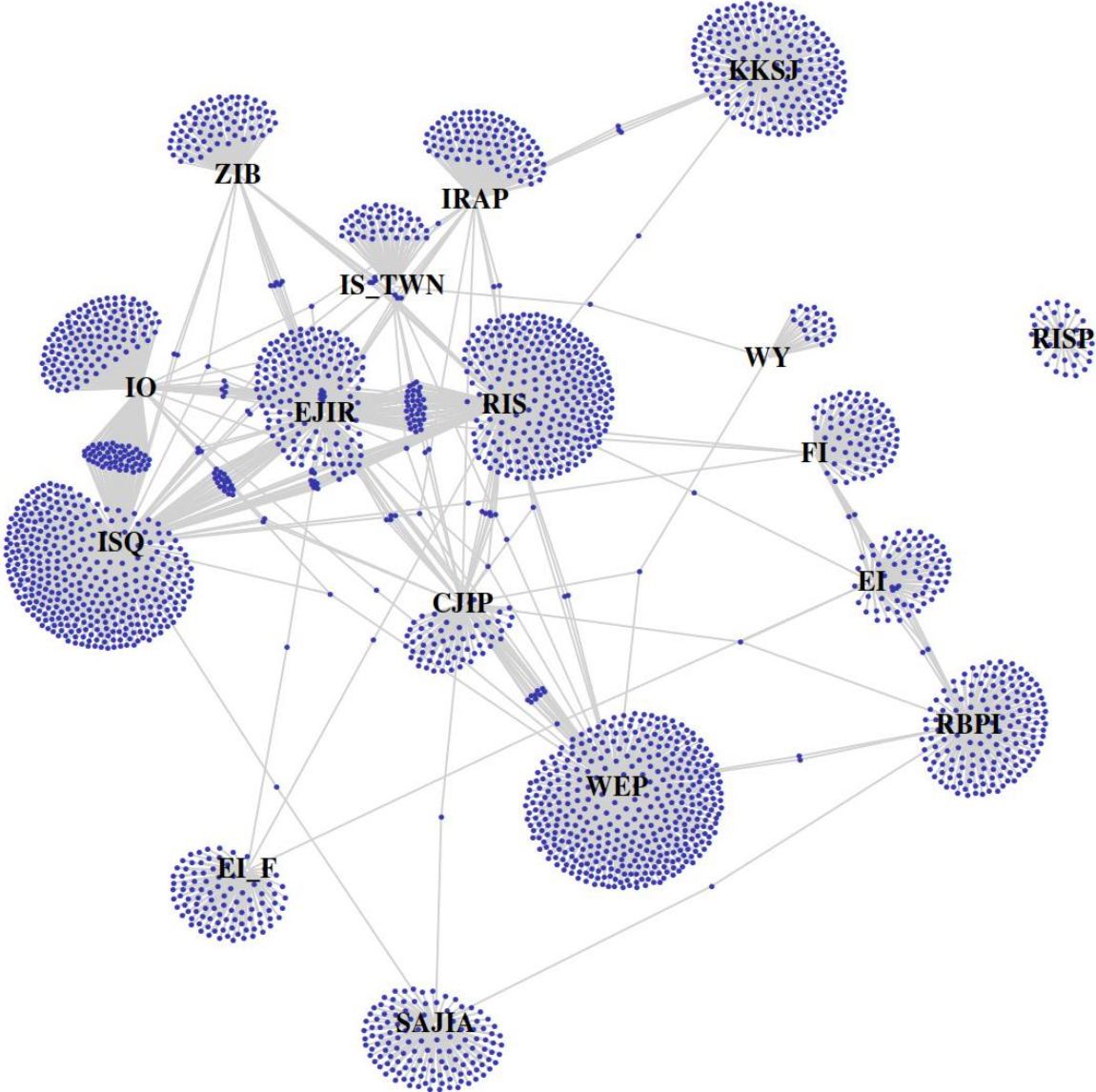


Figure 1: Bimodal network graph of journals and their authors, 2011-2015. The network was drawn with the Fruchterman-Reingold algorithm (2000 iterations, grid turned off, unweighted), which employs a spring-load model to represent closeness between nodes and minimize intersections of edges.

This variation across linguistic boundaries is best illustrated by the East Asian cases. The journals publishing in Japanese and Chinese have MJA shares of 6, 9, and 2 percent, respectively, while their English-language counterparts reach 36, 15, and 14 percent. This does not merely result from ties within the region. Each of the three English-language journals from

East Asia shares authors with 6 to 11 other outlets. This group of journals – and CJIP in particular – thus attracts authors with a more diversified output, at least within our sample.

Overall, however, multi-journal authors are rare. Slightly less than 9 percent of the authors in our sample are MJAs, and less than 1 percent feature in more than two journals. Linguistic diversity is infrequent as well, with merely 2.4 percent of authors having published in more than one language. About 83 percent of the authors in the network have published *one* article in *one* of the journals between 2011 and 2015. This is consistent with other disciplines: few academics consistently publish multiple articles per year (Lotka 1926; de Bellis 2009; Havemann 2016). However, keep in mind that we do not track authors’ output over time. Outside of our snapshot for a five-year period, they may have published more widely.⁹

Looking at the MJAs in more detail, it is noteworthy that they mostly published in the top-3 journals (IO, ISQ, EJIR), either multiple times or in addition to an article in one of the regional journals. During the five years under analysis, a mere 22 of the 220 MJAs have published in journals from different world regions if one excludes the top-3 journals (see section C in the supplementary material for details). With few scholars publishing across regions, the landscape of global IR looks fragmented.

Journal name	WoS	Location & languages	Articles	Unique Authors	MJA %	Journal links	Most overlap
IO: International Organization	Yes	USA: English	136	204	39	7	ISQ 64 EJIR 12
ISQ: International Studies Quarterly	Yes	USA: English	300	450	23	10	IO 64 EJIR 26
EJIR: European Journal of International Relations	Yes	Europe: English	185	228	39	10	RIS 41 ISQ 26
CJIP: Chinese Journal of International Politics	Yes	China: English	80	87	36	11	WEP 13 EJIR 8
WEP: World Economics and Politics	No	China: Chinese	452	414	6	9	CJIP 13 EJIR 4
IS_TWN: Issues and Studies (<i>only IR</i>)	Yes	Taiwan: English	43	53	15	6	-
WY: Wenti yu Yanjiu (<i>only IR, 2011-2012</i>)	No	Taiwan: Chinese	23	23	9	3	-
IRAP: International Relations of the Asia Pacific	Yes	Japan: English	82	108	14	8	EJIR 4

⁹ We split the sample in two halves to check how sensitive our results are to changes in the sampling period. Section B in the supplementary material provides author networks and MJA statistics for both halves. The overall pattern remains stable. We thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this suggestion.

KKSJ: Kokusai Seiji	No	Japan: Japanese	200	199	2	2	-
RIS: Review of International Studies	Yes	UK: English	304	343	20	10	EJIR 41 ISQ 12
ZIB: Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen	No	Germany: German	68	86	14	3	EJIR 6 RIS 4
EI_F: Études Internationales	No	Canada: French	95	99	3	3	-
RISP: Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica (<i>only IR</i>)	No	Italy: Italian, English	19	32	0	0	-
EI: Estudios Internacionales	No	Chile: Spanish	67	76	9	5	-
FI: Foro Internacional (<i>only IR</i>)	No	Mexico: Spanish	79	89	10	5	RBPI 4
RBPI: Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional	Yes	Brazil: English, Spanish, Portuguese	124	166	6	5	FI 4
SAJIA: South African Journal of International Affairs	No	South Africa: English	105	129	2	3	-

Table 1: Journals and authorship. Location is based on the journal's institutional host. For general political science journals, the sample includes only IR articles. 'Most overlap' requires at least four shared authors.

