



Wise or wacky?
A review of Millennium:
Journal of International Studies
(2001-2005)
Marit de Lange

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Introduction

Many leading figures of the English School of international relations theory, Martin Wight, Hedley Bull, John Vincent, have been teaching at the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Although the department is therefore closely associated with the ES, it claims that it ‘never endorsed a particular orthodoxy’.¹ It was at this department that *Millennium: journal of international studies* was founded in 1971 and in 2011 the journal celebrated its 40th anniversary.

This paper will review *Millennium*. The volumes of 2001-2005 have been explored for this, but occasionally reference will be made to other volumes. This means that 13 issues are examined which contain 113 articles and 453 book reviews. Section 2 will briefly sketch the history of the journal with the help of an article written by Mark Hoffman, currently working as a lecturer at the LSE and a former editor of *Millennium*. He recorded the history of the journal in his article *Critical voices in a mainstream local: Millennium, the LSE International Relations Department and the development of International Theory* which was published in the edited volume *International Relations at LSE: A History of 75 Years* in 2003.² This will be followed by a general description of the journal (e.g. editorial board, requirements for submission etc.).

The following two sections will present a qualitative description of *Millennium* by elaborating on the question to what theories, philosophies or approaches the contents of the journal are devoted. Therefore section 3 will answer the question how to position the contents of *Millennium* in IR-theory. In order to do this, section 3 will elaborate on and refer to the contents of several articles that have been published in the 13 issues that serve as examples to illustrate the findings of this review. In order to complement the conclusions of section 3, section 4 will pay attention to the largest debates that occurred in the journal. These debates give an idea about the most important topics in the journal in the period 2001-2005. Section 5 will complement the analysis of *Millennium* with a quantitative description. In this section attention is paid to the gender-ratio of the authors, the research institute they were affiliated with at the time of writing and this section will also present some figures on the contents and the impact factor. Finally, the conclusion will elaborate on the importance of *Millennium* to the discipline of IR.

¹ ‘About the Department’, <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/aboutthedepartment/aboutthedepartment.aspx> (accessed 11-4-2011).

² ‘History’, <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/Journals/millenn/History.aspx> (accessed 24-3-2011).

1. A general description of *Millennium*

From the start *Millennium* was run by postgraduate students and every new team of editors controls the journal for one volume. The founder of the journal, Frederick Samuel Northedge, at that time Professor of International Relations at the LSE, was unhappy with the existing journals in terms of scope and authors. Northedge wanted to counterbalance US dominance in the discipline of IR, while at the same time his aim was to provide students a journal that was easy accessible to them, both as readers and writers.³ It would also enable students to gain working experience as an editor by giving them a voice in the editorial process.⁴ To make *Millennium* accessible for students as readers, it was sold at a low price. The first issues were priced at 20 pence, by the time of the third volume the price had doubled to 40 pence per issue.⁵ However, today the subscription fee of *Millennium* is at an average level. If students are not able to access the journal through the library of their universities, an individual subscription currently costs 56 pounds (63 euro).⁶

After founding *Millennium*, Northedge withdrew and left the journal in the hands of his students, only providing some guidance and advice. According to Mark Hoffman, it was a unique situation at the time, whereas nowadays a journal led by students is more common.⁷ Forty years after the foundation of *Millennium*, the journal is still run by (post)graduate students. The editors are appointed by yearly elections. This is to ensure the originality of the contents and to prevent long-term influence of students on the development of the journal.⁸ The editorial team at the time of writing consists of three PhD-students from the London School of Economics, Damiano de Felice, Francesco Obino and Shuxiu Zhang. Obino has studied in Portugal and Italy before he obtained a master's degree at the LSE in International Politics. Zhang has completed a bachelor's degree in Political Studies at the University of Auckland in New Zealand and obtained a master degree International Political Economy at the LSE.⁹ The editors are supported by the members of the editorial board. The majority of its

³ M. Hoffman, 'Critical voices in a mainstream local: Millennium, the LSE International Relations Department and the development of International Theory' in H. Bauer and E. Brighi (eds.) *International Relations at LSE: A history of 75 years* (London 2003) 141-142 and 163 (note 7).

⁴ Hoffman, 'Critical voices', 142.

⁵ Ibid., 144-145.

⁶ See <http://www.uk.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201893> (Accessed 12-5-2010). To compare with subscription fees of other IR-related journals: *International Relations* costs 49 pounds (56 euro's), *European Journal of International Relations* costs 56 pounds (63 euro's), *Journal of Conflict Resolution* costs 95 pounds (109 euro's).

⁷ Hoffman, 'Critical voices', 143.

⁸ Ibid., 143-144.

⁹ Both Obino and Zhang have a profile at LinkedIn, an online professional network that allows one to keep an online CV, see www.linkedin.com. Information on De Felice was unfortunately not obtainable.

members were editors of the previous volume (volume 39, 2010-2011). Two (postgraduate) students are appointed as deputy editors.

