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“AT THE HEART OF THE CRITICAL ENDEAVOUR”  
THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MILLENNIUM-JOURNAL TO THE FIELD OF  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES BETWEEN 2006 AND 2010

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## **1. Reviewing Millennium - a journal for critical international studies**

This paper is reviewing the latest intellectual developments within the Millennium Journal of International Studies (Millennium). For performing the review a total number of 189 texts - consisting out of academic articles, editorials, book- and movie-reviews, as well as essays and discussions - have been evaluated qualitatively and quantitatively. The review is spanning 5 volumes, and thus all of the journals issues that have published between February 2006 and December 2010.

The study proceeds in four steps: *First*, Millennium's main incentives as well as its standing and reputation within the scientific community gets highlighted. In order to situate the journal properly into the academic discourse the introductory part is flanked by a brief explanatory section on positivist, post-positivist, critical, and post-structuralist approaches. After lining out the crucial margins in which the journal operates the review proceeds in a *second* step with delivering a more in-depth insight into the authorship, the kind of theoretical approaches applied, and the different writing formats at hand. Subsequent to the drawing of this more general picture the review finally proceeds to its core section: in a *third* step the results of the quantitative evaluation of the journals content is presented, by shedding light on the most prominent topics addressed between 2006 to 2010. In a *fourth* and final step a selection of innovative discussions will undergo a more in-depth qualitative assessment. The paper ceases with a brief summary of the findings.

### **1.1 Major goals, internal structure, academic reputation**

Millennium's self-assigned objective is "to publish the most innovative articles from the discipline of international studies, as well as original thinking from elsewhere in the social sciences within an international dimension".<sup>1</sup> For achieving this quite ambitious incentive the editorial board of the journal predominantly aims to publish articles and other contributions that cover a wide-ranging and interdisciplinary scope, and make use of new and critical approaches to the field of International Relations (IR). The journal claims to draw heavily from the contributions of research students and other young researchers in the field of IR, history, sociology, anthropology, and so forth.<sup>2</sup>

Millennium first got published in 1971 by a group of graduate students in the IR-department at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Since ever then the yearly changing editorial board was recruited among LSE-students, and is currently consisting (for the 40th volume) out of Francesco Obino (ITA), Shuxiu Zhang (CHN), and

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<sup>1</sup> <https://millenniumjournal.wordpress.com/about/> (8. April 2011).

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

Damiano de Felice (ITA)<sup>3</sup>. All other persons - such as the deputy editors, the associate editors, business managers, or the editorial board - have as well a close connection to LSE<sup>4</sup>. In fact, no non-LSE affiliate can be found among these positions at the moment.

The journal is peer reviewed, what means that each submitted contribution undergoes an independent and anonymous evaluation by two or three examiners. Contributors can choose from a variety of different formats, such as articles, discussion pieces, review articles, or research notes. Millennium requires that the material was not been published elsewhere, and is not submitted for other publications while under consideration by the journal. The required length of contributions varies between the different formats: while a main article has a length of 7,000 to 9,000 words, discussion pieces and research notes are supposed to have the size of only 5,000 words. Review articles for books should not exceed 3,000 to 4,000 words.<sup>5</sup> Millennium releases three to four volumes per year, at present via Sage Publications.

Regarding Millennium's reputation in the academic community only an incoherent picture can be drawn. According to a 2005 survey of Journal-ranking.com Millennium ranks among the 15 most influential and most cited journals in the field of IR (out of 60 in total).<sup>6</sup> However, in a more recent 2010 study, the ERA-project rated the journal only with a fair B (available scale was A\*, A, B, C).<sup>7</sup> The 2002 Hix-index and the 2008 Comparative Journals Ranking List came both to a comparable conclusion, and situated Millennium in the lower middle field: the Hix-index assigned the journal rank 41 out of 63<sup>8</sup>, while the Comparative Journals Ranking List denominated position 63 out of 92.<sup>9</sup> Millennium's own publisher, Sage, is following this conclusion, and refers to a 2009 ranking, in which the journal has been situated in rank 38 out of 59, with an impact factor of 0.463.<sup>10</sup>

A possible reason for these relatively low middle-field rankings could lie in the fact that Millennium aims on filling a niche in the realm of IR-publications. This, and the fact that Millennium is closely affiliated with post-positivist thinking (→I.2) - a dissent opinion, especially in American dominated IR - could be the reason for the limited reach of the journal in the academic community.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201893> (09.04.2011).

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.sagepub.com/journals/Journal201893/boards> (09.04.2011).

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.sagepub.com/journals/Journal201893/manuscriptSubmission> (09.04.2011).

<sup>6</sup> 2005 rating, see: <http://www.journal-ranking.com/ranking/listCommonRanking.html?selfCitationWeight=1&externalCitationWeight=1&citingStartYear=1901&journalListId=350> (08.04.2011).

<sup>7</sup> 2010 rating, see: <http://lamp.infosys.deakin.edu.au/era/?page=jfordet10&selfor=1606> (08.04.2011).

<sup>8</sup> 2002 rating, see: <http://www.mikikard.com/epiware/uploads/hix.pdf> (08.04.2011).

<sup>9</sup> 2008 rating, see: <http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/Politics/papers/2008/McLean%20Blais%20Giles%20and%20Garand%20%28April%202008%29.pdf> (08.04.2011).

<sup>10</sup> 2009 rating, see: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201893> (09.04.2011).

## 1.2 Theoretical context: critical, emancipatory, and normative theories

Millennium sees itself as a vanguard for critical and innovative research in the field of IR. Seen in the narrative of the ongoing positivism - post-positivism debate, Millennium can be clearly situated in the post-positivist camp (see figure 1), publishing mostly on topics regarding international ethics, feminist theory, postcolonial studies, post-structuralism and post-modernism, as well as constructivism and critical theory.<sup>11</sup>

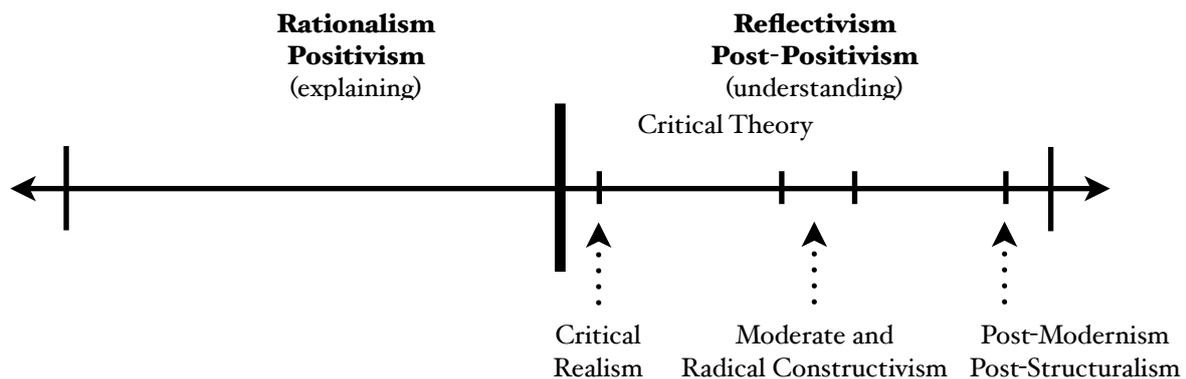


Figure 1: *positivism - post-positivism divide*

Critical theory and post-structuralist/modernist approaches are drawing heavily from Enlightenment and Frankfurt School thinking, thus emphasising to a huge extent emancipatory and normative academic approaches. One of main aims of this reflectivist branch is the redefinition of the political community and the countering of the prevailing state-ontology.<sup>12</sup> Beside this, it attempts to uncover existing patterns of oppressing power structures, and tries and give room to those voices being suppressed through hegemonic narratives and discourses. To what extent this kind of thinking gets reflected in Millennium can be seen in section 2.2, as well as in section 3.

## 2. Drawing an overall picture

### 2.1 Who is publishing in the journal: Millennium's authorship

If one wants to draw a stereotypical picture of "the typical" Millennium contributor, the image would possibly look like this: the "average" author is male, and holds a position as a professor of IR or political science; he is working in a professional university-related research

<sup>11</sup> <http://journals.academia.edu/Millennium> (09.04.2011).

<sup>12</sup> see for example Devetak, Richard (2009): "Critical Theory" and "Post-structuralism", in: Burchill (et al.): Theories of International Relations, 4th edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 159 - 211.

environment; and his host-university is most possibly based in an english-speaking country, mainly the United Kingdom or the United States of America. This blueprint of the typical Millennium author is of course a little bit simplistic. However, it reflects some important findings that mirror the main characteristics of contributors and authors.

When looking at the ratio between male and female authors, it becomes instantly clear that Millennium's publication list is dominated by contributions from male authors. The most unequal distributed male/female-ratio has been denominated in 2007, with a relation of 81 to only 19 %, while the most "equal" ratio could be found in 2006 and 2009 with 65 to 35 % respectively. Regarding the whole period between 2006 and 2010 it can be said that on average approximately one fourth of the contributors are female, while three fourth are male (see chart 2A):

Millennium provides a platform research-students, PhD-students, and other young researchers, and gives them a forum for presenting new ideas and an opportunity to contribute to the academic debate. Looking at the positions held by the respective contributors (chart 2B) one will find a total number of 17 % PhD-, research-, and post-doc-students among the authors. The majority of contributors, however, has already obtained the position of a professor or an assistant professor: 51 % of all contributors can be found in this category. The remaining ration is divided among assistants and lecturers, research fellows, teachers, etc.: in total 32 %. The evaluation of the author's position makes clear that most of them are situated in a professional, and overall university-related research environment. In some exceptional cases traffic from outside, like for example authors who work for think-tanks or non-university research institutes can be registered. However, it has become obvious that the reach of Millennium's authorship is limited to university-bound personnel.