Authorship diversity in comparison

We now shift the focus from individual authors to comparisons between journals. Professional affiliations at the time of publication are a key indicator of how homogeneous the authorship in each journal is. A second aspect of diversity is gained by analyzing the origins of doctoral degrees. Both variables refer to individual institutions such as universities, think tanks, or government entities. To allow for more useful visual representation, we aggregate this information at the level of world regions, treating the UK as a region of its own due to its unique position between Continental European and North American academia (Biersteker 2009).

Figure 2 maps the distribution of professional affiliations per journal authorship. Authorship records in the full sample are spread across world regions, reflecting the wide scope of our case selection. As expected, journal choice strongly correlates with places of work. This includes the top-ranked journals, which lean towards North America and, to a lesser extent, Europe. ZIB and RISP attract German and Italian authors; many Latin Americans publish in FI, EI, and RBPI; more than half of the authors in SAJIA work in (South) Africa; many authors in East Asian

journals have affiliations with the region. Journal authorship is thus tilted towards the respective home region, which usually accounts for the relative and often even the absolute majority.

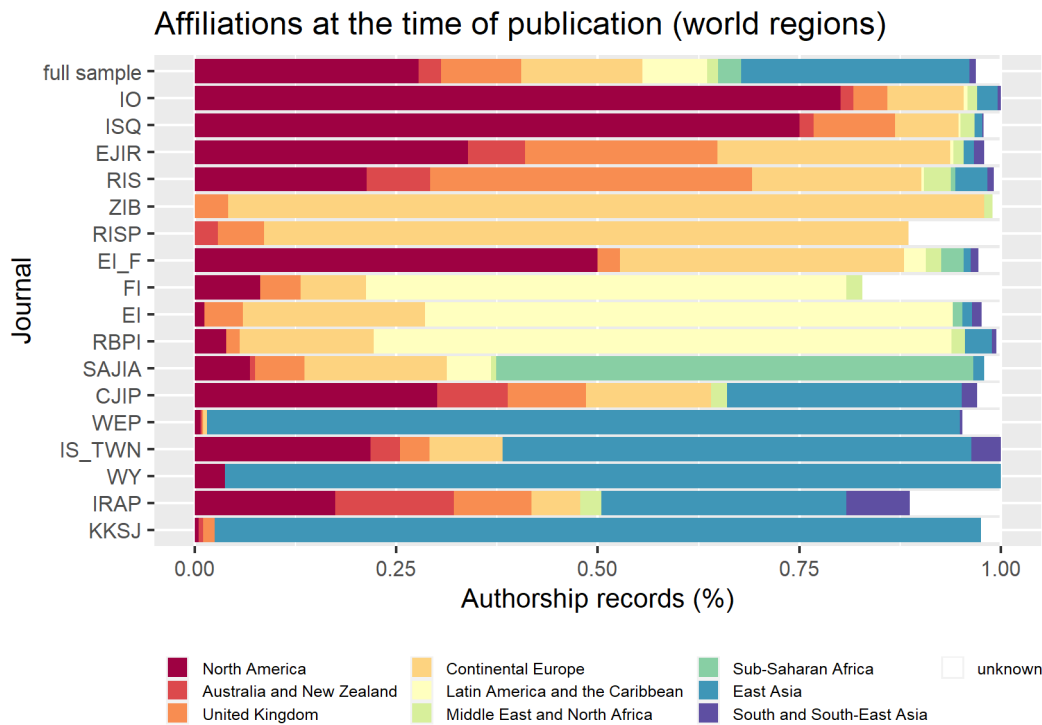


Figure 2: Affiliations at the time of publication. The stacked bar plot displays percentages, which is not meant to imply equal sample sizes (compare table 1). Since the plot is based on authorship records, one person publishing five articles in three journals is treated as five separate data points.

Journal authorship differs in terms of geographic diversity, used here as descriptive term: a distribution in which several world regions feature equally is more diverse than a case of homogeneity or with a large local cluster. This can be expressed using the Shannon diversity index. A score of zero means that all authors share the same characteristics (complete homogeneity), whereas a more balanced distribution among sub-groups leads to higher scores.¹⁰

Figure 3 shows that authorship for the whole sample – in the first row of the graph – is more diverse than for any of the journals. This confirms that the selected journals indeed cover a wide range of communities. Then, journals are listed in descending order based on their diversity in terms of authors’ affiliations. Top positions are held by the English-language journals published in East Asia (IRAP, CJIP, IS), the UK and Europe (RIS, EJIR), and South Africa (SAJIA). Their authorship records are relatively evenly balanced across different regions. The predominantly French-language (EI_F) and Latin American journals (FI, EI, RBPI) are next. The least

¹⁰ This is also known as Shannon-Weaver or Shannon-Weiner index of diversity or entropy. Its maximum value is $\ln(S)$, with S indicating the number of distinct groups; our 9 world regions thus lead to a maximum of 2.2. It was calculated with the ‘vegan’ R package by Oksanen et al. (2019).

affiliation diversity can be found in the US journals (ISQ and IO) and those published in local languages such as Chinese, Japanese, or German. This confirms the prevalence of local clusters.

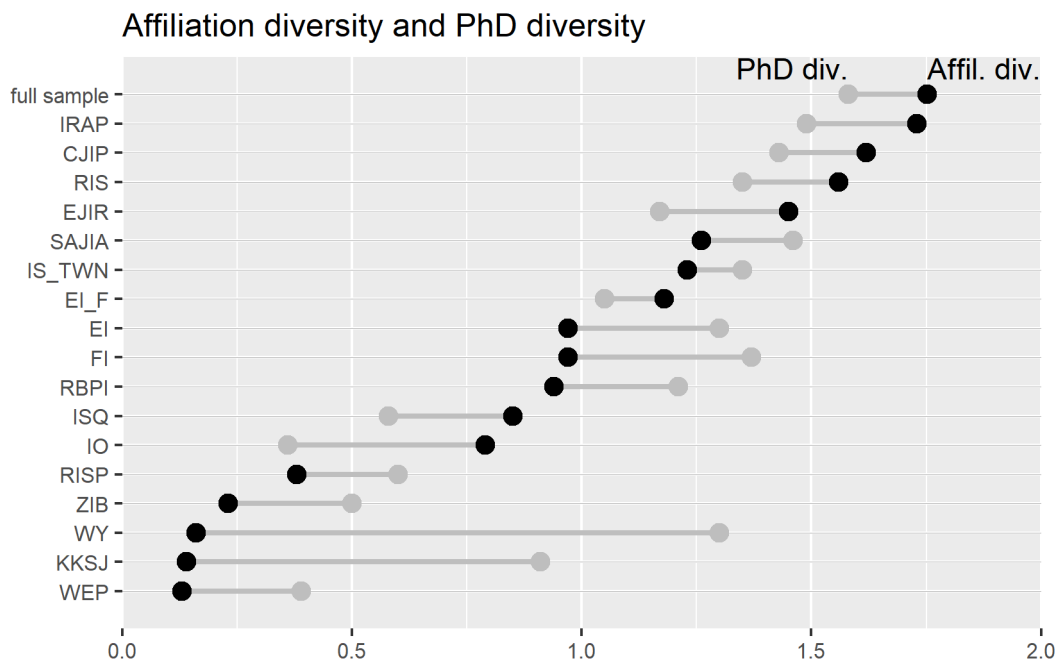


Figure 3: Shannon diversity based on professional affiliations at the time of publication (dark color) and doctorate locations (light color). Higher values indicate more diversity (i.e., when authorship records are distributed across many regions). Observations with missing data were excluded when calculating the Shannon values, leaving us with 97 percent of authorship records for professional affiliations and 81 percent for doctorates. Thus, some uncertainty about actual diversity remains (see section A of the supplementary material).