Millennium is published as an e-journal as well as on paper by Sage Publications, Inc. Sage is a well-known publisher of books and journals on several academic topics. The submission requirements are not too complicated. The only requirements are a certain amount of words (7000-9000 for main articles, 5000 for discussion pieces and research notes and 3000-4000 for reviews) and the originality of the article, i.e. the paper should not be published before or submitted somewhere else.¹⁰ After an author has submitted an article, it will be sent to anonymous readers who will comment on the first draft. In the period 2001-2003, three issues a year were published and in 2004 and 2005 two issues. Almost on a yearly basis, an issue, or part of an issue, is dedicated to a special topic. For the period of 2001-2005 these special issues were *Images and narratives in world politics* (December 2001), *Pragmatism in International Relations* (July 2002), *International relations in the digital age* (December 2003) and *Facets of power in International Relations* (June 2005).

However, *Millennium* is more than just a journal. It organizes annual conferences and fora as well. In 2005 a forum was organized on the contribution of the book *From international to World Society?* by Barry Buzan, who currently is a leading figure of the English School. The editors wrote in an editorial note that they initiated the forum in order to push the existing debate on a rethinking of the English School. Therefore *Millennium* was 'providing space for the discussion and development of the English School from both within and without the tradition'.¹¹ Since 1986, *Millennium* organizes the annual Northedge Essay Competition to commemorate founder F.S. Northedge and the competition is open to any student in IR or in a related field.¹² This competition corresponds with Northedges motivation for the foundation of *Millennium*: it encourages (post)graduate students to contribute to IR literature at an early stage of their career.

¹⁰http://www.uk.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?ct_p=manuscriptSubmission&prodId=Journal201893&crossRegion=eur (accessed 23-5-2011).

¹¹ Editorial note, 'Forum: Barry Buzan's *From International to World Society?*' in *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (Aug. 2005).

¹² <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/Journals/millenn/Northedge.aspx> (accessed 23-5-2011).

2. How to position Millennium?

On the website of the LSE, *Millennium* is described as ‘one of the leading journals in the field of International Relations. The journal has a worldwide individual and institutional circulation -- it is an excellent resource for students, academics and anyone with an interest in the ideas and actors that work to shape our world.’¹³ Although this is not a very original or striking description, it becomes interesting when Hoffman describes how *Millennium* in the 1980’s undergoes a transformation from a journal that was more like any other journal in the field of IR, to a journal that ‘would be widely associated with the post-positivist, critical turn in international theory’.¹⁴ *Millennium* nowadays is according to him ‘a place of intellectual pluralism and diversity, a place where new ideas are developed, a safe haven for those seeking to articulate positions, orientations and perspectives that are at odds with the dominant discourses in the discipline.’¹⁵

With this ‘critical turn’, Hoffmann is referring to the rise of critical theory in the 1980’s and of constructivism since the end of the Cold War and its challenge to the assumptions of neo-realism and neo-liberalism.¹⁶ Constructivism is according to Christian Reus-Smit an outgrowth of critical theory but with the focus on empirical analysis and less on meta-theoretical level.¹⁷ Taking a constructivist approach means not only material structures should be investigated, as realists and liberalists do, but normative structures deserve equal attention. Constructivism is to conduct research on identities, interests, actions and interactions, the contingent and the particular and therefore it deviates from the study object of realism and liberalism. Constructivism today has two different meanings. There are constructivists that see constructivism as an approach, a way of studying the world. It is constructivism that Christian Reus-Smit describes as ‘an ‘eclectic’ form of theorizing, one that starts from concrete empirical puzzle and draws on diverse theories to construct compelling explanations’.¹⁸ On the other hand, there are also constructivists who see constructivism as taking a critical stance and want to engage with normative and ethical theory.¹⁹ Hofmann claims that *Millennium* does not really make a contribution to the

¹³ Millennium Journal of International Studies, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/millenn/> (accessed 6-4-2011).

¹⁴ Hoffman, ‘Critical voices’, 149-151.

¹⁵ Ibid, 159.

¹⁶ C. Reus-Smit, ‘Constructivism’ in: S. Burchill and A. Linklater (eds.), *Theories of international relations* (New York 2009) 212.

¹⁷ Reus-smit, ‘Constructivism’, 219.

¹⁸ Ibid., 232.

¹⁹ Ibid., 232.

development of constructivism in international theory.²⁰ Unfortunately he does not explain his view any further. If he aims at the development of a general theory of constructivism in IR it would not be hard to refute his argument, if constructivism is about studying non-material structures. It is then directed at the study of the particular and contingent and less directed to the formulation of universal assumptions on world politics. Perhaps it is best to describe the theoretical contributions of the articles in *Millennium* as an ‘eclectic form of theorizing’.