Another category under evaluation has been the region in which the authors current host-institution is located (chart 2C). As the evaluation has revealed a clear tendency toward English-speaking countries and regions is evident: 45 % of the authors work for institutions in the United Kingdom, another 26 % in the United States, and additional 14 % in English-speaking countries such as Canada or Australia. Bottom line, roughly 85 % of all contributions stem from institutions based in the anglo-saxon realm. Institutions based on continental Europe, such as universities in Norway, Switzerland, or Germany, are represented by 14 %. Contributions from institutions located neither in Europe nor in a english-speaking country constituted only 4 % of the total publications between 2006 and 2010.

## **2.2 Ratio of theories, methods, and writing-formats applied**

The quantitative evaluation of the last five volumes has shown that Millennium sticks quite strictly to its initially formulated goal of promoting critical and emancipatory

approaches in the field of IR: almost half of the articles published during the last five years chose either critical theory or post-modern/-structuralist approaches as the basis of their survey (chart 2D). Beside this very dominant streams a wide array of other approaches can be found: constructivism (present in 7 % of all articles), Marxist and neo-Gramscian theories (6 %), scientific and critical realism (3 %), as well as the repeating use of theoretical concepts developed by Max Weber, Emanuel Kant, Hannah Arendt, or Carl Schmitt (in total present by 6 %).

Other approaches, such as (neo-)realism or (neo-)liberalism are not faded out completely. But the quantitative evaluation made evident that these approaches serve only in very rare occasion as the analytical backbone of articles. Rather it is far more common that they get contextualize with critical, post-structural or marxist approaches. This is mostly done for lining out certain ontological or epistemological flaws or loopholes in realist or liberalist concept. As examples serve Prozorov's "Liberal Emnity: The Figure of the Foe in the Political Ontology of Liberalism" and Heathershow "Unpacking the Liberal Peace: The Dividing and merging of Peacebuilding Discourse" - two articles, which counter specific liberalist concepts by using critical ones.

However, such inter-theoretical and comparative methods are not only used in order to "mock" on other camps. They are also applied in order to strengthen the clout of critical theories through intra-camp convergence: Fluck for example used in his 2010 article "Truth, Values and the Value of Truth in Critical International Relations Theory" Adorno's concept of truth for bridging the gap between critical theories and post-structuralist approaches.

Furthermore, it has been discovered, that the field of critical IR-scholarship is a vivid and progressive branch of research (charts 2E and 2F). The majority of articles works on a theoretical basis and tries to come up with new or refined epistemological, ontological, and theoretical concepts for the IR-field. Only a small number of articles applies already existing theories without modifying or refining them. The number of debates and discussions that have taken place between 2006 and 2010, serve as an example for the lively intellectual platform Millennium provides: a total amount of 30 articles engaged in intra-journal discussions. Unfortunately, most of these discussion cease after two or three issues - a prolonged and coherent debate that spans several issues or even volumes could not be identified. Mere theoretical work is however not the dominant business of the journal: between 2006 and 2010 a total number of 50 articles used case-study methods for the purpose of empirical exemplification.

### 3. Quantitative evaluation of topics between 2006 and 2010

This section will show how the different formats - be it individual texts, contributions in the *forum*, or articles in a *special issue (SI)* - shaped the contentual scope of Millennium during the last five years. It does so by presenting the results of a qualitative evaluation of the journals content between 2006 and 2010. The sub-sections 3.1 to 3.5 give a brief thematic summary of the main topics in the respective years. A more concrete insight into all topics under discussion can be drawn from the tables 3A to 3E. Those tables show the frequency and distribution of topics by shedding light on the most dominant discussions as well as on thematic niches.

In order to produce significant data with sufficient explanatory power, all 189 contributions have undergone an in-depth analysis regarding their substantive content. The results of this evaluation, as well as the categories according to which the respective articles have been judged, can be seen in the tables 3A to 3F. At the beginning of the evaluation a total number of 41 categories has been available, among them complexes dealing with the constitution and structure of the international realm (global governance, international institutions and regimes, or economics), state related issues (sovereignty, post-sovereignty, diplomacy), topics concerned with identity formation (narratives, ideology, violence and community formation), as well as subject areas related to culture/pop-culture, ethical and normative questions, gender, civil society, history, NGO's, and climate. In the course of the evaluation the list has increased incrementally and finally ended up with 66 different categories in volume 39 (2010). At the respective end of each years table the newly emerged topics can be found (starting with volume 36, 2007, table 3B).

#### 3.1 2006: historical sociology, activism, and the sublime

The first major landmark in 2006 has been the *forum* "The Work of Michael Mann" in issue 34(2). It was dealing with the contribution of Mann's work to the field of IR through historical sociology<sup>13</sup>. In an opening article George Lawson introduces the person Michael Mann, and gives and structuring overview over his impressive contributions to the scientific discourse, making contributions regarding ethnic cleansing, empire, state-formation, and fascism.<sup>14</sup> Drawing from an interview<sup>15</sup> with Mann in the very same *forum* Lawson lines out why IR might exactly benefit from Mann's work and his IEMP model.<sup>16</sup> Subsequently a vivid discussion on the topic starts: while Halliday and Hobson are pointing at major

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<sup>13</sup> Editors introduction, "The work of Michael Mann".

<sup>14</sup> Lawson, "A Conversation with Michael Mann".

<sup>15</sup> Lawson, "The Social Sources of Life, the Universe and Everything: A Conversation with Michael Mann".

<sup>16</sup> Lawson, "A Conversation with Michael Mann, p. 480 f.

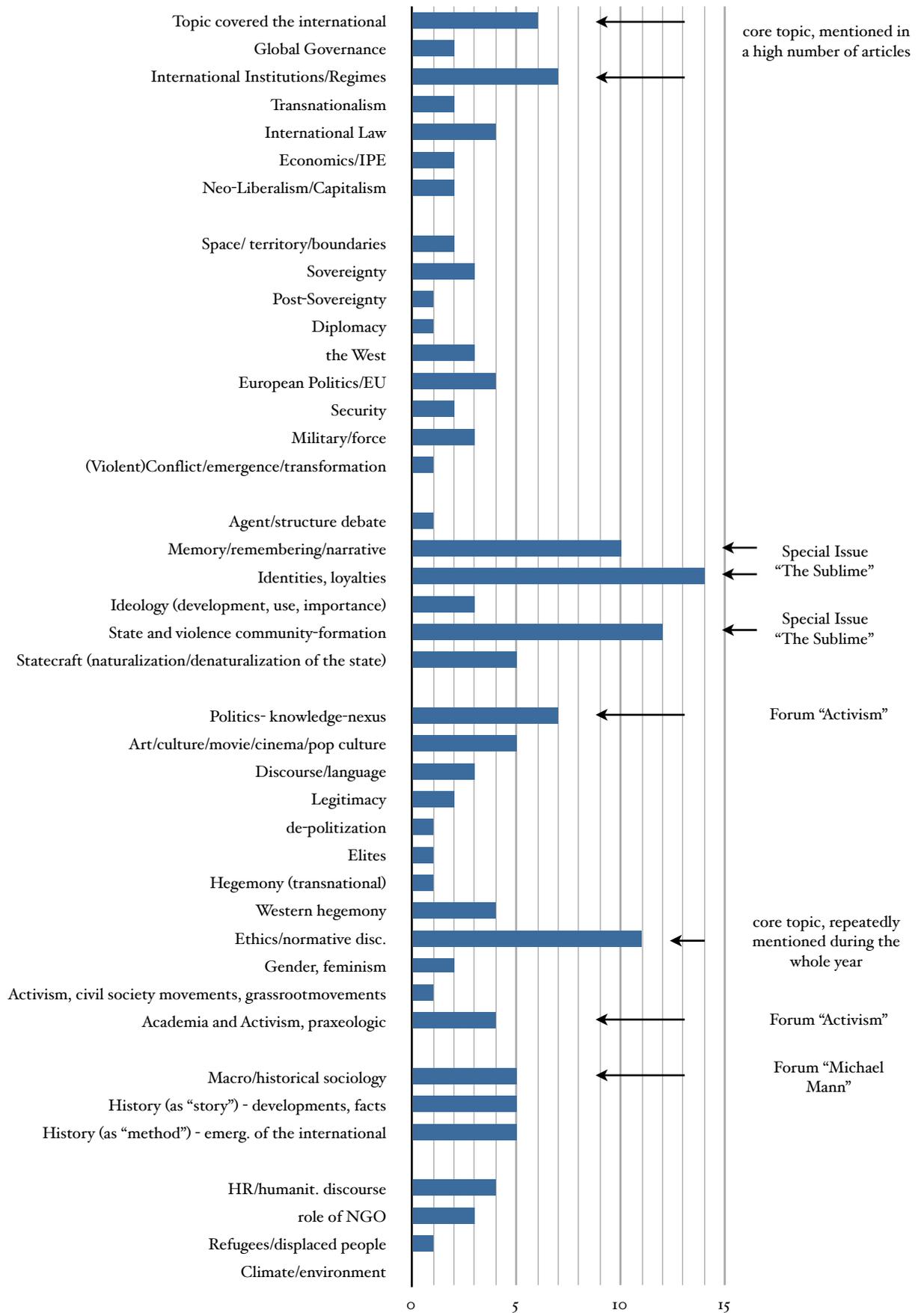


table 3A: *topics covered in 2006*

shortcomings, such as under-theorizing of certain aspects<sup>17</sup> and internal inconsistencies<sup>18</sup>, Weiss values Mann's work, and claims that it enhances the understanding of globalization, and it's constraining as well as enabling dimensions.<sup>19</sup>