Having collected biographical data on the authors, we also consider the locations in which authors acquired their doctoral degrees. This reveals even less diversity in top-ranked journals: The lighter markers in figure 3 show that authors in those outlets tend to hold doctoral degrees from a narrower set of regions than their work affiliations. Measured by the origins of doctorates, no journal is less diverse than IO, where almost 90 percent of authors hold doctorates from North America, followed by the UK and Europe. In EJIR and RIS, the gap between doctoral degrees and affiliations points in the same direction but is smaller. Notably, CJIP and IRAP are the most diverse in terms of both affiliations and doctorates, with North America and East Asia accounting for just about half of authorships; the Taiwanese *Issues & Studies* does not quite reach this level of affiliation diversity. In contrast, their local-language counterparts (WEP, KKSJ, WY) feature a very homogenous authorship, albeit with more diversity in terms of doctoral degrees.¹¹

¹¹ See section D of the supplementary material for data on the distribution of doctoral degrees, including a comparison of co- and solo-authored articles that does not reveal major differences.

In addition to geographic diversity, the global IR debate concerns hierarchies among academic institutions. Universities differ in terms of resources and prestige, and such stratification can translate into publication patterns (e.g., Kristensen 2015). To follow up on our expectation that English-language and highly ranked outlets tend to publish works from prestigious backgrounds, we use data from the global TRIP survey. It lists the top-100 universities with the best doctoral programs in International Relations. Figure 4 plots the authorship records linked to these 100 top-ranked institutions via their doctorates and/or professional affiliations. Almost half of the records in the sample meet at least one of these criteria, and multi-journal authors have such ties more often than single-journal authors (66 vs. 51 percent).

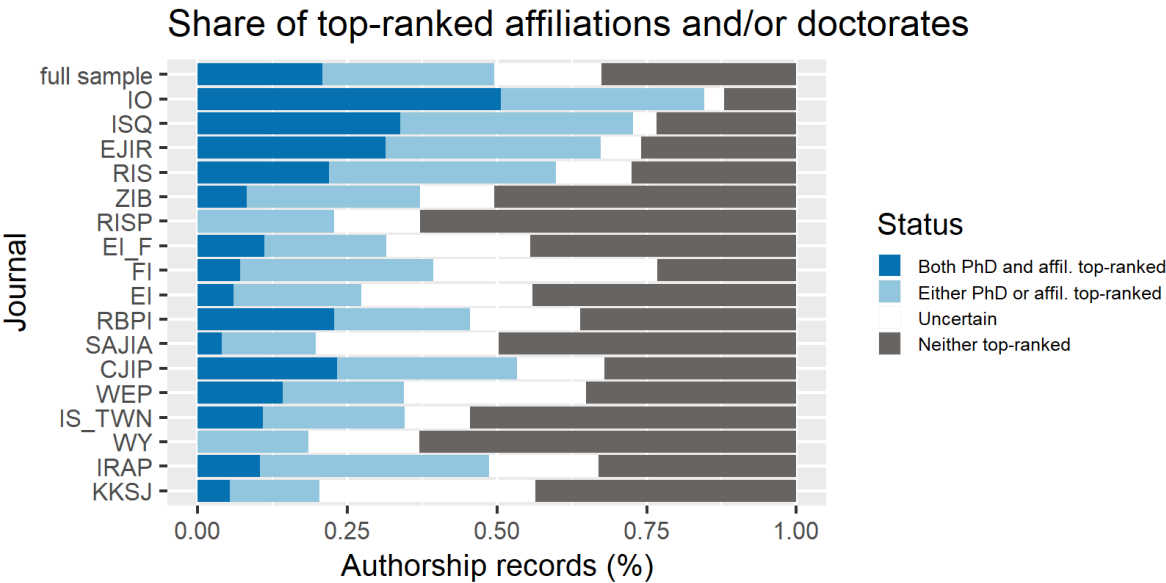


Figure 4: Share of affiliations and/or doctoral degrees with/from top-ranked institutions. Uncertain refers to cases with missing data on either of the two variables.

Top-ranked affiliations are quite frequent across the board, yet we find major variation between journals. Ties to top-ranked institutions are most frequent among authors in IO, ISQ, EJIR, and RIS in descending order. In these outlets, more than half of the authorship have such degrees and/or affiliations, with IO exceeding 80 percent. RBPI from Brazil and the East Asian journals publishing in English follow; in this group, the *Chinese Journal of International Politics* has the highest share among its authorship (slightly above 50 percent). Elsewhere, the picture is reversed. Authors holding both a doctoral degree from and an affiliation with a top-ranked institution are a rare sight outside of the English-language journals. The Italian RISP and *Wenti yu Yanjiu* from Taiwan have no such record in our (small) sample. While some uncertainty remains due to missing information on doctoral degrees, an analysis focused solely on affiliations leads to similar results (see section D of the supplementary material).

Given the strong incentives to aim for highly ranked and internationally visible journals, early-career scholars might use local-language journals as “training” on their way towards publishing in the “mainstream” (Chavarro, Tang, Ràfols 2017). To probe this assumption, consider the authors’ career stage at the time of publication. For this analysis, the job titles as indicated in the article metadata were categorized to distinguish four groups: pre-doctoral authors, post-doctoral and tenure-track researchers, full professors, and those holding non-academic positions. The highest shares of pre-doctoral contributions are found in *Kokusai seiji*, *Études Internationales*, RBPI, and WEP. These journals publish non-English articles, although RBPI is multilingual and ranked in the Web of Science. Comparing by article language, the lowest share of pre-doctoral authorship records can indeed be found for contributions in English.

As an alternative indicator, we quantified the authors’ experience in academia. This is measured in years since the acquisition of the final college degree before starting their doctoral studies. Across all observations for which data is available, the median authorship record shows 12 years of experience. All top-ranked and English-language journals are close to or above this value. In contrast, EI, EI_F, KKSJ, and ZIB have the lowest median values (with 9 or 10 years). This pattern in the non-English journals from Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Germany, and Japan is compatible with the training assumption. However, the differences between median values are not statistically significant for most of the sub-groups. Other predominantly local journals such as *Foro Internacional* and SAJIA have more experienced authors on average. Overall, the variation in experience across journals seems broadly compatible with the training argument, but the evidence is not conclusive (see section D of the supplementary material).

The links between language, visibility, and editorial policies

In sum, many journals appear homogeneous. Those that mainly publish non-English articles have the strongest local clusters. This includes RISP from Italy, ZIB from Germany, WY from Taiwan, WEP from China, and KKSJ from Japan. If we map authorship at the country level, the boundaries turn out to be national rather than regional. The most extreme cases are the East Asian journals publishing in Chinese and Japanese. To a lesser extent, this pattern is repeated in Europe, with German and Italian authors respectively dominating ZIB and RISP (see section D of the supplementary material).

International Organization and *International Studies Quarterly* also feature many authors from North America, which accounts for most articles published in 2011-2015, followed by the UK and Europe. The authorship composition in these two leading journals stands in contrast to the other English-language outlets in our sample. The pan-European EJIR, RIS from the UK,

SAJIA from South Africa, and the three English-language East Asian journals (CJIP, IS_TWN, IRAP) all feature higher shares of authors from multiple regions. In addition to geographic backgrounds, we expected that journals would differ in terms of links to top-ranked institutions. Indeed, we find that English-language and top-ranked outlets feature such authors more frequently. Finally, we explored whether early-career scholars use non-English journals as training ground, finding mixed evidence.