In *Millennium*, authors contribute to IR-theory, not only by describing and/or reflecting on specific concepts like ‘reflexive security’, ‘aesthetic turn’, ‘empire’, ‘world risk society’ etc., but the authors also critically examine what different IR-theories can contribute to our understanding of world politics and how these can be enhanced. Much attention in *Millennium* is paid not only to constructivism and constructivist approaches but also to the English School. Of course this may not come as a surprise as the journal was founded at a department closely associated with the English School, but is probably also due to the fact that constructivism ‘embodies characteristics normally associated with the English School’.²¹ One of these characteristics is that both English School scholars and constructivists emphasize the importance of studying history in International Relations.²² The most interesting article in this regard is *Why international relations has failed as an intellectual project and what to do about it* written by Barry Buzan and Richard Little. They argue that the discipline of International Relations has not (although with some exceptions) offered a substantial contribution to other academic disciplines or generated a public discussion and it needs to engage with world history. For them, the English School can provide for that, although they also argue that ‘the English School needs to be substantially upgraded’. This means that the English School needs to pay attention to the formulation of the concepts like ‘world society’ and should elaborate on a grand theory of international systems.²³

The two sides of constructivism, as described by Reus-Smith, are both covered in *Millennium*. A good example of the critical side of constructivism is the article *Seeing IR differently: notes from the Third World* from Arlene Tickner. She argues that third world scholarship is invisible in IR and that the way non-western scholars look at IR is

²⁰ Hoffman, ‘Critical voices’, 160.

²¹ Reus-Smit, ‘Constructivism’, 235.

²² *Ibid.*, 235.

²³ B. Buzan and R. Little, ‘Why international relations has failed as an intellectual project and what to do about it’ in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (Jan 2001) 38.

fundamentally different from the one of their western colleagues. Tickner even criticizes the post-positivist and the post-colonial discourses of IR: '[...] third world takes on IR raise serious questions about the adequacy of both [post-positivist and post-colonial] approaches for exploring the world as experienced by the global South.'²⁴ Another good example is *Flying planes can be dangerous* from Cynthia Weber. In this article she criticizes the way the American government responded to 9/11 with its declaration of the war on terror. She also makes clear why al-Qaeda appears to be confusing to many, by a description of this terrorist organization in concepts borrowed from gender and sexuality. Weber shows the reader that al-Qaeda can be described in terms of both heterosexuality (the internal ideology) and homosexuality (the reflexive penetration of foreign markets) and that it has both feminine (its fluidity) and masculine (the terrorist actions it undertakes) characteristics. However, the method she is employing for describing al-Qaeda might seem confusing and far-fetched at first sight to the less informed reader. But by applying these concepts from gender and sexuality she does succeed in providing the reader a clearer picture of how al-Qaeda can be perceived.

Furthermore, surprising constructivist approaches of many different themes are also found throughout the different volumes. In his article *'Grab a phaser ambassador': diplomacy in Star Trek* Iver B. Neumann stresses the importance of studying the way society perceives diplomacy. He argues that the representation of diplomacy in popular culture is not yet studied well enough and wants to redress this (to some extent) by examining how diplomacy in *Star Trek* is depicted. He concludes that 'Star Trek representations of diplomacy mirror what we know of the genesis of human diplomatic systems: they have all emerged from a situation where the political entities in question have already shared a number of cultural traits.'²⁵ Another good example of constructivist approaches is the application of Nietzsche's genealogy on certain concepts like 'the European idea', 'empire' and 'power'.²⁶ *Millennium* also pays some attention to the topic of international political economy from a constructivist perspective. For example, in his article *The Keynesian bases of a constructivist theory of the international political economy*, Wesley Widmaier tries to

²⁴ A. Tickner, 'Seeing IR differently: notes from the Third World' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies*, (June 2003) 324.

²⁵ I. Neumann, "'Grab a phaser ambassador': diplomacy in Star Trek' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (abstract) (Dec 2001).

²⁶ See the articles of S. Elbe, 'We good Europeans...', genealogical reflections in Europe (June 2001), M. Cox, 'The empire's back in town: or America's imperial temptation – Again' (February 2003), S. Guzzini, 'The concept of power: a constructivist analysis' (June 2005).

establish a constructive method for studying the international political economy. He argues that this method should be focused on ‘socially constructed ‘conventions’ because they ‘give meaning to economic incentives and thereby shape state and societal interests’.²⁷

