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Development Studies in the World System of Global Knowledge Production: A Critical Empirical Analysis

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Abstract: In this article, I present the results of an analysis of the geopolitical diversity of 61,781 papers that have been published in 17 leading international journals in development studies, and the results of another analysis in which I analysed the career trajectories of 260 faculty members working at 10 highly valued development studies departments. Regarding geopolitical diversity, I found a systemic inequality in terms of both research output and education trajectories. I argue that these imbalances contradict the expressed goals and values of development studies as a discipline that aims to reduce geopolitical inequalities. Policy implications are also discussed, in which I propose to reconsider academic recruitment standards and to raise the visibility of different epistemologies of published research in development studies.

Key words: Global academic knowledge production, development studies, world-systems analysis, frame theory, education, research excellence

I. Introduction

In recent decades, academic pluralism, academic decentralization, decolonization of knowledge and academic de-Westernization have become a focus of academic reflection. Behind this trend, many believe that there is social and economic pressure stemming from the principles of a neoliberal, democratic society that includes values such as equality, diversity, inclusion and equal opportunity. In parallel with the increasing globalization of academic knowledge production, questions on the geopolitical composition of global

academic knowledge (GAK) are emerging, too. These inquiries, among others, question to what extent this international academic knowledge accumulated in leading global academic institutions is plural and diverse geopolitically. Scholars who scrutinize the problems of GAK production argue that a mature and established academic field guarantees that the discipline is capable of presenting multiple perspectives, in terms of both theoretical frameworks and empirical data, and at the same time constantly challenges the knowledge monopolies represented by the elite in

the field (Livingstone, 2007; Wasserman, 2018; Willems, 2014).

The knowledge economy is established and maintained by the Global North (Cummings et al., 2018; Hornidge, 2011). The most popular international university rankings such as the QS Top Universities ranking, the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) and the Times Higher Education (THE) ranking are calculated only with those papers and citations that are indexed by either Scopus or the Web of Science, both are Global North databases. Similarly, the Impact Factor of the Web of Science Clarivate Analytics and the SCImago Journal Rank (SJR) values of Elsevier's Scopus—both are international currencies for establishing journal prestige—are calculated using citations from Global North journals. Thus, the so-called international system of knowledge production is biased towards Global North scholarship (Demeter, 2020a). Notwithstanding, when scholars analyse the participation of Global South scholars in the world system of GAK production, they use these Global North sources since there are not yet any alternative international databases.

Beyond the aforementioned inequalities, it should be added that the development of the neoliberal university system and, in a broader sense, the development of the neoliberal academy also act against inclusion and diversity. For instance, scholarly journals play a particularly important role in the global systemic operation of the academe, and it is no coincidence that the importance of journals is widely discussed in the literature on GAK production (Goyanes, 2020; Lauf, 2005). Speaking of the international field, it can be said that through journals, publishers enter into a lasting community of interest with the editors-in-chief of the journal and with authors who wish to publish their research findings in that journal. Publishers of the journals, who usually also have ownership, are interested in making the journal as prestigious as possible, so that higher subscription fees may be charged for them (Demeter and Istrate, 2020). From the perspective of the owners and publishers,

editors work well if they use strategies that increase the prestige of the journal, but at least do not decrease it. The selling price of journals is usually proportional to their position on selective international lists, so if a new journal is added to the Scopus list, and/or if a journal moves from the fourth quartile to the third, second and, finally, to the first quartile, then the selling price (market value) may increase radically. Of course, big publishers usually do not sell well-functioning journals, as scientific publishing is a high-profit business. More commonly, big Global North publishers try to buy smaller publishers, often located at the Global South, as soon as they are indexed in Scopus and the Web of Science. The same holds for global universities in the Global North as they attract talent from the Global South, and the re-education of Southern talent further homogenizes the field of academia. As a consequence, mediated by the needs of the neoliberal market, academic capital accumulates at the richest elite universities and research institutions of the Global North (Demeter, 2019a), while Global South talent either assimilates to, or is excluded from, the so-called international field of knowledge production (Demeter and Tóth, 2020).