To make sense of these findings, consider two characteristics for each of the 17 journals. The first is the journal's publishing language. Our sample includes three types of language: country-specific cases like Japanese, transnational languages (Spanish and French), and English as global *lingua franca*. The second aspect concerns the journal's visibility, or prestige, both for its local audience and internationally. Citation counts offer a very rough approximation of this measure. Measured by Web of Science data for the field of International Relations, articles published in IO between 2006 and 2015 were cited about 5300 times in total. The numbers reach the same order of magnitude for ISQ, RIS, and EJIR. Yet for the other journals in our sample, total citations since 2006 range from about 550 for CJIP to almost zero (see figure 5 and section A of the supplementary material).

Figure 5 shows the homogenous authorship compositions in journals that publish in languages like Japanese or German. This is not to say that all local-language journals play similar roles in their domestic contexts. *Kokusai seiji* and *World Economics and Politics* receive many submissions due to their importance for academic careers in Japan and China (interviews #1, #2, #4, and #9). This may be a sign of “self-reliant” scientific communities (cf. Friedrichs, Wæver 2009).¹² *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, by contrast, receives few submissions overall (Bieling, Diez, and Hasenclever 2019). It now focuses on debates and essays, because German IR scholars tend to publish research articles in English, which they consider more relevant for their careers (Wemheuer-Vogelaar and Risse 2018, 93–94). Still, the result is the same. In line with our expectation, this suggests that the supply of articles limits the potential for geographic diversity in local-language journals.¹³

¹² Between 80 and 60 percent of Chilean, Mexican, Japanese, Taiwanese, and Brazilian respondents to the 2014 TRIP survey identified their *national* community as primary or secondary allegiance; the value for China is 50 percent; it is below 40 in the United States and Western Europe. See Wemheuer-Vogelaar, Bell, Navarrete Morales, and Tierney (2016, 23–25).

¹³ Note that two journals in our sample (RISP and RBPI) have switched to English as their exclusive language for research articles, and the German IR community is debating the future of ZIB.

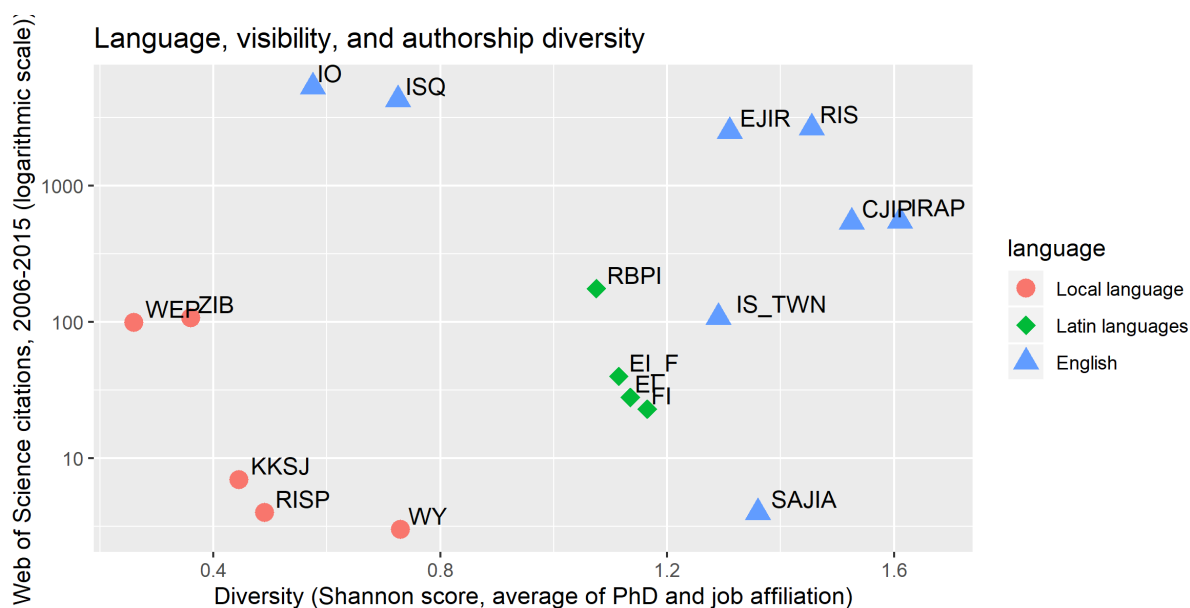


Figure 5: Journal language, citation counts, and authorship diversity. The diversity measure used here is the mean of doctoral and professional affiliation diversity used in figure 3.

By contrast, Spanish and French are transnational languages spoken in many countries. For the Latin American journals, Spanish-speakers outside the region add to the diversity from within; in case of RBPI, this is complemented by research in Portuguese and English. *Études Internationales* is a special case, attracting authors from different countries united by the French language. The most geographically diverse authorship compositions, meanwhile, are found in outlets that exclusively publish in English. Overall, publishing in a globally or at least transnationally accessible language seems to be the necessary condition for authorship diversity.

Yet not *all* English-language journals are highly diverse. IO and ISQ resemble local-language journals in their authorship composition. The supply side provides a plausible explanation: IR scholars in the United States are under intense pressure to publish in highly ranked journals for their career advancement. Most likely, the outlier status for IO and ISQ is driven by the many submissions they receive from doctoral and tenure-track researchers in the United States. All other English-language journals in our sample have diverse authorship records. This *goldilocks zone* of global IR offers just the right amount of international visibility to enable diverse authorship: these journals are neither isolated by language nor so prestigious that one group crowds out the competition. Within this group of journals, differences in the number of citations in the Web of Science do not matter much for diversity.¹⁴

¹⁴ This finding echoes the 2014 TRIP survey. In the combined sample, 38 percent of respondents said they value all peer-reviewed journals equally, whereas 33 percent used an “informal ranking or rating system.” Less emphasis was placed on whether they are included in the SSCI (21 percent) or have high impact scores (16 percent). Among

Authorship diversity is strongly correlated with geographic diversity on the demand side. All journals in our sample have editorial or other advisory boards (cf. Gläser, Aman 2017). For the journals in our sample, these boards included between 7 and 94 individuals in 2013, which was chosen as baseline year for comparisons. The compositions of editorial teams and boards vary widely, with more than 90 percent from the same region in journals like IO or ZIB compared to more balanced pictures in CJIP or IRAP.¹⁵ We find a clear correlation between authorship diversity and diversity in editorial boards ($r = 0.85$, see section D of the supplementary material). Both diversity measures reflect journal policies and aspirations. At the same time, there may be a self-reinforcing effect, as board members can influence editorial agendas, review submissions, or invite new authors and reviewers.

While boards vary in their influence on journal operations, the core editorial teams certainly shape the demand side. Most editors in our sample were concentrated in the respective journal's home region. Some of them, however, pursued an outward-looking strategy. The lead editors of CJIP and IRAP drew on their academic and personal networks to solicit contributions from scholars located outside East Asia (interviews #2 and #5). Likewise, the institute publishing SAJIA has often invited visiting researchers or conference participants to contribute (Schoeman 2009, 64). In 2015, the lead editor of *Études Internationales* began to approach scholars from various Francophone countries for special issues (interview #10). This only makes a difference if the supply side reacts to such stimuli. Yet based on these cases, it seems that editors can encourage authorship diversity.

In sum, large clusters of local authors appear to be typical of IR journals around the world. Nonetheless, several English-language journals feature quite diverse authorships. Outlets indexed by the Web of Science often publish works by authors with links to top-ranked institutions, which adds to homogeneity. Such linkages are most frequent among North Americans and Brits (because that is where most top-ranked institutions are located), followed by scholars with undergraduate degrees from East Asia (who, within our sample, most frequently acquire degrees after migrating).