Not only the English School and constructivism are covered, there is also attention for realism. In *Competing realist conceptions of power* realism is approached from a constructivist point of view. In this article, Brian C. Schmidt examines how different and competing realist theories deal with the concept of ‘power’. His conclusion is that realists agree on the (realist) definition of power and that realists share the view that states are competing for power, but they disagree on the cause of this competition for power. Schmidt tried to show in his article that realism is not a ‘monolithic’ theory as it is (often) perceived.²⁸ Furthermore, paying attention to the very interesting article *Discourses of power: traversing the realist-postmodern divide* is valuable. Written by J. Sterling-Folker and R.E. Shinko, Sterling-Folker calls herself a realist whereas Shinko calls herself a postmodernist. Both of them examine the concept ‘power’ from their own point of view. They then try to show that realism and postmodernism share certain conceptions. Research conducted both on structures and historical particularities can contribute to an understanding of the concept of ‘power’. They are not trying to put realism and postmodernism together in ‘a unifying totality’, but the two positions can, according to Sterling-Folker and Shinko, work as a ‘mirror image’.²⁹

According to Hoffman, the consequence of the association of *Millennium* with the post-positivist, critical turn is a very limited contribution of the journal to the mainstream debates in IR. As an example he refers to the neorealist-neoliberal debate that occurred in IR since the 1980’s.³⁰ Indeed, in the articles that I have examined, no attention is paid to liberalism. Only a few of the many book reviews in the journal discusses books that have liberalism as a topic.³¹ In the articles, some minor attention is paid to realism, but it is approached from a constructivist point of view. This is also true for Sterling-Folker, even if she calls herself a realist, because Sterling-Folker acknowledges that realism is one view on

²⁷ W. Widmaier, ‘The Keynesian basis of a constructivist theory of the international political economy in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (abstract) (February 2003).

²⁸ B.C. Schmidt, ‘Competing realist conceptions of power’ in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (abstract) (June 2005).

²⁹ J. Sterling-Folker and R.E. Shinko, ‘Discourses of power: Traversing the realist-postmodernist divide’ in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (June 2005) 662.

³⁰ Hofmann, ‘Critical voices’, 160.

³¹ For example the book review on Z. Suda and J. Musil (ed.), *The meaning of liberalism: East and West* (Budapest 2000), that was published in the December issue of 2001.

world politics among other views when she calls realism a ‘discursive frame’.³² The reason for *Millennium* not to engage in the neo-neo debate is because both neo-realism and neo-liberalism represent rationalism in the rationalism versus reflectivism debate, that started since the 1990’s and is essentially a debate between mainstream IR and its critics.³³ Rationalists call for a positivist method of studying IR, a method that clearly has no place in *Millennium*. On the contrary, the articles in the journal are written by authors that support post-positivist methods. This refers to a broad range of critical approaches that reject a scientific study of IR, such as critical theory, post-modernism, feminism and constructivism. Advocates of these approaches are hugely divided about the proper method of studying IR but some similarities between their ideas do exist: the rejection of the grand theories of IR, the awareness that knowledge is always dependent on the theorist and his or her background and finally the embracing of a greater plurality of methodological techniques in order to contribute to a more reflective theory of IR.³⁴ Thus, arguing that *Millennium* is not contributing to mainstream IR-theory or to the neo-neo debate misunderstands the journals commitment to the post-positivist study of international issues.

³² Sterling-Folker and Shinko, ‘Discourses of power’ (abstract) 637.

³³ P. Sutch and J. Elias, *International Relations. The basics* (New York 2010) 12-13.

³⁴ Sutch and Elias, *International Relations*, 114.

3. Debates in *Millennium*

In order to draw a clear picture of the most important topics, this section will describe the debates that were held in the journal during the period of 2001-2005. One of the largest debates in *Millennium* is about the book *Empire* of Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt. In this book the authors argue that capitalism has entered a new historical stage. The sovereignty of nation-states is becoming less relevant due to globalization and a new global form of sovereignty is rising up, what the authors call Empire (with a capital E). Because capitalism is now a global development, imperialism has become non-existent because there is no ‘outside’ territory anymore. The boundaries between the First World and the Third World have become fuzzy. Empire has no fixed boundaries and has no centre of power, even the United States of America is a part of Empire. In Empire, power lies ‘both everywhere and nowhere’.³⁵

The book has been criticized in *Millennium* by Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey in their article *Retrieving the imperial: empire and international relations*. According to them *Empire* is an interesting but flawed book. In their view, the radical break that Negri and Hardt describe, a break between a modern time of sovereign states and a postmodern time characterized by the rise of Empire, is not tenable. Although they do agree with Hardt and Negri that sovereignty today comprises not the same as it did, they disagree on the non-existence of imperialism. They argue that imperialism is still present and it continues to be a suitable concept for understanding world politics.³⁶ The editors of *Millennium* decided to contribute a part of the March 2003 issue to a discussion about this topic and consequently three articles were published. These articles criticize both the book *Empire* and the article of Barkawi and Laffey. This criticism is mainly directed to the definition of Barkawi and Laffey of the concept of ‘imperialism’. For example, Martin Shaw agrees with their view that imperialism is still a current theme in International Relations and that this is overlooked in *Empire*, but he disagrees with Barkawi and Laffey on the emphasis they put on the American domination in a world that they characterize as an imperial hierarchy. Shaw argues that the American and European powers have a post-imperial character, and although western dominance is still prevalent, quasi-imperial relations exist. This is particularly the case in the non-western world: ‘many large and medium-sized states are reconstitutions of historic pre-

³⁵ J. Choonara, ‘Marx or the multitude?’ in: *International Socialism. A quarterly journal of socialist theory* <http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php4?id=65&issue=105> (accessed 10-4-2011).