The second major structuring contribution has been set by the *forum* on "Activism, Academia and Education" (35(i)). As this paper will show later, the academia-activism-divide is repeatedly discussed and highlighted in Millennium. In the 2006 case the focus has mainly been put on the very meaning and the practical manifestations of "activism" inside and outside the academic context, as well as on the translation of critical research into the public realm.<sup>20</sup> Activism has been addressed through articles that highlight the dullness of british academia when it comes to the misuse of power by their government<sup>21</sup>, the uses of feminist approaches<sup>22</sup>, and a particular criticism of the negative impacts of the neo-liberal capitalist revolution on academic research environments<sup>23</sup>

The 2006 *special issue* handled the concept of "the sublime", a topic that is rather associated with philosophy and arts, than with IR. The *SI* aimed on making the concept more approachable for scholars of international politics.<sup>24</sup> The topic got tackled from multiple angles, whereby most authors shed light on the question how events considered as "sublime", such as the 7/7 terrorist attacks in London<sup>25</sup>, the Hiroshima bombing or September 11<sup>26</sup>, become part of a nations constitutive narrative and emerge as a cataclysm for identities and a tool for statecraft. Other authors focused on the representation of "the sublime" in popular culture, and the ethical implications of memory-politics<sup>27</sup>, while a third branch investigated on the meaning of sublime events for world politics through the territorial partitioning of political subjects and the handling of traumatic events in the global realm<sup>28</sup>.

Beyond this most prominent topics some discussions, book-reviews, and a response can be found in the 2006 issues as well. Warner and Forsythe discussed the the issues of the

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<sup>17</sup> lack of agency and normative aspects, see: Halliday.

<sup>18</sup> neorealist aspects and eurocentrism, see Hobson.

<sup>19</sup> Weiss, "Michael Mann, State Power, and the Two Logics of Globalisation".

<sup>20</sup> Maiguashca/Thornton, "Activism, Academia, and Education".

<sup>21</sup> Herring, "Remaking the Mainstream: The Case for Activist IR Scholarship".

<sup>22</sup> Eschle/Maiguashca, "Bridging the Academic/Activist Divide: Feminist Activism and the Teaching of Global Politics".

<sup>23</sup> Stavrianakis, "Call to Arms: The University as a Site of Militarised Capitalism and a Site of Struggle".

<sup>24</sup> see Editors' Introduction.

<sup>25</sup> Weber, "An Aesthetics of Fear: The 7/7 London Bombings, the Sublime, and Werenotafraid.com".

<sup>26</sup> Bousquet, "Time Zero: Hiroshima, September 11 and Apocalyptic Revelations in Historical Consciousness".

<sup>27</sup> see Behnke, "The Re-enchantment of War in Popular Culture", and Carvalho, "War Hurts: Vietnam Movies and the Memory of a Lost War".

<sup>28</sup> for example Shapiro "The Sublime Today: Re-partitioning the Global Sensible", and Bleiker/Leet, "From Sublime to the Subliminal: Fear, Awe and Wonder in International Politics".

Red Cross' information-policy in genocide cases<sup>29</sup>. Merlingen reviewed three books on the application of governmentality on the European and global level.<sup>30</sup> And Manners elaborated on the idea of EU as a normative actor.<sup>31</sup>

### **3.2 2007: the international, critical realism, and Edward Said in IR**

The 2007 *special issue* paid attention to the concept of “the international”, whereby light got shed on the emergence and the ontological status of the subject. The attempt of the *SI* has been to move beyond the dominant reading to “the international” as “system” or “society” and make room for alternative concepts, such as a hierarchical organized empire-logic and/or multi-level-governance approaches. Beside this, the question was asked whether comparative historical methods for theorizing “the international” are superior in comparison to systematic ones.<sup>32</sup> New ideas, like Berenskoetter’s suggestion to introduce the concept of “friendship”<sup>33</sup> in the reading of IR, Chandler’s value-based policy approach<sup>34</sup>, and Prichard’s pleading for an anarchic reading of IR<sup>35</sup> got tackled. Beside this, “the international” was theorized by using more conventional methods, like Neumann/Sending applying a governmentality-approach<sup>36</sup>, Morton using a Gramscian theoretical concept<sup>37</sup>, and Guillaume, who argues in favour of a process-based research agenda when assessing constitutive patterns of “the international”.

The 2007 *fora* have on the one side been concerned with covering the meta-theoretical approach of “critical realism” (35(2)) to IR. Authors pointed out its additional value for epistemological and ontological debates<sup>38</sup>; they formulated a non-positivist<sup>39</sup> research agenda for IR (fourth debate shining through!); and investigated on the approaches’ flaws as well as on potential space for improvement.<sup>40</sup> On the other side the *forum* in issue (36(1)) dealt with the contribution of Edward Said to the field of IR, with a special emphasize

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<sup>29</sup> Warner, “Naming and Shaming: The ICRC and the Public/Private Divide” and Forsythe, “Naming and Shaming: The Ethics of ICRC Discretion”.

<sup>30</sup> Merlingen, “Foucault and World Politics: Promises and Challenges of Extending Governmentality Theory to the European and Beyond”.

<sup>31</sup> Manners, “The European Union as a Normative Power: A Response to Thomas Diez”.

<sup>32</sup> see Editor’s Introduction.

<sup>33</sup> Berenskoetter, “Friends, There Are No Friends? An Intimate Reframing of the International”.

<sup>34</sup> Chandler, “Hollow Hegemony: Theorising the Shift from Interest-Based to Value-Based International Policy-Making”.

<sup>35</sup> Prichard, “Justice, Order and Anarchy: The International Political Theory of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809 - 1865)”.

<sup>36</sup> Neumann/Sending, “‘The International’ as Governmentality”.

<sup>37</sup> Morton, “Waiting for Gramsci: State Formation, Passive Revolution and the International”.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph, “Philosophy in International Relations: A Scientific Realist Approach”.

<sup>39</sup> Kurki, “Critical Realism and Causal Analysis in International Relations”.

<sup>40</sup> see Wight, “A Manifesto for Scientific Realism in IR: Assuming the Can-Opener Won’t Work!”, Chernoff, “Critical Realism, Scientific Realism, and International Relations Theory”, and Brown “Situating Critical Realism”.

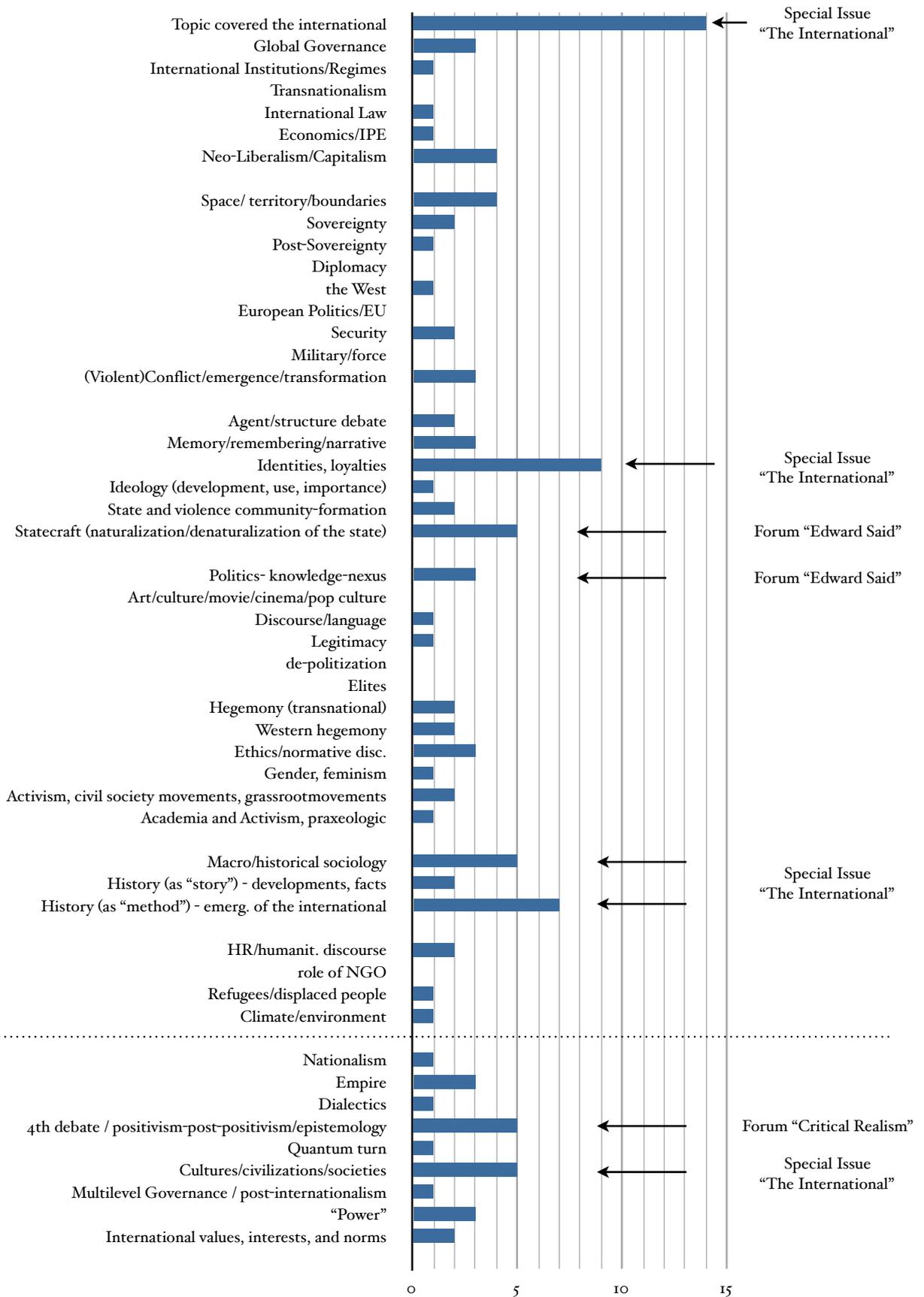


table 3B: *topics covered in 2007*

on exile and identity, post-colonialism, and humanism.<sup>41</sup>

Beyond this, issue 35(2) incorporated four film readings: Bullocks “V for Vendetta: P is for Power” in which the author is putting the destruction of the House of Parliament in one line with the power of “the people”; Cox’ reading of “Good Nights and Good Luck” with a historical contextualization of the McCarthy-era; Eckersley’s evaluation of the impact of “An Inconvenient Truth” on the American public; and finally “Dialectic and Passion in Pontecorvo’s *The Battle of Algiers*” by Jones, assessing the Marxist and Christian-passion narrative structure in the movie, and debating about the morality in armed conflict.