US scholars (one third of the respondents for this question), “all equal” was less (30 percent) and informal ratings more important (48 percent), while 18 percent opted for the SSCI and 15 percent for the impact scores.

¹⁵ Of course, geography is just one dimension of diversity. Boards across all journals feature 16 percent women on average, with a minimum of 3 percent (WEP) and a maximum of 30 percent (FI and RIS).

Researcher mobility: Tracing the globalization of IR

Based on the global IR literature, we expect that socialization via doctoral training should be particularly important for the fit between authors and journals. To study in more detail how authors' backgrounds are linked to publications, we consider four data points for each authorship record: undergraduate degree, doctoral degree, affiliation at the time of publication, and journal. Figure 6 plots the sequence from left to right. Flows are indicated by the color-coded connections. We exclude cases with unknown undergraduate locations and those without a doctoral degree at the time of publication. This leaves 1811 authorship records.

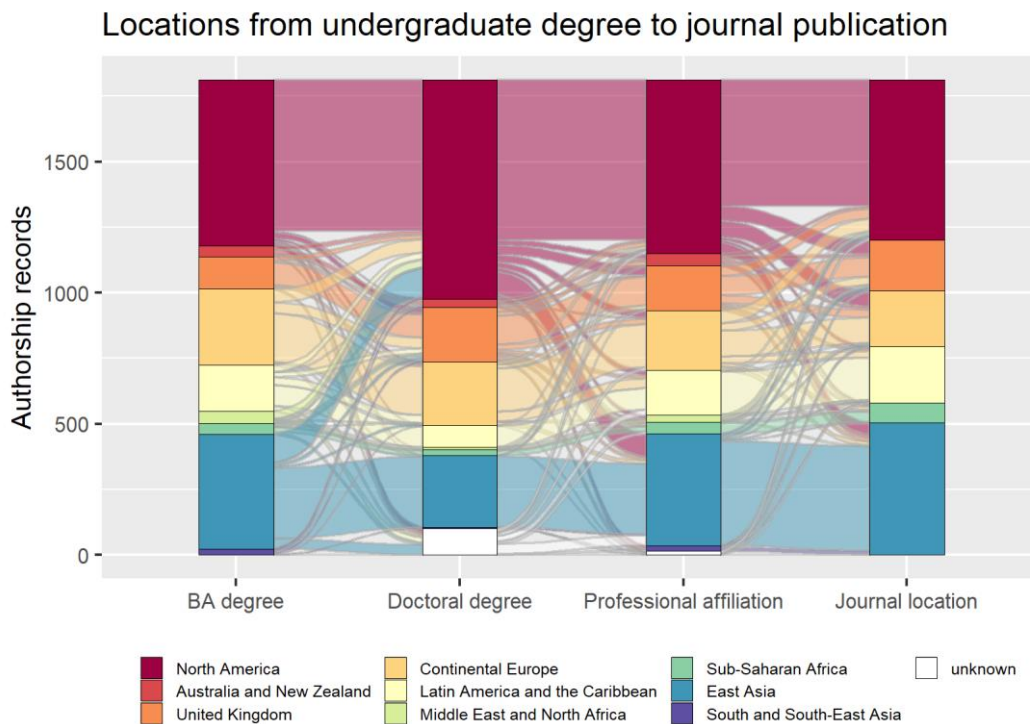


Figure 6: Tracing researcher mobility between BA degree and journal authorship

As figure 6 shows, more than half of authorship records stem from articles published in North American and East Asian journals. However, the distribution of doctorates is different, showing the preponderance of US degrees in our authorship sample. Likewise, but to a lesser degree, North America takes up a bigger share of professional affiliations than articles. The graph confirms the prevalence of local clusters. 51 percent of the authorship records with full data have the same value for all four variables, with North Americans forming the biggest bloc. Many of these authors were trained in the United States, work there, and publish in US-based journals. A second large bloc exists in East Asia, mainly driven by China-based authors in WEP. By contrast, these *locals* make up smaller shares of the authorship in African, British, European, and Latin American journals.

We also find substantial researcher mobility. About 26 percent of authorship records with fully available data are made up by *returnees*, *expats*, and *diaspora* authors. The first label refers to the 9 percent of authorship records with the same region for undergraduate degree, professional affiliation, and journal location – but a doctoral degree from somewhere else. East Asia stands out in this regard, with a large cohort of people moving to North America for their doctorate before returning for research jobs and publications. According to a recent report in the *Economist* (January 12, 2019), Chinese policymakers refer to such scholars as sea turtles, because “they are thought of as having come back to their natal beach, as turtles do, to lay their eggs.” *Wenti yu Yanjiu* and *Issues & Studies* from Taiwan are the East Asian journals with the largest proportions of returnee authors. That is in line with the fact that many Taiwanese scholars were trained in the United States. In contrast, the much lower volume of foreign-trained Japanese scholars makes the preponderance of foreign doctorates in IRAP and KKSJ more surprising (cf. Inoguchi 2009, 96–97). The Latin American journals in our sample also publish many articles written by returnees, who often hold doctoral degrees from European universities. In *Foro Internacional* (Mexico), returnees account for more authorships than those with local degrees.

Expats are authors who move after finishing a degree, acquire a job in another region, and then publish in a journal in that region. This pattern applies to almost 10 percent of complete authorship records. Relevant shares of expat authorship can be found in all English-language journals, Latin America, and in Europe. Within the group of expats, however, there is an important differentiation. Most academic expats in North American, British, and European journals have moved to those regions to acquire their doctorate. By contrast, the Latin American journals feature expats who migrated as researchers *after* finishing their doctorate. This confirms that North American, British, and European universities are attractive destinations for international doctoral students, who then sometimes stay and acquire academic positions.

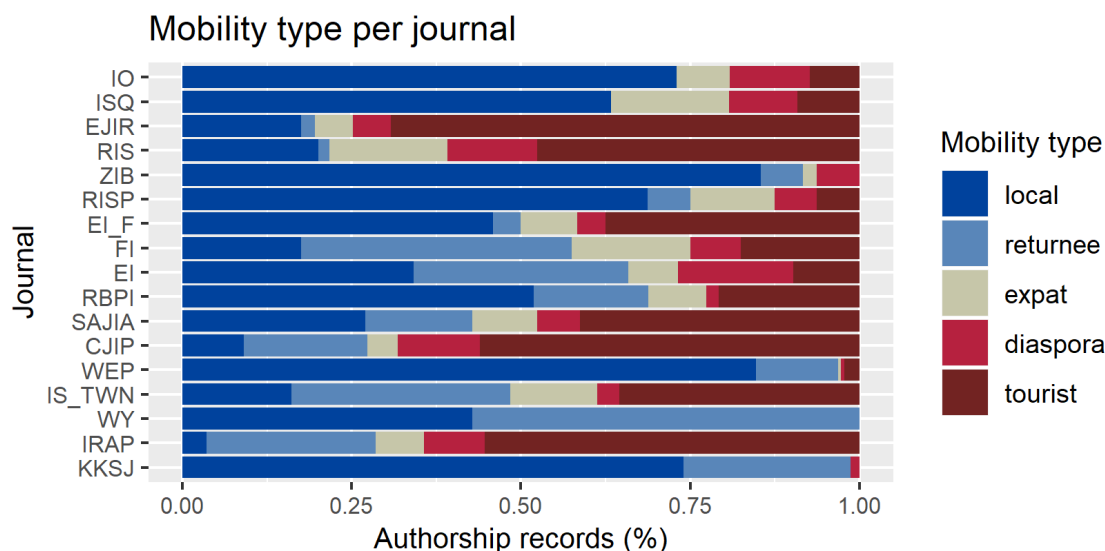


Figure 7: Mobility type per journal. Note the small sample size for some journals (particularly WY and RISP). A graph including gaps in the data can be found in section E of the supplementary material.