³⁶ T. Barkawi and M. Laffey, ‘Retrieving the imperial: Empire and International Relations’ in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (January 2002) 127.

European or European empires'.³⁷ According to Shaw, India, Turkey, Indonesia and Ethiopia are good examples.

In the issue of June 2001 Fred Dallmayr published an article called *Conversation across boundaries: political theory and global diversity*. In this article he explores some of Michael Oakshotts philosophies on discourses. Oakshott proposed a discourse less based on rational argumentation or strategic manipulation which he called a 'conversation'. Such a conversation, according to Oakshott, does more justice to the diversity of human utterances. In Dallmayrs opinion, this philosophy is very useful for a global or cosmopolitan discourse. He advocates for what he calls a 'thick conversation' or a 'thick dialogue', that is, 'a communicative exchange willing to delve into the rich fabric of different 'lifeworlds' and cultures'.³⁸ This kind of dialogue is more alert to the existence of marginal voices. Two responses to this article were published in the same issue. William E. Connolly does support Dallmayrs attempt but he criticizes it for being too philosophical. He wants to augment and amend Dallmayrs philosophy and explores a phenomenon that he calls 'cross-state citizen networks'. Nicholas Renger mainly criticizes Dallmayrs interpretation of Oakshotts work.

Also in June 2001, Mikkel V. Rasmussen published the article *Reflexive security: NATO and international risk society*. In this article he argues that the perception of security in the West has changed after the Cold War. Rasmussen believes that many studies of international security do not fully grasp these changes. Therefore these studies not only misinform but also misjudge the policies of NATO. Nowadays, it becomes more common in IR to approach security in a constructivist way. These constructivist studies have shown that there are no 'objective threats', threats are perceived as threats by states, threats are social constructs. Rasmussen uses the concept of 'reflexive security' to describe security in the present and draws on the theory of reflexive modernity formulated by Ulrich Beck.³⁹ Shlomo Griner has responded to Rasmussen in his article *Living in a world risk society: A reply to Mikkel V. Rasmussen*. He describes the concept of reflexivity as 'the ability of all rational beings to take themselves as objects of knowledge, thus modifying their identity and/or

³⁷ M. Shaw, 'Post-Imperial and quasi-imperial: State and empire in the global area' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (March 2002) 333.

³⁸ F. Dallmayr, 'Conversation across boundaries' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (June 2001) 346.

³⁹ M.V. Rasmussen, 'Reflexive security: NATO and international risk society' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (June 2001) 285.

behaviour.⁴⁰ He argues that Rasmussen needs to elaborate more on NATO's reflexivity by doing empirical research. Rasmussen has not proven yet what it means that NATO is being reflexive and how this is related to reflexive modernity. According to him, 'adopting Beck without properly developing his theory's observable implications for the reality of international relations' is not without complications. In the March 2004 issue, Rasmussen addresses some of these concerns of Griner in his research note *'It sounds like a riddle': security studies, the war on terror and risk*.

Section three have mentioned the article by Barry Buzan and Richard Little *Why international relations has failed as an intellectual project and what to do about it*, published in the January issue of 2001. In this article, the authors advocate for a larger role of an 'updated' ES in the study of international relations. In June 2003, Ian Manners in his article *The missing tradition of the ES: Including Nietzschean relativism and world imagination in extranational studies*, takes up the idea of a revised English School again. His view of an altered and enhanced English School differs from the idea of Buzan and Little. Manners stresses the importance to include postmodern insights within the English School. According to Manners, this is necessary in order to avoid the sort of debates that have been characterizing IR for too long. His emphasis on the idea of a revised English School with postmodern insights is not to be conceived as a synthesis, instead he argues that 'any attempt to do something about the death of IR needs to encourage heterologue and understanding, not incorporation and introspection.'⁴¹ Or to put it in other words, an 'intention of achieving a 'great conversation' that allows 'polyphonic discourse''.⁴² In 2005 the editorial team of *Millennium* organized a debate on the book of Buzan *From International to World Society?*, where he elaborates on an 'upgraded ES'.

Nevertheless, Buzan, Little and Manners are not the only ones that are concerned with the current state of IR and IR-theories, and they are not alone in doing suggestions for improvement. Many articles in different issues in *Millennium* deal with what is also called the 'Westphalian trap'.⁴³ This so-called trap refers to an axiomatic understanding of world politics in terms of nation-states and sovereignty. In their article *The pragmatism of global*

⁴⁰ S. Griner, 'Living in a world risk society: a reply to Mikkel V. Rasmussen' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (January 2002) 155.