Especially the the *forum* on critical realism and the *special issue* triggered the emergence of some new groups of topics, such as cultures and civilizations in IR, multilevel governance approaches, the concept of “power”, and finally values and norms in the international realm (see all table 3B).

### **3.3 2008: feminist scholarship, history in IR, peace**

The *Forum* on Feminism (37(1)) took the 10-year anniversary of a 1988 Millennium-conference on “Women and international Relations” as reason for revisiting the topic again. The main objective of the 2008 *forum* was to reflect on the status quo of feminist IR-scholarship in 2008 and trace back the latest academic developments in the field since the 1988-conference. Soreanu and Hudson reconstructed citation networks emerging from the 88-*special issue*, drawing a map of IR’s “emotional economy” and the “intellectual coalitions”<sup>42</sup>, while Carver was dealing with gender binary and a the idea of “feminist IR” as “IR *tout court*”.<sup>43</sup>

The *forum* on history in IR (37(2)) investigated on a possible convergence between the two fields. In the center of attention was the question how methods of history, such as narrative explanation and causal accounts<sup>44</sup>, can be used in IR. Beyond this several authors tried to explain how certain fields in IR, especially the English School, could possibly benefit from the application of histories methodology.<sup>45</sup>

Beside the mayor discussions some smaller interactions took place in 2008 - covering mainly the revival of Schmitt’ian thinking in IR. Chandler argues in 37(2) that the reading of Schmitt in the way Odysseos and Petito did in their article, leads to a de-historicised application of Schmitt’s principles, that is too narrow and eventually favors ambiguity and

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<sup>41</sup> for example Duvall/Varadarajan, “Traveling in Paradox: Edward Said and Critical International Relations”, or Ling, “Said’s Exile: Strategic Insights for Postcolonial Feminism”.

<sup>42</sup> Soreanu/Hudson, “Feminist Scholarship in International Relations and the Politics of Disciplinary Emotion”.

<sup>43</sup> Carver, “Men in the Feminist Gaze: What Does this Mean in IR?”.

<sup>44</sup> Suganami, “International Relations: Back to Basics”.

<sup>45</sup> see for example Keene, “The English School and British Historians”, and Reus-Smit, “Reading History through Constructivist Eyes”.

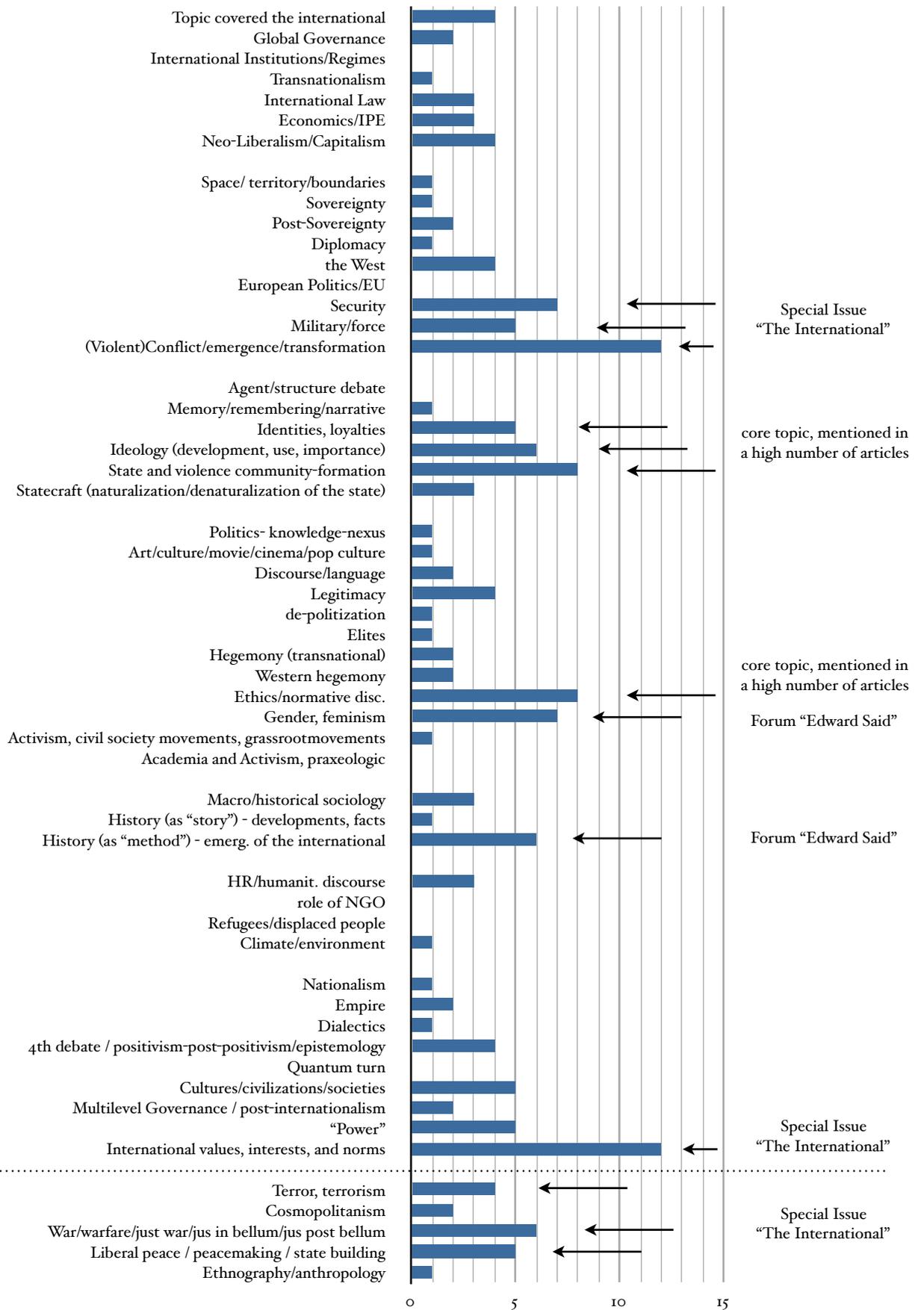


table 3C: topics covered in 2008

indeterminacy. By doing this, he is responding to the article of Odysseos/Petito in the very same issue<sup>46</sup>, in which the authors criticize a contribution by Chandler in 37(1)<sup>47</sup>. Odysseos/Petito claimed, that Chandler's reading of *The Nomos of the Earth* in 37(1) is highly reductionist, since he is ignoring Schmitt's wider methodological approach.

The 2008 *special issue* was concerned with the question what the concept of peace might mean in the contemporary political environment, especially in the absence of prominent inter-state wars. It encouraged contributors to look beyond the international realm, and focused on narratives, identities, violence, and fear. The *SI* asks, how this patterns influence peaceful coexistence (in a positive as well as negative way). In the course of the evaluation Kant's concept of "eternal peace", the all embracing hegemony of liberal peace<sup>48</sup>, and the practice of modern peacemaking<sup>49</sup> (among other topics) underwent a critical evaluation. The 2008 *SI* led to the emergence of new thematic fields, like cosmopolitanism, liberal peace practice, or the meaning of (just) warfare.

### **3.4 2009: democracy, cultural theory, violence and memory**

2009s *special issue* "democracy" needs be seen as part of a larger project that attempts to rework some of the major concepts in the IR field.<sup>50</sup> As the past years have shown, "the international" and "peace" have already been exposed to a rigorous refinement along the lines of critical concepts. Clark, for example, is tackling the problem of the prevailing state-ontology, which is dominant in shaping the international identity. He asks to realize that democracy is not an innocent concept for promoting good governance, but also the basis for exclusion and identity shaping processes alongside a democratic/non-democratic dichotomy<sup>51</sup>. This view is shared by Fabry. By applying a classical liberalist reading of international law, he criticizes the hegemonic and excluding status of democracy (and the deriving democratic institutions), and the perception that liberal democracy is the only legitimate form of societal organization.<sup>52</sup> While Hobson is pleading for an radical historicisation of democracy (following the example of Ankersmit) for countering Fukuyama's fatalistic end-of-history hypothesis<sup>53</sup>, others, like Aradau/Huysmans are stressing the

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<sup>46</sup> Odysseos/Petito, "Vagaries of Interpretation: A Rejoinder to David Chandler's Reductionist Reading of Carl Schmitt".