Another 8 percent of the complete authorship records belong to *diaspora* authors. These individuals have left the world region in which they acquired their undergraduate and/or doctorate degree, taken a job somewhere else, and then published in a journal from the original region. As figure 7 shows, EI from Chile has the largest share of diaspora authors. In IO, ISQ, EJIR, and RIS, the proportion of the academic diaspora is between 6 and 14 percent.

Finally, 23 percent of authorships can be labelled *tourists*. Such authors publish in a journal that corresponds to neither their undergraduate, doctoral, nor professional region. This category is mostly limited to journals that publish in English or Spanish plus the Franco-Canadian *Études Internationales* with its many European authors. In some journals, including IO and ISQ, the percentage of scholarly tourists is in the single digits. However, tourist authors account for 35 to 69 percent of the authorship records for which we have full data in the *European Journal of International Relations*, the *Review of International Studies*, and the English-language journals in East Asia. Virtually all tourist authors hold doctorates from North America or, less frequently, the UK or Europe (see section E of the supplementary material).

The links between mobility and geographic diversity

What does mobility tell us about how authorship diversity is shaped by supply and demand? The distribution of mobility types across journals offers some insights. Let us first turn to IO and ISQ. Their North American – in terms of doctorate and/or affiliation – authorship clusters now appear more diverse than at first sight, considering that they include academic expats and diaspora authors. The expats publishing in these two journals have received doctoral training in the United States. One can assume that this amounts to “becoming American” in an academic

sense (Cheng and Brettle 2019, 334–38), and as a consequence their work is compatible with the standards and preferences applied by editors and reviewers. At the same time, the share of diaspora authors in IO and ISQ (12 and 10 percent) seems rather low considering that 46 percent of authorship records with full data hold a doctorate from the United States. This can be read as supporting the supply-side argument: without career pressure to publish in the most selective journals, scholars direct their time and effort elsewhere.¹⁶

However, the influence of the demand side is illustrated by the low number of academic *tourists* in IO and ISQ. The 2015 transparency report for ISQ stated that authors with US affiliations accounted for 56 percent of submissions but 71 percent of published works, with Canada and the UK as the only other two countries accounting for more than a single article. The lead editor at the time diagnosed “a small but significant ‘overrepresentation’ of US-based scholars” (Nexon 2016). In the case of *International Organization*, recent acceptance rates for North American and European authors are similar, and both exceed those for papers from other regions (personal communication with IO board member). We find that around 75 percent of authorships for the two journals during 2011-2015 have North American affiliations. These numbers resemble those for the 1980s and 1990s (Wæver 1998), and they are even higher if measured by doctoral training. Submissions from authors linked to North American institutions seem more likely than others to meet the standards of IO and ISQ editors and reviewers. What does this mean for global IR? Perhaps *International Organization* and *International Studies Quarterly* are indeed focused on a narrow American understanding of the field. This could be explored with additional research into the contents of articles.

Within the *goldilocks zone* of journals with high diversity scores, we find different types of authorship mobility. A lot of this is driven by the high frequency of North American doctorates, which account for many returnees in the East Asian journals as well as many of the tourists in those three plus EJIR and RIS. It is interesting to speculate about the potential effect of such publishing patterns on the contents of IR research. Most authors in these six journals have links to academic environments in at least two different geographic regions through their training, professional experience, and the submission standards defined by the journals. If life experiences shape intuitions in IR research, this may lead to more intellectually diverse research outputs.

¹⁶ Friedrichs and Wæver (2009) claimed that “Europeans simply do not go to the same lengths as Americans to squeeze their work into a few key articles placed in leading journals.” Without using the terms demand and supply, Wæver (1998, 719) also discussed the interaction of journal standards and author incentives.

Finally, many academic tourists seem to travel in business class. In CJIP and IRAP, highly regarded foreign scholars were invited to submit papers. In SAJIA, outside submissions usually stem from institutional ties, including via development cooperation (Schoeman 2009). More generally, the academic tourists in our sample tend to have degrees and/or affiliations linked to (top-ranked) institutions from North America, the United Kingdom, and Europe. Looking at the mobility of authors thus reveals the flip side of the local clusters diagnosed at the journal level. Authors with North American doctorates and affiliations can publish widely if they choose to, which in practice is limited to outlets ranked in the Web of Science. East Asian and Latin American authors, unless they have acquired North American doctorates, can rarely be found outside of their home regions. Brits and Europeans are somewhere in between. Within our sample, the globalization of IR is driven by academic migration on the one hand and tourist authors from advantaged regions on the other.

Conclusion

To shed light on the state of geographic diversity in global IR, we started with a simple question: whose work is published where? Network analysis shows that IR journals differ in how many authors they share with others. Between 23 and 39 percent of the authors in top-ranked journals have also published in other outlets. This figure is much lower for other cases, especially those not publishing in English. Overall, just 9 percent of the individuals in our sample are multi-journal authors, who mostly circulate among the top-ranked journals. In the global IR debate, peripheral status is often discussed in terms of journal indices or impact factors. In addition, we show that some journals hardly share authors with the rest of the IR network.

We then turned to comparing authorship composition across journals to explore several expectations about what might be driving geographic diversity. The key finding is the prevalence of local clusters. Across the board, authors affiliated with institutions in the same region as the journals make up the largest share. As we expected, highly ranked journals publish more works by authors with links to top-ranked institutions. For the non-English journals, it is no surprise that most authors are local, because the language barrier limits the supply of articles. Regarding the general trend towards local clusters, IO and ISQ are no outliers. Their Shannon diversity scores resemble those for Asian or European journals geared towards domestic research communities. This echoes the description of IR as “parochial” discipline in previous studies of the field in the United States (Biersteker 2009; Turton 2016).

Linguistic openness seems to be a necessary condition to achieve a diverse authorship, which makes English the ideal publishing language. On the demand side, editorial strategies can

further stimulate diversity. This is illustrated by CJIP and IRAP, whose lead editors invited international contributors. Latin American journals were slightly less diverse in the 2011-2015 period than the English-language outlets but still more so than those in local languages. The other key factor for diversity seems to be international and local visibility: journals should be visible outside their home market, but also not so crucial for one group that their supply crowds out other contributions. The resulting *goldilocks zone* for authorship diversity contains six quite different journals: CJIP, EJIR, IRAP, IS_TWN, RIS, and SAJIA.

Tracking researcher mobility via biographical data confirms that educational and professional links are important for publication patterns. No group illustrates this better than the academic tourists publishing in world regions other than their educational or professional homes. Authors with degrees and affiliations from North America or, to a lesser extent, the UK and Europe seem particularly successful at publishing globally. At the same time, migration makes IR more globalized. Many articles are written by returnees, expats, and diaspora authors. This variant of globalization is largely driven by migration for doctoral training, with North America as prime destination followed by the UK and Europe. Due to researcher mobility, IR journals thus contain more biographical diversity than meets the eye.

Thus, our investigation of global IR has yielded a double finding. Local clusters feature strongly in journals around the world, and authors rarely cross regional boundaries. The IR discipline appears fragmented and provincial. Yet researcher mobility offers several paths towards globalization. If the authors' biographical background indeed affects the contents of IR research, those who migrate for their doctoral training should increase intellectual diversity in North America, the UK, and Europe. At the same time, many IR publications around the world are written by authors trained and socialized in these three regions.