⁴¹ I. Manners, 'The missing tradition of the ES: including Nietzschean relativism and world imagination in extranational studies' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies*, 242.

⁴² Manners, 'The missing tradition of the ES', 263.

⁴³ M. Albert and T. Kopp-Malek, 'The pragmatism of global and European governance: emerging forms of the political 'Beyond Westphalia'' in *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (July 2002) 469.

and European governance: emerging forms of the political 'Beyond Westphalia' that appeared in the July 2002 issue (which is a special issue called *Pragmatism in International Relations*), Albert and Kopp-Malek argue that pragmatism is not a theory but an attitude. Basically it means the acceptance of the existence of multiple perspectives. The political and academic discourses are becoming more characterized by pragmatism. According to the authors, the adoption of a pragmatic attitude is a way out of the 'Westphalian trap', because it suggests ways of 'thinking about new modes of political regulation beyond the nation-state within IR'.⁴⁴ The article *Pragmatic constructivism and the study of international institutions* of Peter M. Haas and Ernst. B. Haas explores a pragmatic constructivist approach for a 'progressing study in International Relations that sidesteps the ontological differences between major IR approaches, and that is capable of influencing practices in international relations.'⁴⁵ In the article *The aesthetic turn in international political theory*, Bleiker advocates for an appreciation of an aesthetic approach in IR. He argues that IR practices are mainly mimetic practices. In his opinion, mimetic practices ignore the fact that there is always a distortion between a representation and what is represented. He therefore calls for an aesthetic turn. This turn, however, requires more than 'simply adding a few additional layers of interpretation'. Bleiker therefore suggests a 'fundamental reorientation of thought and action: a shift away from harmonious common sense imposed by a few dominant faculties towards a model of thought that enables productive flows across a variety of discordant faculties.'⁴⁶

The previous section showed that constructivism plays a large role in the journal and concluded that the journal embraces a post-positivist study of international issues. In this section, by paying attention to the occurring debates, one of the characteristics of post-positivism becomes evident, namely the focus on a more reflectivist approach in / of IR. This concerns reflection on the use of specific concepts like 'imperialism' and 'reflexive security'. But it also concerns reflection on the discipline itself. The discussions show a discontent with the current state of the discipline of IR. The proposed solutions for the betterment of IR show again a characteristic of post-positivism: they are very wide-ranging and have little similarities.

⁴⁴ Albert and T. Kopp-Malek, 'The pragmatism', 471.

⁴⁵ P.M. Haas and E.B. Haas, 'Pragmatic constructivism and the study of international institutions' in: *Millennium: Journal of international studies* (July 2002) 573.

⁴⁶ R. Bleiker, 'The aesthetic turn in international political theory' in: *Millennium: journal of international studies* (December 2001) 519.

4. A quantitative presentation of *Millennium*

It is useful to present some figures on *Millennium* in order to complement the description and analysis expounded in the previous sections. Hoffman writes that '*Millennium* [...] has come to be widely associated with the more radical, dissonant, marginal, some might say wacky voices within the discipline'.⁴⁷ Indeed, *Millennium* was the first journal in the International Relations field that devoted a special issue to women and international relations in December 1988.⁴⁸ Fortunately, this issue was not only *about* woman and IR; many female scholars did make a contribution to this issue. In this 1988-issue, a total amount of ten articles were published. Taken all the authors together, eight of them were female, four were male (one article was written by three people). Now it becomes interesting to determine the gender ratio of 2001-2005. Unfortunately, this gives a whole different picture. From a total of 124 authors, 98 are male which makes 79% of the total. 26 of the authors were female, which makes 21% of the total. For the period of 2006-2010, the gender ratio is still very unbalanced: 74% of the authors were male and 26% were female.⁴⁹ Thus, the special issue of 1988 was, and remains, in all respects a special issue.

A further assessment of *Millennium* as a place for 'dissonant and marginal voices' is possible by having a look at the universities and/or research institutes the authors were working at the time of publishing in the journal. The majority of them were affiliated with an institute in the United Kingdom and the United States of America followed by Canada, Australia and European and non-European countries. See figure 1.

⁴⁷ Hofmann, 'Critical voices', 139.

⁴⁸ J. True, 'Feminism' in S. Burchill and A. Linklater (eds.), *Theories of international relations* (New York 2009) 239-240.

⁴⁹ C. Pfenniger, *The role of the 'Millennium'-Journal in the scientific discourse of IR, and its contributions to the field of International Studies between 2006 and 2010* (Groningen 2011) 5.