<sup>47</sup> Chandler, "The Revival of Carl Schmitt in International Relations: The Last Refuge of Critical Theorists?".

<sup>48</sup> see for example Behnke, "'Eternal Peace' as the Graveyard of the Political: A Critique of Kant's Zum Ewigen Frieden", and Lang "Punishment and Peace: Critical Reflections on Countering Terrorism"

<sup>49</sup> see for example Meyer, "The Concealed Violence of Modern Peace(-Making)", or Heathershaw, "Unpacking the Liberal Peace: The Dividing and Merging of Peacebuilding Discourses".

<sup>50</sup> see Editors' Introduction to 37(3).

<sup>51</sup> Clark, "Democracy in International Society: Promotion or Exclusion?".

<sup>52</sup> Fabry, "The Right to Democracy in International Law: A Classical Liberal Reassessment".

<sup>53</sup> Hobson, "Beyond the End of History: The Need for a 'Radical Historicisation' of Democracy in International Relations".

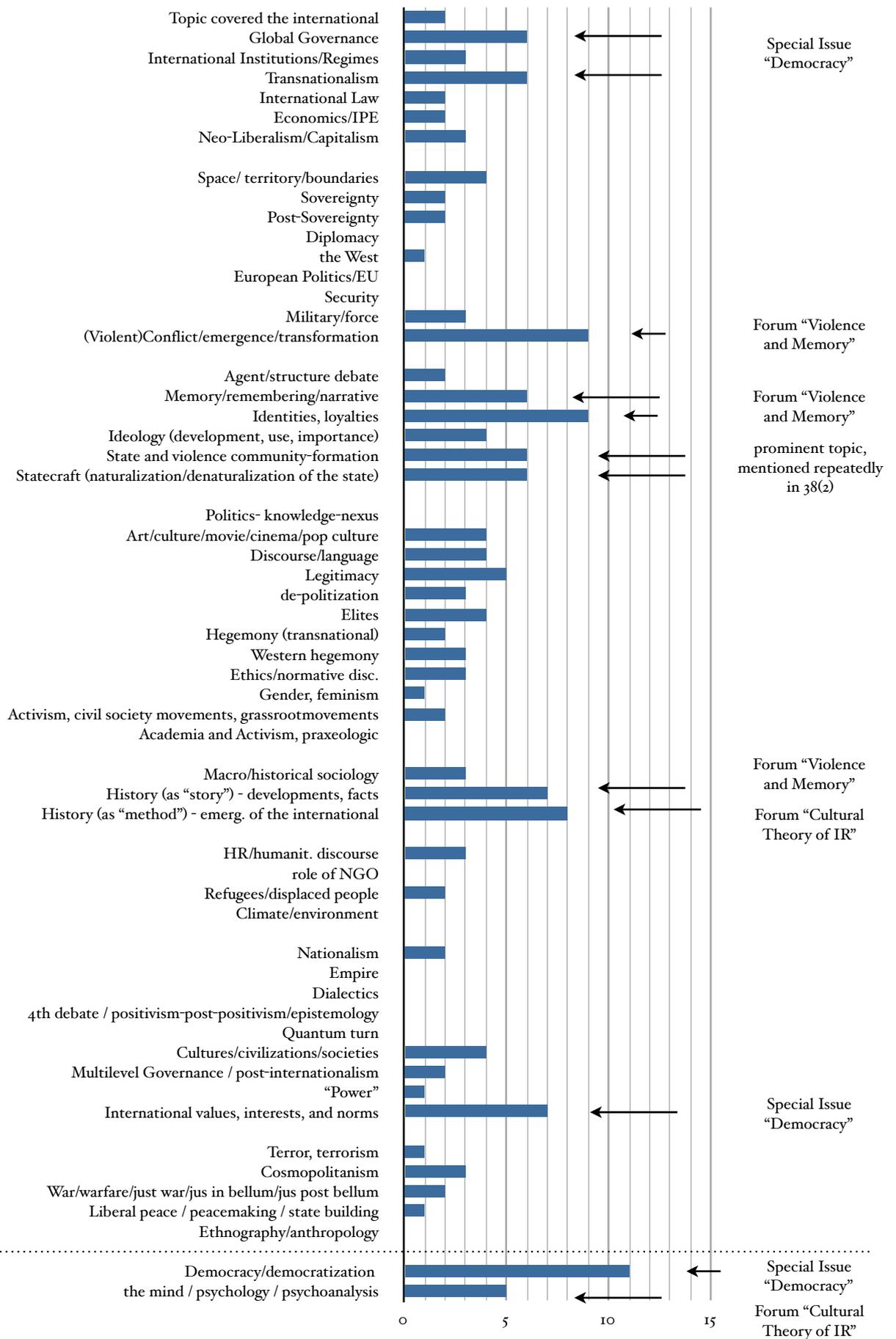


table 3C: topics covered in 2009

transcendence of the territorial logic through the increased movement of people and its contribution to the “democratic inscriptions of equality”<sup>54</sup>.

The 38(1) *forum* “Cultural Theory of International Relations” makes a quite innovative move and tackles “A Cultural Theory of International Relations”, in which the author, Lebow, attempts to provide a new grand theory for IR. Little starts the *forum* by lining out the basic assumptions of Lebow’s theory<sup>55</sup>, such as the claim that human behavior is not only motivated through egoistic self-interest, but that additional drivers for certain patterns of behavior are available. Afterwards, the work of Lebow undergoes some substantive criticism that leads to plenty of suggestions for possibly improvement. Shilliam is using a framework by Fanon, and suggest that it would increase analytical clarity, if Lebow’s explanations would focus more on the post-colonial world, rather than on modern western man.<sup>56</sup>

In the last *forum* in 2009, “Violence and Memory” (38(2)), the social dynamics of memory has been discusses. The purpose of the *forum* was, to show the linkages between individual and collective memory, as well as its role in identity-formation.<sup>57</sup> The participating authors made clear how national practices of mourning and remembering, the collective witness of violence, or other traumatic events foster the reinforcement of a nations collective identity<sup>58</sup>. Booth and Hite/Collins bolstered this argumentation with case-studies on Chile and Northern Ireland.<sup>59</sup>

### **3.5 2010: liberalism, anarchism, critical and theological emancipation**

The last reviewed year had three major structuring patterns: a *SI* on “liberalism”, and two *fora*, on “Anarchism in World Politics” and “Theological and Secular Conceptions of Justice and Emancipation in IR”.

The 2010 *SI* on liberalism provided a snap-shot of the most recent theoretical developments in the considerably broad field of liberalist-informed research in IR. Initial discussions revolved around the question what the future of liberalism as the contemporarily most dominant ideological principle might be. While Ikenberry<sup>60</sup> admits that something like

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<sup>54</sup> Aradau/Huysmans, “Mobilising (Global) Democracy: A Political Reading of Mobility between Universal Rights and the Mob”.

<sup>55</sup> Little, “Still on the Long Road to Theory”.

<sup>56</sup> Shilliam, “A Fanonian Critique of Lebow’s A Cultural Theory of International Relations”.

<sup>57</sup> Bell, “Introduction: Violence and Memory”.

<sup>58</sup> for example: Hutchinson, “Warfare and the Sacralisation of Nations: The Meaning of Rituals and Politics of National Remembrance, and Zehfuss, “Hierarchies of Grief and the Possibility of War: Remembering UK Fatalities in Iraq”.

<sup>59</sup> see Booth, “Kashmir Road: Some Reflections on Memory and Violence”, and Hite/Collins, “Memorial Fragments, Monumental Silences and Reawakenings in 21st-Century Chile”.

<sup>60</sup> Ikenberry, “The Liberal International Order and its Discontents”.