To achieve the normative goals of the global IR agenda, authorship composition matters most in journals that are widely read. Some readers may thus be pleased that CJIP, EJIR, IRAP, and RIS are widely cited *and* geographically diverse. As some of our cases show, editors can increase diversity by inviting contributions from abroad. Two caveats apply. First, these journals are more homogenous if measured by the origin of doctoral degrees. Second, *all* journals in the Web of Science are mainly populated by authors with links to top-ranked institutions. Critics may see this as evidence that reviewers and editors prefer familiar styles of work. The sanguine interpretation is that these scholars produce high-quality research.

Follow-up questions abound. How is geographic diversity related to other aspects such as ethnicity, gender, and career stage? Do changes in editorial boards and reviewer pools affect authorship composition? How do education and socialization relate to submissions and acceptance rates? What role does co-authorship play in different IR communities and for different types of journals? Most importantly, do authors' biographies indeed shape the theoretical, methodological, and empirical choices made in IR scholarship (Blanchard and Lin 2016; Eun 2019; Key and Sumner 2019)? These questions require more research to identify and prioritize reform proposals (Acharya 2016; Lake 2016; Gelardi 2019).

List of interviews

Interviews were conducted by the first author via Skype except for #1 (in person) as well as #5 and #9 (via e-mail). The conversations were guided by two prompts:

- Please describe the professional incentives for IR researchers in your country, particularly when it comes to publishing journal articles.
- Please describe the editorial process in [journal X] and if there are any strategies to attract submissions by authors from abroad and/or to increase authorship diversity.

#	Date	Person	Contents
1	2019-10-20	Japanese scholars (during JAIR conference)	IR in Japan compared to USA and Europe
2	2019-11-11	Taiwanese scholar	IR in China, Japan, Taiwan; CJIP and IRAP editorial processes
3	2019-12-09	Mexican scholar	IR in Mexico and Latin America; FI editorial process
4	2019-12-10	KKSJ editor	IR in Japan; KKSJ editorial process
5	2019-12-13	Chinese scholar working in Japan	IR in China and Japan; WEP and KKSJ editorial processes
6	2019-12-17	IS_TWN board member	IR in Taiwan; IS_TWN editorial process
7	2019-12-23	IRAP editor	IR in Japan; IRAP editorial process
8	2020-01-07	RBPI board member	IR in Brazil; RBPI editorial process
9	2020-01-22	WEP editor	IR in China; WEP editorial process
10	2020-02-19	EI_F editor	IR in Canada and the Francophone countries; EI_F editorial process

Supplementary material

To access the supplementary material, please visit <https://lohaus.org/publications/>

References

- ACHARYA, AMITAV. (2016) Advancing Global IR: Challenges, Contentions, and Contributions. *International Studies Review* 18 (1): 4–15.
- ACHARYA, AMITAV, AND BARRY BUZAN. (2007) Why is there no non-Western international relations theory? An introduction. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7 (3): 287–312.
- ACHARYA, AMITAV, AND BARRY BUZAN. (2017) Why is there no Non-Western International Relations Theory? Ten years on. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 17 (3): 341–370.
- AGNEW, JOHN. (2007) Know-Where: Geographies of Knowledge of World Politics. *International Political Sociology* 1 (2): 138–148.
- ALBERT, MATHIAS, AND MICHAEL ZÜRN. (2013) Über doppelte Identitäten: Ein Plädoyer für das Publizieren auch auf Deutsch. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 20 (2): 141–154.
- ALEJANDRO, AUDREY. (2019) *Western Dominance in International Relations? The Internationalisation of IR in Brazil and India*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- BIELING, HANS-JÜRGEN, THOMAS DIEZ, AND ANDREAS HASENCLEVER. (2019) Editorial. *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 26 (2): 3–4.
- BIERSTEKER, THOMAS J. (2009) The parochialism of hegemony: challenges for “American” International Relations. In *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, edited by Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- BLANCHARD, ERIC M., AND SHUANG LIN. (2016) Gender and Non-Western “Global” IR: Where Are the Women in Chinese International Relations Theory? *International Studies Review* 18 (1): 48–61.
- CANAPARO, CLAUDIO. (2009) *Geo-epistemology. Latin America and the location of knowledge*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- CHAVARRO, DIEGO, PUAY TANG, AND ISMAEL RÀFOLS. (2017) Why researchers publish in non-mainstream journals: Training, knowledge bridging, and gap filling. *Research Policy* 46 (9): 1666–1680.
- CHENG, CHRISTINE, AND ALISON BRETTE. (2019) How Cognitive Frameworks Shape the American Approach to International Relations and Security Studies. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4 (3): 321–344.
- COLGAN, JEFF. (2017) Gender Bias in International Relations Graduate Education? New Evidence from Syllabi. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50 (02): 456–460.
- COLGAN, JEFF D. (2019) American Perspectives and Blind Spots on World Politics. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4 (3): 300–309.
- COX, WAYNE S., AND KIM RICHARD NOSSAL. (2009) The “crimson world”: the Anglo core, post-Imperial non-core, and the hegemony of American IR. In *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, edited by Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

- D'AOUST, ANNE-MARIE. (2012) Accounting for the politics of language in the sociology of IR. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15 (1): 120–131.
- DE BELLIS, NICOLA. (2009) *Bibliometrics and Citation Analysis. From the Science Citation Index to Cybermetrics*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press.
- DJUPE, PAUL A., AMY ERICA SMITH, AND ANAND EDWARD SOKHEY. (2019) Explaining Gender in the Journals: How Submission Practices Affect Publication Patterns in Political Science. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 52 (1): 71–77.
- ECONOMIST. (January 12, 2019) The great experiment. Can China become a scientific superpower? *The Economist*.
- EUN, YONG-SOO. (2019) An Intellectual Confession from a Member of the “Non-White” IR Community: A Friendly Reply to David Lake’s “White Man’s IR”. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 52 (1): 78–84.
- FRIEDRICHS, JÖRG, AND OLE WÆVER. (2009) Western Europe: structure and strategy at the national and regional levels. In *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, edited by Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- GELARDI, MAIKEN. (2019) Moving Global IR Forward—A Road Map. *International Studies Review*: 1–23.
- GLÄSER, JOCHEN, AND VALERIA AMAN. (2017) *Journals as Communication Channels between National Sub-Communities. Paper presented at the 16th International Conference on Scientometrics and Informetrics, Wuhan, China, 16-20 October, 2017.*
- GLÄSER, JOCHEN, AND GRIT LAUDEL. (2016) Governing Science. *European Journal of Sociology* 57 (1): 117–168.
- HAGMANN, JONAS, AND THOMAS J. BIERSTEKER. (2014) Beyond the published discipline: Toward a critical pedagogy of international studies. *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (2): 291–315.
- HARDING, SANDRA G. (1991) *Whose science? Whose knowledge? Thinking from women’s lives*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- HARDING, SANDRA G. (2015) *Objectivity and Diversity. Another Logic of Scientific Research*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- HAVEMANN, FRANK. (2016) *Einführung in die Bibliometrie*. Berlin: Gesellschaft für Wissenschaftsforschung.
- HOBSON, JOHN M. (2012) *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics. Western International Theory, 1760-2010*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HOFFMANN, STANLEY. (1977) An American Social Science: International Relations. *Daedalus* 106 (3): 41–60.
- INAYATULLAH, NAEEM, AND DAVID L. BLANEY. (2004) *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. London, New York: Routledge.
- INOUCHI, TAKASHI. (2009) Japan, Korea, and Taiwan: are one hundred flowers about to blossom? In *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, edited by Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