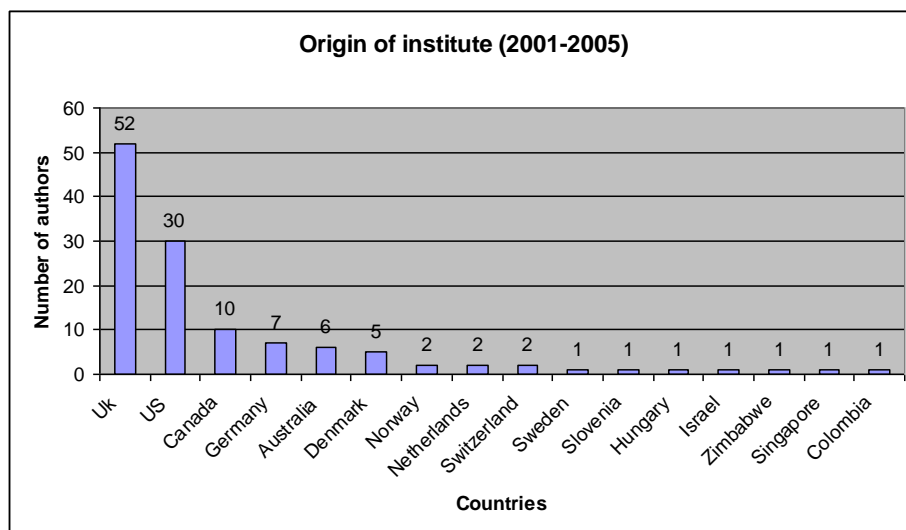


Figure 1: The origin of the research institutes, ordered by the number of authors contributing to the journal. Surprisingly, only three contributions in the period of 2001-2005 came from the non-western world, see table 1.

Europe	North-America	Oceania	Israel	South-America	Africa	Asia
UK 52	North-America 30	Australia 6	Israel 1	Colombia 1	Zimbabwe 1	Singapore 1
Germany 7	Canada 10					
Denmark 5						
Norway 2						
Netherlands 2						
Switzerland 2						
Sweden 1						
Slovenia 1						
Hungary 1						
Total 73	40	6	1	1	1	1

Table 1: Origin of institute per continent/region (2001-2005).

Take note, the specific background of the authors was not taken into account. A few authors have a non-western background but because they, at the time of writing, resided in a western research environment, their backgrounds were left aside. This means that 120 of the 123 authors, or 97,5%, are affiliated with a research institute in a western country (including

Israel) and the remainder of the authors, 2,5% of the total, are affiliated with an institute in a non-western country.

On the website of SAGE publishers *Millennium* is described as journal that is wide-ranging in scope.⁵⁰ The qualitative description of *Millennium* in sections 3 and 4 do confirm this, *Millennium* covers all sorts of theories, concepts, topics and approaches. This makes it rather difficult to assess the contents of the journal in quantitative terms. However, in order to complement the assessment of the degree in which *Millennium* contributes to IR-theory, it might be useful to make a distinction between articles that provide case-studies (or the ‘empirical puzzles’ as they were called in section 3) and articles that try to contribute to the development of new theories and concepts or enhance, complement or alter existing ones. A total amount of 113 articles have been examined for this paper. In the volumes 2001-2005, of the 113 articles, 48 presented a case-study which make it 42,5% of the total. 65 articles engage with (a part of) IR-theory and / or concepts which makes 57,5% of the analysed articles. Thus, the contributions to theory on the one hand and case studies on the other are fairly balanced.

According to the Thomson Reuters’ Journal Citation report, *Millennium* is currently ranked 38 out of 59, with an impact factor of 0.463. This ranking dates from 2009 as the figures of 2010 are not yet available. It is useful to assess the long-term impact of *Millennium*. Table 1 presents the impact factors of the period of 1999-2009. Although the years 2000 and 2004 are an exception, the impact of *Millennium* can be described as ‘average’. This conclusion is supported by the ranking of the Australian Deakin University. In this ranking, *Millennium* is currently ranked as a B journal.⁵¹

Table 1: Impact factor and rank per year (Thomson Reuters)

Year	Impact factor	Rank	Total amount of journals
1999	0.362	30	52
2000	0.929	16	52
2001	0.558	21	52
2002	0,407	30	53
2003	0.462	29	52
2004	0.810	18	54

⁵⁰ <http://mil.sagepub.com/> (accessed 11-4-2011).

⁵¹ See <http://lamp.infosys.deakin.edu.au/era/?page=jfordet10&selfor=1606> (accessed 12-4-2011).

2005	0.400	31	50
2006	0.500	25	50
2007	0.673	24	51
2008	0.469	38	55
2009	0.463	38	59

Source: Thomson Reuters Journal Citation Reports.