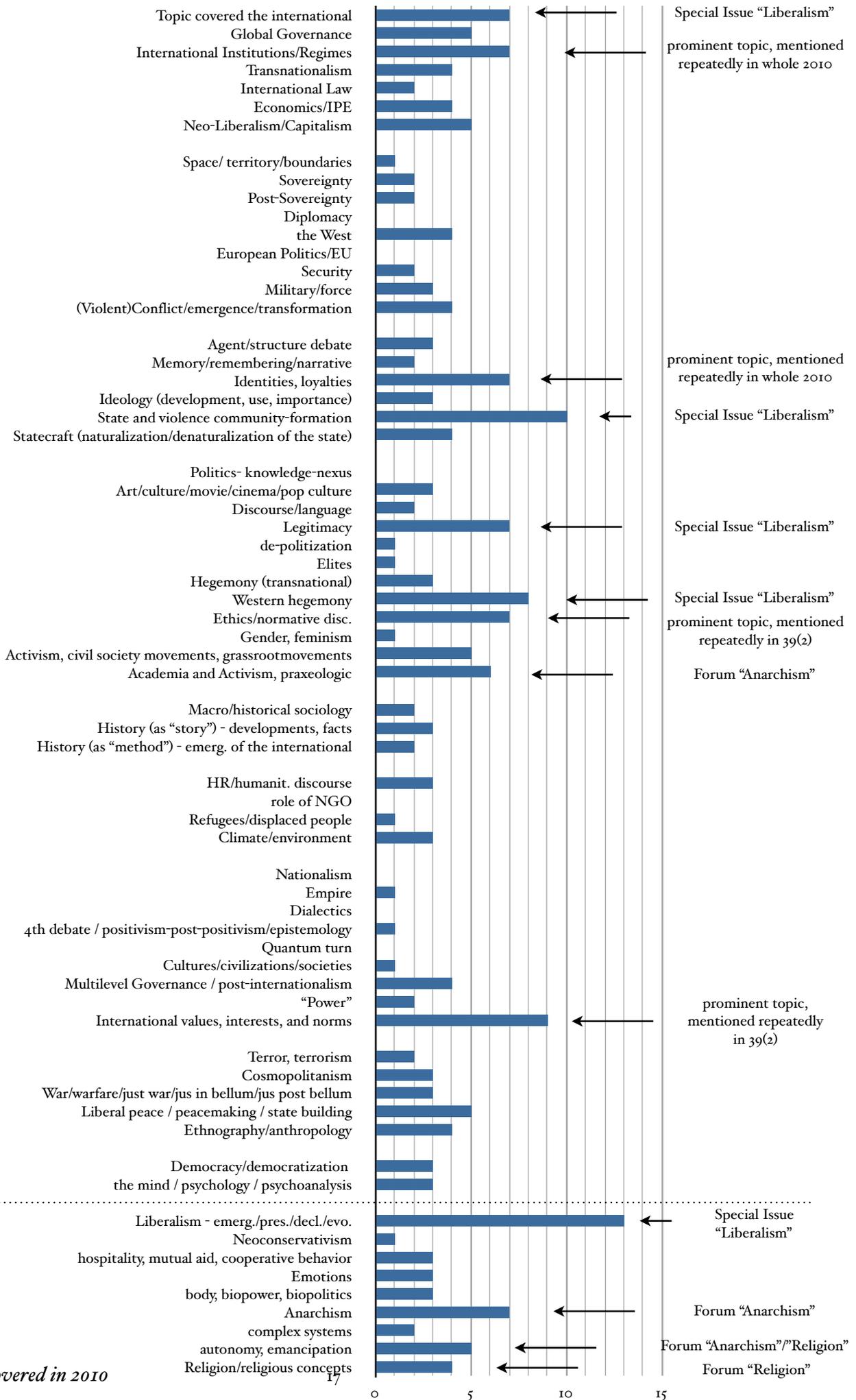


table 3E: topics covered in 2010

a crisis of “the West” in general, and the United States in particular, exists he though argues that the basic underlining of the liberalist principle will sustain, even if non-western power should take over the western hegemonic position in the future. This view is heavily opposed by Dunne, who argues that liberalism is no historical determinism, but rather one of many pathways of modernity<sup>61</sup>. Three other dominant sections revolve around criticism of liberalist peacemaking practice, which is addressed by Mitchell and Richmond<sup>62</sup>; the inside-outside-dichotomy that liberalism creates between liberal and non-liberal societies (and academic theorists)<sup>63</sup>; and the effect of the neo-liberal economic project.<sup>64</sup>

The *forum* on “Anarchism in World Politics” offered a new perspective to the studies of IR by introduction anarchist scholarship, practice, and thinking to the audience. Falk highlighted the benefits of non-violent anarchist anti-state thinking, being described by him as beneficial for inter-human cooperation, communities, small-scale social organization and local solutions for human material needs.<sup>65</sup> Cudworth/Hobden opted for a re-reading of the principles of the international system in an anarchist way, using insights from complexity theory, and described the international system as adaptive with a tendency to self-organization.<sup>66</sup> Finally, Goodwin tried to solve the collective actions problem by applying Kropotkin’s “mutual aid”-theory.<sup>67</sup>

The second *forum* in 2010 revolved around the question of theological and secular conceptions of justice and emancipation in IR. While Thomas establish a dialogue between critical theory and theology for the sake of global justice and emancipation <sup>68</sup>(especially for the global south), Mullin focused in a case study on the exclusion of Hamas form the Israel-Palestine peace-process, and the ontological and epistemic challenges Hamas poses on the processes normative underpinnings.<sup>69</sup> The last article by Barbato introduced Habermas concept of post-secular society, and used the semantics of the pilgrim, that creates a cultural narrative “enabling the self to act for a global community of political agency that favors was to global justice”.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Dunne, “The Liberal Order and the Modern Project”.

<sup>62</sup> see Mitchell, “Peace beyond Process?”, and Richmond, “Resistance and the Post-liberal Peace”.

<sup>63</sup> for example Miller, “Democracy Promotion: Offensive Liberalism versus the Rest (of IR Theory)”, and Long, “Civilizing International Politics: Republicanism and the World Outside”.

<sup>64</sup> see Odysseos, “Human Rights, Liberal Ontogenesis and Freedom: Producing a Subject for Neoliberalism”, and Palam, “The End of Liberal Finance? The Changing Paradigm of Global Financial Governance”.

<sup>65</sup> Falk, “Anarchism without ‘Anarchism’: Searching for Progressive Politics in the Early 21st Century”.

<sup>66</sup> Cudworth/Hobden, “Anarchy and Anarchism: Towards a Theory of Complex International Systems”.

<sup>67</sup> Goodwin, “Evolution and Anarchism in International Relations: The Challenge of Kropotkin’s Biological Ontology”.

<sup>68</sup> Thomas, “Living Critically and ‘Living Faithfully’ in a Global Age: Justice, Emancipation and the Political Theology of International Relations”.

<sup>69</sup> Mullin, “Islamist Challenges to the ‘Liberal Peace’ Discourse: The Case of Hamas and the Israel-Palestine ‘Peace Process’”.

<sup>70</sup> Barbato, “Conceptions of the Self for Post-secular Emancipation: Towards a Pilgrim’s Guide to Global Justice”.

#### **4. Distinct developments between 2006 and 2010**

After situating the Millennium journal properly into the scientific discourse (chapter 1 and 2), and after conducting an in-depth evaluation of the articles content (chapter 3), the final part of the review is going to draw an overall picture that puts the findings together and attempts to present a more coherent and contextualized picture of the journals intellectual dynamic between 2006 and 2010. In order to understand how Millennium's critical and post-positivist underlining influenced the journals content between 2006 and 2010 it is necessary to take a closer look at the main building blocks, namely the *special issues* and the respective *fora*. Section 4. is shedding light on the question how (1) Millennium's attempt to counter IR's mainstream research agendas is reflected in the annual *special issues*, and (2) in what specific way the *forum* is contributing to the journals quite ambitious task of broadening IR's analytical reach.

##### **4.1 The Special Issues: reworking mainstream IR**

The most dominant structuring element of the journal is the annual *special issue*, which is usually the third issue of a volume. The content of this issue comprises of articles that are based on papers presented at the annual Millennium conference in autumn, held at LSE in London. Past *special issues* tackled quite broad thematic complexes such as the sublime, the meaning of peace in the contemporary political environment, and the concept of liberalism in IR studies.<sup>71</sup> The quantitative evaluation in section 3 has made clear that the *special issues* are used as a strategic instrument for discussing and reworking key-concepts of IR along the lines of critical and post-structuralist thinking. The *SI* should thus be understood as the journals major tool for systematically shaping its intellectual agenda on the long run.

The findings in section 3 suggest that Millennium has no ambitions of joining the concert of positivist, foundational research in IR. Rather, clear patterns of meta-theoretical, non-foundational, and post-positivist approaches are dominant in the journal. This has to be seen as part of Millenniums "niche" agenda, that gives a voice to newly emerged, marginalized, or yet unheard research approaches. This basic principle is pointed out in a quite clear manner in the Editors' Introduction to the *SI* on "democracy":

*At the heart of the critical endeavour is an irrepressible suspicion of easy answers. This resistance to obvious answers or conventional explanations has become part of the institutional culture of Millennium, whether that takes the form of examining an all too obvious lacuna or the explicit investigation of foundational concepts<sup>72</sup>*

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<sup>71</sup> respective issues: August 2006, issue 34(3), August 2008, issue 36(3), and May 2010, issue 38(3).

<sup>72</sup> Editors' Introduction to the special issue on "Democracy", 2009, 37(3).

The evaluation of the recent publications are supporting this statement. It revealed that the center of attention revolves predominantly around the question what distinct roles narratives and identities play in the political realm, how they came into existence, and in what way they shape and influence the relationship between actors. Beyond this, most of the articles in Millennium reject the idea that the subject of the IR-scholars research is something given, pre-defined, or objective. The articles published in the journal adopt a fundamentally different perspective and revolve in most cases not around the question how the given might work, but rather, how the prevailing structures came into existence and managed it to adopted the status of something “natural”. Along this lines of process oriented and non-foundational research Millenniums authors are drawing heavily from fields such as international sociology, history, ethnography, post-colonial studies, and so forth.

The clearest manifestations of this trend can be found in the most recent SI's which are dealing with major IR concepts, such as the ontological quality of the international, the meaning of peace, democracy, and liberalism in the contemporary political environment. Millenniums authorship approached this quite broad and fuzzy defined complexes from a broad array of different angles and with delectable analytical and methodological flexibility. The SI on “peace” serves as an example: looking again for niches in the broader discourse and for an alternative perception of the peace-concept, repeated attacks have been launched against the dominant and hegemonic ideal of liberal peace, the intrinsically bellicose character of modern peacemaking, and the idea that a Kantian informed “eternal peace” might be a favorable state of societal order.

#### **4.2 The Fora: broadening IR's analytical reach**

Besides the quite dominant *special issues* another important structuring element can be found in journal: the *fora*. Though the *forum* is less influential than the *SI* one will find it in almost every issue. It usually comprises out of 5 to 7 articles. The purpose of the *fora* between 2006 and 2010 has been to (a) set a specific thematic agenda for each issue, and, beyond this, (b) to discuss newly emerged or improved approaches to the IR field. When looking at the respective *fora* between 2006 and 2010 Millennium's agenda of reformulating IR's dominant mode of research is shining through again. By making use of this special type of publishing format Millennium does not only try to phase in new methodological approaches to the field - such as history, historical sociology, cultural theory, to name only a few - but seeks as well to establish a critical branch of IR scholarship (using analytical framework based on feminism, marxism, or anarchism for example).