One of the most significant disciplines in which we can analyse GAK production trends is development studies, since diversity and decentralization have become part of the self-definition of the discipline in recent decades. First, development studies is essentially a subject concerned with non-elite others in the Global South, and we would expect that, beyond Global South topics, this focus is represented by the high number of Global South authors as well. Second, by its nature, development studies is an international discipline (concerned with global goings on), and this globality, one could suppose, is represented in terms of valued knowledge. In short, we would expect the degree of geopolitical and social diversity in development studies to be very high, and that the area would be significantly de-Westernized.

Research diversity itself has become a very important element that shapes both the content and the structure of scholarly fields (Metz et al., 2016). The constituents of research diversity are manifold, including the diversity of topics, the geopolitical diversity of published papers, the diversity of research approaches and the diversity of the educational/cultural backgrounds of research team members (Goyanes and Demeter, 2020). Moreover, the question of research diversity can be addressed from various perspectives. First, there is an ethical aspect when we talk about the need for more diverse academic fields, since diverse fields are simply more democratic (Dhanani and Jones, 2017), they enable new and more significant opportunities to establish diverse views as compared to more inclusive scholarly fields (Waisbord and Mellado, 2014). It is also maintained that more diverse fields offer knowledge that is built upon plural approaches to scientific data, scientific facts and GAK production (Stephan and Levin, 1991). Second, empirical research also shows that diverse scientific teams are more productive than less diverse labs (Gewin, 2018; Powell, 2018; Rock and Grant, 2016), and they also tend to perform better in terms of financial productivity and innovation (Hunt et al., 2015). Thus, measuring diversity has become an important question for not just scholars who strive for a more equal and inclusive global academic field (Demeter 2020a) but also for those more technical scholars who aim to find appropriate measurements of diversity (Goyanes et al., 2020). The problem of measuring diversity dates back to at least Gini (1912), and distinguished scholars such as Rao (1982), Stirling (2007) and Leydesdorff et al. (2019) have worked on calculation methodologies that are able to grasp the essence of diversity (Goyanes et al., 2020).

Unfortunately, this article shows that, as opposed to expectations, development studies is far from being diverse. My analysis finds a strong Global North dominance in the top journals of development studies, in terms of the ownership of the journals, the national diversity of the authors and the international

diversity of their editorial boards. The academic staff diversity of leading development studies departments is low, since most staff members were educated in the same elite universities at either the UK or the USA. Gender representation in editorial boards is extremely unbalanced, too. Data show that the valued knowledge in development studies is partial and focused on US–Euro ways of knowing the world.

Drawing on the aforementioned data, my study outlines the world's systemic hierarchies within the discipline. In this article, I apply a world-systemic model that I have developed for the analysis of hegemonies in GAK production and show that development studies, similarly to other disciplines in the social sciences, contains at least two detrimental structural elements, namely centrifugal and centripetal processes. I argue that, in terms of centrifugal forces, the centre of the discipline, located at the Global North, systematically excludes Global South scholars from most powerful positions. As regards centripetal forces, development studies' main central hub (the UK–USA core) attracts and re-educates mobile scholars from the Global South and makes them part of the Global North.

My study contributes to the ongoing literature on GAK production by empirically evidencing the Global North-centricism of development studies. GAK production, as a process, entails many layers such as education, gatekeeping as mediated by journal editorial boards and communication as mediated by journal authorship. Providing data on all these layers helps us to better understand how and to what extent GAK production in a given discipline is biased towards a given region or regions of the world. Specifically, in evidencing the Global North-centricism of development studies, a discipline with an explicit focus on the Global South, I am calling for self-reflection within the field. At the end of the article, I offer both theoretical insights and practical solutions by which these detrimental processes in development studies could be minimized or even eliminated.