It is interesting to take a closer look at the high(er) impact factor in 2000 and 2004. Thomson Reuters calculates the impact factor of a journal by dividing the number of current year citations to the source items published in that journal during the previous two years.⁵² This means that the impact factor of *Millennium* in 2000 is based on citations of its articles published in 1998 and 1999. A closer look at the citations in these two years shows that from the total of 39 citations, 30 refer to items published in 1998. Half of these 30 citations (14) are related to journals that referred only once to an article in *Millennium*. Furthermore, 4 are self-citations and 5 citations come from the journal *Review of international studies*, a journal also based in the United Kingdom. The remainder of the citations are from other IR journals. The impact factor of 2004 is calculated by the number of citations from 2002 and 2003. The total number of citations is 34, and 31 citations are from items published in 2002 and 3 from items published in 2003. The largest amount of citations in 2002 is self-citations (6). Others come from *Review of International Studies* (5), *Third World Quarterly* (5), *the European Journal of International relations* (3), *International Studies Quarterly* (2) and many other journals.⁵³

The answer to the question why the impact factors were relatively high in 2000 and 2004 is not obvious. The high amount of self-citations is not the reason, because self-citations appear every year and are not uncommon in other journals as well. The website of Thomson Reuters also reports that leaving out self-citations has little consequences for the impact factors and the ranking.⁵⁴ Perhaps the high impact factors of these years have a relation to the contents of the special issues. In 1998 *Millennium* had two special issues, one called 'Ethics and International Relations' and one celebrating the 10th year anniversary of the special issue

⁵² See http://thomsonreuters.com/products_services/science/free/essays/impact_factor/ where an example of such a calculation is given (accessed 22-5-2011).

⁵³ Thomson Reuters, *Journal Citation Reports*.

⁵⁴ http://thomsonreuters.com/products_services/science/free/essays/journal_self_citation_jcr/ (accessed at 22-5-2011).



of 1988 on women and IR.⁵⁵ As I mentioned before, the 1988-issue is known for being a pioneer in this topic. The special issue of 2002 was called *Pragmatism in International Relations Theory*. Pragmatism is a relatively new approach (or philosophy) in IR-theory. According to Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, editor in chief of the *Journal of International Relations and Development, Millennium* was the first in the discipline of IR that did a serious (re)attempt to link pragmatism to IR-theory.⁵⁶ According to Professor Gunther Hellmann, this renewed interest of pragmatism in IR was due to 9/11, because 9/11 caused an ‘increasing appreciation in IR of an internal perspective on such real world developments—that is, a perspective which tries to understand how individual and collective actors make sense of such occurrences’.⁵⁷ Thus, with the special issue on pragmatism in July 2002, the editors of *Millennium* have responded quickly to the developments in the discipline after 9/11.

⁵⁵ Hoffman, 167-168 (note 25) and <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalRelations/Journals/millenn/History.aspx> (accessed 22-5-2011).

⁵⁶ P.T. Jackson, ‘Social science as a vocation: Weber, pragmatism, and experiential inquiry’ (2007). This is the text of a presentation by Jackson at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in 2007. See for the contents of this presentation: http://turin.sgir.eu/uploads/Jackson-social_science_vocation.pdf (accessed 22-5-2011).

⁵⁷ G. Hellmann, ‘Beliefs as rules for action: Pragmatism as a theory of thought and action’, *International studies review*, 11 (3) 638.

Conclusion

The claim of the department of International Relations at the LSE that, although it is closely associated with the development of the English School, it ‘never endorsed a particular orthodoxy’ is illustrated by its journal *Millennium*. The journal is perhaps best described as non-orthodox, its boundaries almost non-discernible. As argued in section 5, finding quantitative criteria to measure the contents of *Millennium* is not easy. However, the articles of *Millennium* have a common factor and that is approaching IR from a constructivist point of view, shown in sections 3 and 4. This is evident in the case studies, but also in the theories and concepts. Due to the nature of constructivism, theory in *Millennium* is approached and used in an eclectic way and is less directed at the formulation of a general theory. Hoffman therefore accuses *Millennium* of not contributing to IR-theory.

In my view this accusation is not justified because the post-positivist argument is precisely aimed at the rejection of the grand theories of IR. But there is another reason why the accusation of *Millennium* not contributing to IR-theory is not justified. In several articles in the journal authors are trying to build a bridge between the English School and constructivism. Authors like Ian Manners argue for an English School that incorporates postmodern insights. Barry Buzan argues that the English School needs to engage with world history and at the same time formulate a grand theory of international systems. The editors of *Millennium* decided to organize a forum after the publication of Buzan’s book *From International to World Society* where a debate between constructivists and English School-scholars was held. This means that the editors and some of the authors are open to discuss the formulation of a grand theory of IR and make a serious attempt to do so.

Even though the impact factor of *Millennium* is on an average level, the journal in qualitative terms is very relevant for IR. The constructivist approaches in the articles work as a mirror: not only theories, concepts and methods but also the discipline of IR itself are subject to a continuous introspection in *Millennium*. Furthermore, as a history student, I find the journal extremely relevant for my studies, since the case-studies illustrate how constructivism can be applied. However, there is still room for improvement. From a constructivist point of view, female and non-western scholars (can) have different ideas about IR and other international issues. Unfortunately, their contributions to the journal are very limited.



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