Consequently, an extensive array of “uncommon” practices is present. Millennium authors do not hesitate to borrow from other disciplines in order to broaden the analytical

reach of IR-scholarship. Most prominent in this respect was the introduction of international sociology and international history to IR: the *forum* on historical sociology, highlighting the contribution of Michael Mann to IR (34(2)) serves as an example, as well as the *forum* in 37(2), elaborating on the uses of history for IR. The underlying pattern of this development is the establishment of a kind of IR-scholarship which frames the international realm not in a systemic manner, but rather applies a process based approach that takes the possibility of change, evolution, and non-path-dependent developments into account.

Beyond the obvious affinity with sociological and historical explanations Millennium authors provide the reader on a regular basis with “traffic from different roads”, means: concepts and approaches that can not be perceived at first glance as related to IR. Part of these newly introduced perceptions is the concept of “emotions”: several authors posed the question how feelings such as “fear”, “anxiety”, or “relatedness” influence human, societal, and state-behavior. In the course of this endeavor the work of Lebow - who sees human behavior as determined by the categories of reason, appetite, spirit, and fear - has been discussed (38(1)). Psychoanalytical explanations for behavior, such as the work of Klein, have been introduced into the discussion (38(2)). And new categories (“friendship”) that move beyond the classic cooperation/non-cooperation/co-existence-triad, were injected into the discourse.

Millenniums attempt to rework the mainstream agenda of IR-scholarship does not come from nowhere and it has not been cultivated in a normative vacuum. As already stated earlier, Millennium perceives itself as a critical force in the realm of IR academia. Its underlying principles are heavily influenced by the Enlightenment, and the more recent Frankfurt School thinking. This kind of approaches have a normative alignment that emphasizes the autonomy of the individual, human freedom, solidarity, and an organization of societies, based on mutually shared, inclusive principles. Recent examples for this normative and emancipatory agenda are specific *fora*, dealing with the praxeologic consequences for the IR-scholar: the *forum* of “Activism, Academia and Education” (35(1)), and the one on “Anarchism” (39(2)) serve as vivid examples. Both *fora* attempted to deconstruct the alleged objectivity of the contemporary social reality through the application of, for example, feminist or anti-capitalist approaches. Beyond this, the *fora* shed light on the question what place critical scholarship is holding in society, and how a successful merger of academic research and practical political work could look like. When looking at the quantitative evaluation in section 3. it becomes instantly clear that the critical and emancipatory principle is one of the dominant leitmotifs of the journal: between 2006 and 2010 the topics of “ethics”, “gender/feminism”, and “activism” have been repeatedly covered by several articles.

**5. At the heart of the critical endeavour!?!**

In conclusion, the review leads to the following findings: as shown in the introductory sections (1. and 2.) the Millennium-journal holds a self assigned position as a vanguard of critical IR-studies. The journal is particularly situated in the post-positivist camp and aims to provide a platform for new and innovative research in the field. When looking at the authorship it became clear that a considerably high amount of articles are actually written by research- and PhD-students. It also became obvious that the journal is dominated by male authors, who are - in most cases - embedded in a professional university related research environment that is predominantly based in English-speaking countries.

**5.1 Old stories, new narratives, and fresh breezes**

The quantitative evaluation of the journals content between 2006 and 2010 showed, that the respective *fora*, and the annual *special issue* are - contend wise - the main structuring elements of the journal. Putting the findings of the quantitative evaluation in a broader context, and focusing on the main intellectual developments between 2006 and 2010, the review has shown that Millennium is actively engaged in reworking prominent IR-concepts, such as the international, peace, or liberalism. Beyond this the journal attempts to phase in a more normative and critical research agenda into the academic discourse. It does so by creating space for theories and concepts that have so far not been recognised in the mainstream IR-discourse (table 4A - a condensed version of tables 3A to 3E).

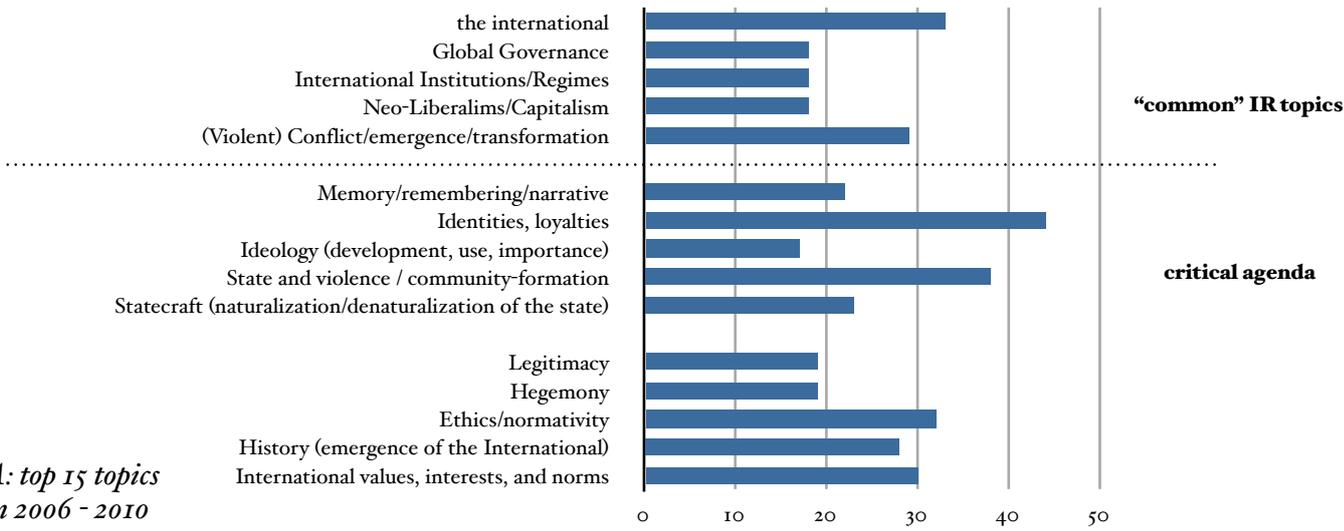


table 4A: top 15 topics between 2006 - 2010

Beyond this table 4A reveals another specific feature of the journal, namely that it is not restricted to a certain set of dominant core topics. Though Millennium is specialised in critical and post-structuralist scholarship, it does not limit itself to complexes such as human

rights, security, or international history, as other journals in the field are doing. Unsurprisingly one will find a quite extensive array of “common” IR topics (which are mostly framed in a critical narrative), like conflict studies, global governance, regimes, to name only a few. However, issues that reflect the journals critical agenda more explicitly and show its willingness to engage in a vibrant use of new concepts and methods are evidently dominant. This culture of constructive controversy can also be anticipated from tables 2F and 2E: those tables suggest that the majority of articles is either presenting new/refined paradigms, or are actively engaged in the reworking of epistemological or methodological questions.

## 5.2 Vanguard or stray?

For rounding up the review some criticism has to be uttered. A clear shortcoming of Millenniums publishing practice is the total lack of a stable and perpetuate thematic discourse. In fact no enduring debates have been encountered between 2006 and 2010. That does of course not mean that no debates emerged at all. Many examples of vital discourse can be found, like, for example, in the *SI* “liberalism” were Tim Dunne, Ronnie D. Lipschutz, and Cynthia Weber critically discussed the future of liberalism. However, none of the encountered discussion has been stable in way that they spanned several subsequent issues. Rather the clear majority of skirmish has either been taken place within one and the same issue, or simply ceased to exist two or three issues later. Apparently Millennium and its authorship are massively lacking fortitude in keeping certain topics “hot”. In respect to the reviewed 5-years period the journal thus appears partly incoherent - and in some cases even chaotic. The *special issues* and *fora* are certainly a step in the right direction. As section 3 and 4 have proven they are effective mechanisms for providing a sort of critical and post-structuralist meta-structure. None the less, the journals general trend is far from being coherent, and often even puzzling.

In the opinion of the author Millennium could massively enhance the power and the capacity of critical scholarship by introducing a stricter regime of publishing. This could for example be achieved by providing an additional publishing format. Millennium could succeed in absorbing a greater number of innovative concepts by introducing something like a “speakers corner”: a panel that supplements the already existing *SI* and *fora* and is dedicated to brief discussions on the most recent topics. Other journals, like Foreign Affairs, are already making use of a less formal and more essayistic writing format. The benefit of such a measure would be twofold: *first*, it would allow authors to respond more quickly on the latest developments in the field and thus contribute to a more coherent mode of discussion. And *second*, it would Millennium provide with the opportunity of identifying emerging trends in

the field at a much earlier stage, what could eventually lead to a more sophisticated and more precise steering of thematic elements.

In order to put the criticism that has just been brought forward into the right context the author of this review would like to express his strong sympathy for Millennium in general and the critical agenda in particular. The open and innovative nature of the journal is truly inspiring. However, pronounced disapproval arouses when one encounters the lavish waste of great potential. It is hard to understand why innovative concepts - be it critical realism, cultural theory, religion in IR, or anarchism - are only tackled quite superficial in a few number of *fora*, just for being subsequently dropped afterwards, and left for good without any further reaching discussion.