II. Literature Review

World-systemic features of GAK production are measured by different properties of a given discipline. A lack of diversity in these properties reveals hierarchies at work within the production of knowledge in a discipline. Hence, we can talk about the national diversity of published papers, the national diversity of editorial board members, the diversity of publishers, the geopolitical diversity of the curriculum, the geopolitical diversity of leading research institutions, the diversity of staff members in terms of their education patterns, etc. There are several indices with which one can measure diversity (Goyanes et al., 2020), but most of them have a common foundation: a given field is more diverse if there are many kinds of objects/subjects on the field and their distribution is well balanced. For instance, a journal editorial board in which there are 100 proportionally distributed board members from 40 different countries (from 5 different world regions) is more diverse than an editorial board made up of 100% or 90% of American members. Similarly, a journal authorship is diverse if it has authors from all around the world, and their distribution is well balanced.

In terms of empirical studies, there are several research branches that investigate diversity at different levels of a given discipline. The most common is the analysis of publication patterns that investigate the diversity of the content academic journals publish (Astaneh and Masoumi, 2018; Zanotto et al., 2016; Zdenek, 2017). Here, researchers typically analyse diversities in terms of the national and gender diversity of authors, the diversity of research approaches and methodologies, or the diversity of citations (Bonitz et al., 1997; Fernandez et al., 2016; Schmoch and Schubert, 2008; Teodorescu and Tudorel, 2011). More specifically, Cummings and Hoebink (2017) analysed publication trends in development studies and found that the share of the so-called developed countries in the publication output in leading development studies journals is almost 90%. In addition to empirical findings stating the low diversity

of development studies (Mallorquin, 2021), the need for decolonizing academic knowledge production and decolonizing development studies has been extensively discussed both theoretically (Chandra, 1992; Cooke, 2003; Cummings, 2020) and at policy levels (Brandner and Cummings, 2018; Cummings et al., 2018; Kothari, 2019).

Additionally, researchers often analyse the diversity of journal editorial boards that are often thought to be the gatekeepers of knowledge (Metz et al., 2016). Editorial boards, as gatekeepers, have a significant effect on what can be published. They decide what is appropriate in terms of theory building, methodologies and the interpretation of the results (Canavero et al., 2014; Goyanes and Demeter, 2020). Moreover, the geopolitical diversity of editorial boards affects the geopolitical diversity of the published papers (Demeter, 2018a; Goyanes and Demeter, 2020; Lauf, 2005):

The composition of journal editorial boards proved to be a good predictor for the national diversity of their publication output. There are significant correlations between the diversity of editorial boards and the national diversity of publications in both negative and positive directions. Moreover, journals that raised their national diversity in their editorial boards from Lauf's research to the present also raised their national diversity in publications. Therefore, the correlation between editorial boards and publication outputs has been proved both longitudinally and in cross-sectional statistical measures. (Demeter, 2018a, pp. 2914–2915)

Just like in the case of publication, extensive research shows that the Global North's share in leading journals' editorial boards is around 90% in different disciplines (Burgess and Shaw, 2010; Goyanes, 2020; Lauf, 2005). Specifically, Cummings and Hoebink found a significant Western bias in the editorial boards of leading Global North journals where more than 90% of editorial board members are from the Global North. They concluded that 'from the perspectives of equity, responsibility and diversity, and in recognition of the endogenous nature of the development process,

the field of development studies should make efforts to address this underrepresentation of academics from developing countries as authors and editorial board members' (Cummins and Hoebink, 2017, p. 369).