- JACKSON, EMILY, RYAN POWERS, SUE PETERSON, AND MICHAEL J. TIERNEY. (2020) *Can Journal Policies Enhance Diversity in the Discipline of International Relations? Results of a Survey Experiment. Paper presented at the 2020 Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA). Honolulu, Hawaii.*
- JENSENIUS, FRANCESCA R., MALA HTUN, DAVID J. SAMUELS, DAVID A. SINGER, ADRIA LAWRENCE, AND MICHAEL CHWE. (2018) The Benefits and Pitfalls of Google Scholar. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51 (4): 820–824.
- KEY, ELLEN M., AND JANE LAWRENCE SUMNER. (2019) You Research Like a Girl: Gendered Research Agendas and Their Implications. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 52 (4): 663–668.
- KNIGHT, SARAH CLEELAND. (2019) Even Today, a Western and Gendered Social Science: Persistent Geographic and Gender Biases in Undergraduate IR Teaching. *International Studies Perspectives*.
- KÖNIG, THOMAS, AND GUIDO ROPERS. (2018) Gender and Editorial Outcomes at the American Political Science Review. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 51 (4): 849–853.
- KRISHNA, SANKARAN. (2001) Race, Amnesia, and the Education of International Relations. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 26 (4): 401–424.
- KRISTENSEN, PETER MARCUS. (2015) Revisiting the “American Social Science”. Mapping the Geography of International Relations. *International Studies Perspectives* 16 (3): 246–269.
- KRISTENSEN, PETER MARCUS. (2016) Discipline admonished: On International Relations fragmentation and the disciplinary politics of stocktaking. *European Journal of International Relations* 22 (2): 243–267.
- KRISTENSEN, PETER MARCUS. (2018) International Relations at the End: A Sociological Autopsy. *International Studies Quarterly* 1 (3): 289.
- LAKE, DAVID A. (2016) White Man’s IR: An Intellectual Confession. *Perspectives on Politics* 14 (4): 1112–1122.
- LEEDS, BRETT ASHLEY, J. ANN TICKNER, COLIN WIGHT, AND JESSICA de ALBA-ULLOA. (2019) Forum: Power and Rules in the Profession of International Studies. *International Studies Review* 30 (6).
- LOTKA, A. J. (1926) The frequency distribution of scientific productivity. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 16 (12): 317–323.
- MALINIAK, DANIEL, SUSAN PETERSON, RYAN POWERS, AND MICHAEL J. TIERNEY. (2018) Is International Relations a Global Discipline? Hegemony, Insularity, and Diversity in the Field. *Security Studies* 27 (3): 448–484.
- MALINIAK, DANIEL, SUSAN PETERSON, AND MICHAEL J. TIERNEY. (2011) *TRIP Around the World. Teaching, Research, and Policy Views of International Relations Faculty in 20 Countries*. Williamsburg, Virginia.
- MALINIAK, DANIEL, RYAN POWERS, AND BARBARA F. WALTER. (2013) The Gender Citation Gap in International Relations. *International Organization* 67 (04): 889–922.
- NEXON, DANIEL H. (2016) *ISQ Annual Report 2015*.
<https://www.isanet.org/Portals/0/Documents/ISQ/ISQ%202015%20report.pdf?ver=2016-01-11-120620-000>.

- OKSANEN, JARI, F. GUILLAUME BLANCHET, MICHAEL FRIENDLY, ROELAND KINDT, PIERRE LEGENDRE, DAN MCGLINN, PETER R. MINCHIN, R. B. O'HARA, GAVIN L. SIMPSON, PETER SOLYMOS, M. HENRY H. STEVENS, EDUARD SZOECs, AND HELENE WAGNER. (2019) *Package 'vegan'*. *Community ecology package*. The Comprehensive R Archive Network.
- PETERS, INGO, WIEBKE WEMHEUER-VOGELAAR, Eds. (2016) *Globalizing International Relations. Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- PHULL, KIRAN, GOKHAN CIFLIKLI, AND GUSTAV MEIBAUER. (2018) Gender and bias in the International Relations curriculum: Insights from reading lists. *European Journal of International Relations* 21 (2): 135406611879169.
- SAIDEMAN, STEPHEN M. (2018) The Apparent Decline of the IR Paradigms: Examining Patterns of Publications, Perceptions, and Citations. *International Studies Review* 20 (4): 685–703.
- SCHOEMAN, MAXI. (2009) South Africa: between history and a hard place. In *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, edited by Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- SEABROOKE, LEONARD, AND KEVIN L. YOUNG. (2017) The networks and niches of international political economy. *Review of International Political Economy* 24 (2): 288–331.
- TEELE, DAWN LANGAN, AND KATHLEEN THELEN. (2017) Gender in the Journals: Publication Patterns in Political Science. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50 (02): 433–447.
- TICKNER, ARLENE B. (2013) Core, periphery and (neo)imperialist International Relations. *European Journal of International Relations* 19 (3): 627–646.
- TICKNER, ARLENE B., DAVID L. BLANEY, Eds. (2012) *Thinking the international differently*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- TICKNER, ARLENE B., OLE WÆVER, Eds. (2009) *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- TURTON, HELEN LOUISE. (2016) *International relations and American dominance. A diverse discipline*. London, New York, NY: Routledge.
- VALE, PETER. (2014) If International Relations lives on the street, what is it doing in the classroom? *International Relations* 28 (2): 141–158.
- VESSURI, HEBE, JEAN-CLAUDE GUÉDON, AND ANA MARÍA CETTO. (2014) Excellence or quality? Impact of the current competition regime on science and scientific publishing in Latin America and its implications for development. *Current Sociology* 62 (5): 647–665.
- VINCENT, R. J. (1982) Race in International Relations. *International Affairs* 58 (4): 658–670.
- WÆVER, OLE. (1998) The Sociology of a Not So International Discipline: American and European Developments in International Relations. *International Organization* 52 (4): 687–727.
- WÆVER, OLE, AND ARLENE B. TICKNER. (2009) Introduction: geocultural epistemologies. In *International Relations Scholarship Around the World*, edited by Arlene B. Tickner and Ole Wæver. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

- WARREN, JOHN. (2019) How Much Do You Have to Publish to Get a Job in a Top Sociology Department? Or to Get Tenure? Trends over a Generation. *Sociological Science* 6: 172–196.
- WEMHEUER-VOGELAAR, WIEBKE, NICHOLAS J. BELL, MARIANA NAVARRETE MORALES, AND MICHAEL J. TIERNEY. (2016) The IR of the Beholder: Examining Global IR Using the 2014 TRIP Survey. *International Studies Review* 18 (1): 16–32.
- WEMHEUER-VOGELAAR, WIEBKE, AND INGO PETERS. (2016) Introduction: Global(izing) International Relations. Studying Geo-Epistemological Divides and Diversity. In *Globalizing International Relations. Scholarship Amidst Divides and Diversity*, edited by Ingo Peters and Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- WEMHEUER-VOGELAAR, WIEBKE, AND THOMAS RISSE. (2018) International Relations Scholars in Germany: Young, Internationalised, and Non-Paradigmatic. *German Politics* 27 (1): 89–112.
- WHYTE, CHRISTOPHER. (2019) Can We Change the Topic, Please? Assessing the Theoretical Construction of International Relations Scholarship. *International Studies Quarterly* 63 (2): 432–447.
- ZIGERELL, L. J. (2015) Is the gender citation gap in international relations driven by elite papers? *Research & Politics* 2 (2): 1-7.
- ZVOBGO, KELEBOGILE, AND MEREDITH LOKEN. (2020) Why Race Matters in International Relations. *Foreign Policy* (Summer 2020).