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## **6. Appendix**

### **6.1 Bibliography**

This review is based on the Millennium issue 34(2) - 34(3), 35(1) - 35(3), 36(1) - 36(3), 37(1) - 37 (3), 38(1) - 38(3), and 39(1) - 39(2). Beyond this the following supplementary sources have been used:

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**Comparative Journals Ranking List**, <http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/Politics/papers/2008/McLean%20Blais%20Giles%20and%20Garand%20%28April%202008%29.pdf> (08.04.2011).

**Devetak**, Richard (2009): "Critical Theory" and "Post-structuralism", in: Burchill (et al.): Theories of International Relations, 4th edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, pp. 159 - 211.

**ERA-project**, <http://lamp.infosys.deakin.edu.au/era/?page=jfordet10&selfor=1606> (08.04.2011).

**Hix-index**, <http://www.mikikard.com/epiware/uploads/hix.pdf> (08.04.2011).

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**Sage Publications**, <http://www.sagepub.com/>\* (09.04.2011).

## 6.2 Charts and tables

chart 2A: ratio male/female authors 2006 - 2010

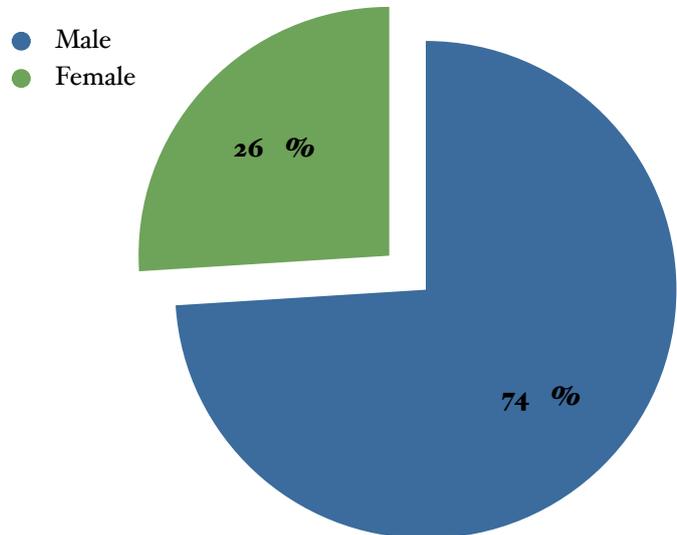


chart 2B: position held by authors 2006 - 2010

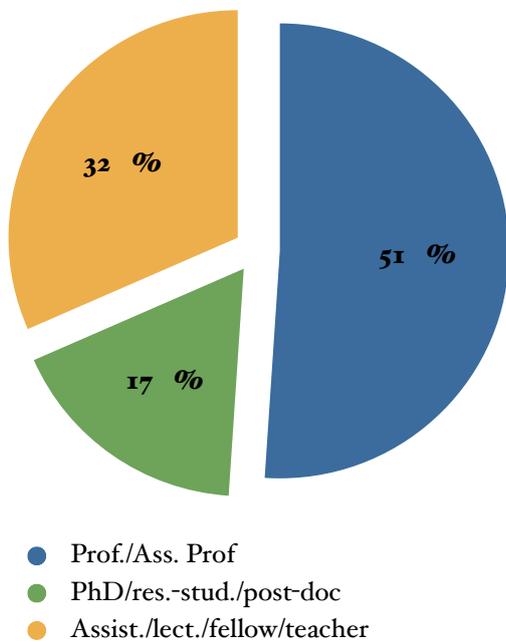
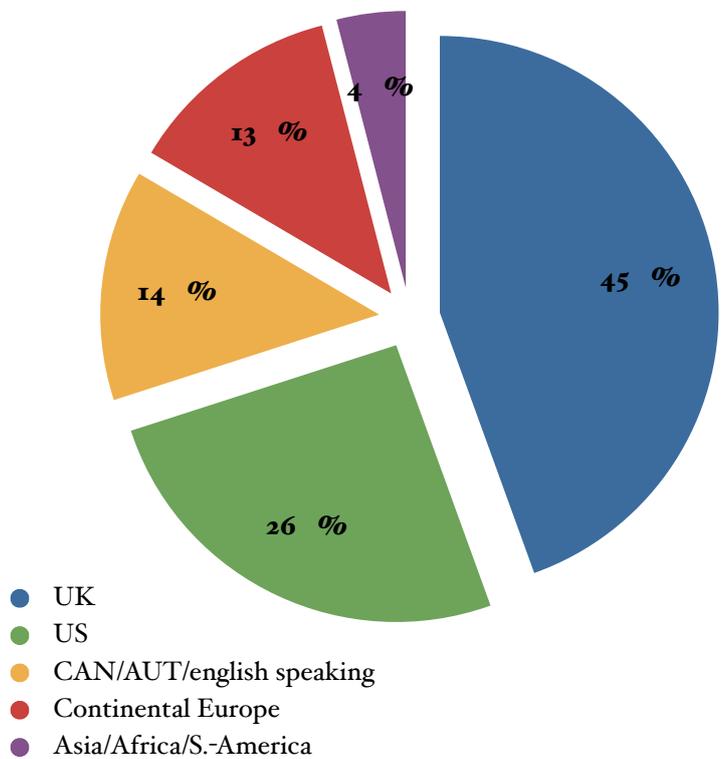
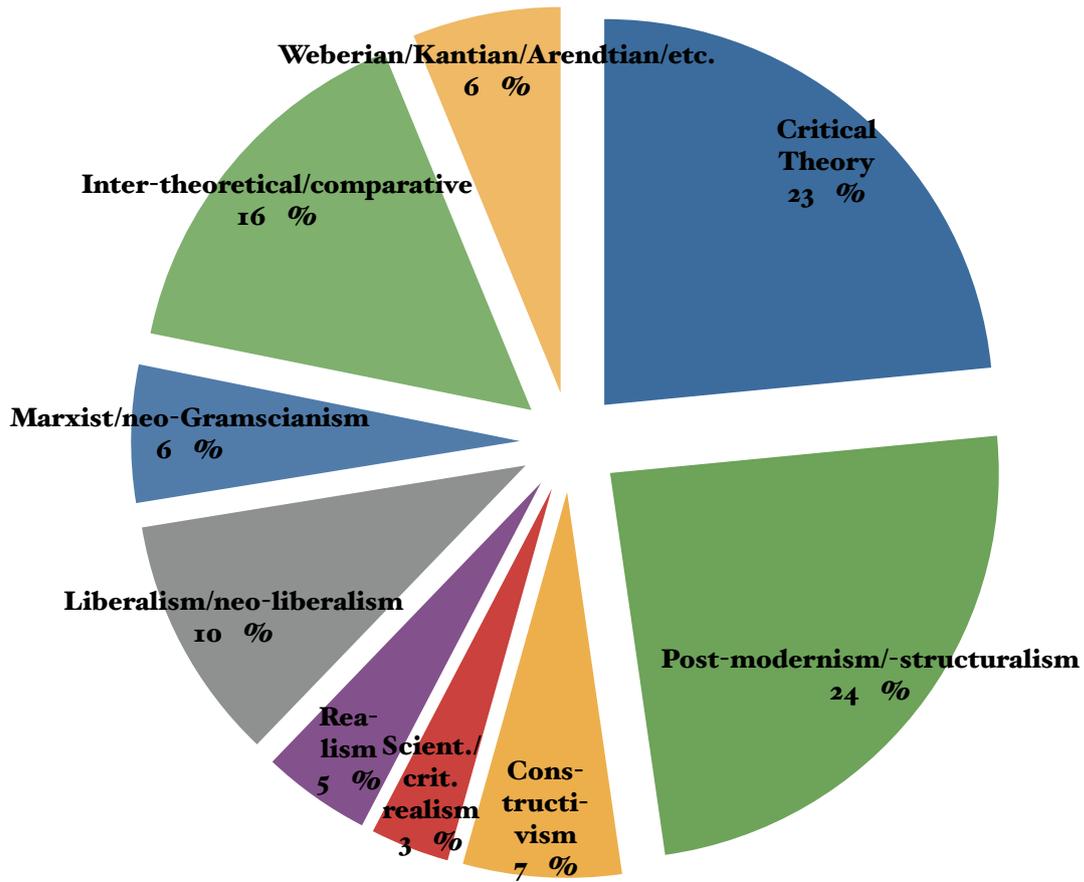


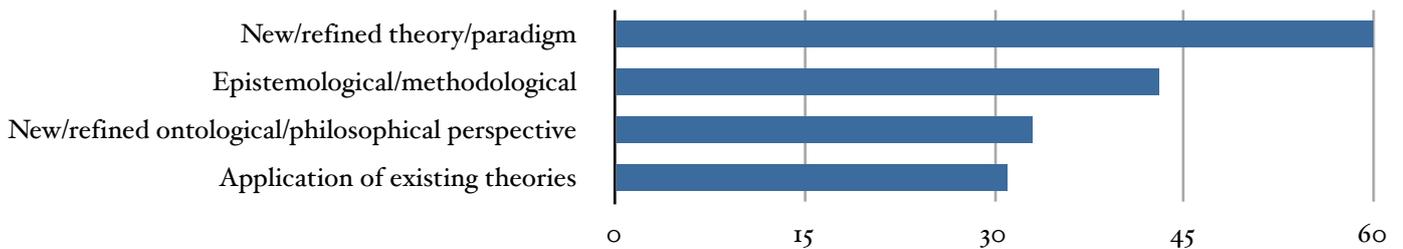
chart 2C: location of authors host-institutions 2006 - 2010



**chart 2D: ratio of theoretical concepts applied between 2006 - 2010**



**chart 2 E: types of methods applied 2006 - 2010**



**chart 2F: types of articles 2006 - 2010**