Finally, extensive research deals with the career trajectories and educational traits of academics who work in a given field. These analyses investigate the diversity of education trajectories of core staff members, typically at elite international universities. One can assume that, in an international university department, there would be staff members with diverse educational backgrounds in order to constitute a diverse team since diverse teams are usually considered as more innovative and productive than unifacial groups (Gewin, 2018; Powell, 2018; Rock and Grant, 2016). However, empirical research contradicts this assumption. Demeter and Tóth (2020) found that, in the case of sociology, the departments of the top 100 universities consist of staff members who were educated, almost exclusively, at elite Global North universities. They found a significant overrepresentation of Global North countries and a considerable gender bias throughout sociology departments with strong male dominance in high positions. Despite the alleged importance of internalization at global universities (Ennew and Greenaway, 2012; Herschberg et al., 2018), research found that leading universities restrict the pool of potential staff members to those with elite Global North PhDs (Clauzet et al., 2015). Various scholars ascertained that the prestige of candidates' PhD schools is more influential in securing a tenured position than their productivity (Baldi, 1994; Burris, 2004; Clauzet et al., 2015; Cowan and Rossello, 2018; Cret and Musselin, 2010; Enders, 2001; Long et al., 1979; Maliniak et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2004; Tomlinson and Freeman, 2018; Williamson and Cable, 2003). The role that the prestige of the alma mater (the university where they trained) plays in the career success of future scholars is strong: Burris points out that 'the prestige of the department in which an academic received a PhD consistently ranks as

the most important factor in determining the employment opportunities available to those entering the academic labor market' (Burris, 2004, p. 239). Demeter and Tóth (2020) found that this prestige can accumulate in the form of academic capital only at elite Global North universities, and it results in an extremely uneven structure in terms of education background within the top 100 sociology departments. Far from being diverse, these institutions are full of Global North-educated people, while systematically excluding those candidates without elite educations. The authors found that the centre-periphery structure can be represented by the fact that among the 3,325 core staff members of the top 100 sociology departments, there are only 11% who were presumed to have originated at the Global South.¹ What is more, 're-education trajectories also show that even from this 11% there are only 3% with peripheral postgraduate education. And even this 3% works, without exceptions, at peripheral departments' (Demeter and Tóth, 2020, p. 2486).

In another discipline, namely in communication and media studies, researchers found similar patterns. This suggests, in order to gain an international visibility in terms of both publication excellence and tenured positions at elite universities, scholars from the Global South need to be educated in the Global North. Typical career paths towards international visibility for scholars originally from the Global South lead from a Global South BA to a Global North MA and culminate with PhD degrees at elite Global North universities, typically located in the USA and Western Europe (Demeter, 2019a, 2020b).

As a summary, I conclude that, in line with the assumptions of an extensive research agenda on GAK production, there are several equally important features of GAK that significantly affect its nature. These factors are, typically, the geopolitical affiliations (as represented by their current affiliations) of journal editors, editorial boards and publishers, the location of scholars' alma mater, the representation of different world regions

in published scholarly output and the representation of different countries as data sources. In short, where these are diverse and regionally balanced, it can be assumed that GAK is more plural and more representative of alternative views: where these factors are dominated by more powerful regions, GAK is likely to reproduce existing inequalities. Accordingly, I seek to contribute to the understanding of global inequalities in GAK through a specific focus on development studies because it is a discipline that is centrally about global inequalities and which avowedly seeks to produce knowledge to challenge and/or ameliorate those inequalities. Specifically, I seek to investigate the degree of diversity that exists in development studies' publishing and development studies' faculties as a proxy for the extent to which GAK in development studies reflects or challenges global inequalities.

III. Theoretical Framework

I offer a theoretical framework that is a combination of neo-Bourdieuian field theory and world-systems analysis to interpret the results regarding diversities at different levels within development studies.

When he described the field of academia, Bourdieu applied the term 'capital' to describe the different facilities by which the agents of a given field can get higher positions (Bourdieu, 1988, 2004). In a Bourdieuian framework, social and symbolic capital work similarly to economic capital: the more an agent has, the better position they can get on the field. While Bourdieu originally used his theory to describe the structure of French academic culture, his later followers coined the term transnational academic capital to extend his theory to describe the operation of the international scholarly field (Bauder, 2015; Bühlmann et al., 2017; Gouanvic, 2005; Wacquant, 2018). In earlier work (Demeter, 2018b), I have summarized the most important features of academic capital and its conceptual differences from other kinds of capital in the field of global academia. In my framework, academic capital

consists of the prestige factors of degrees and certifications that were accumulated through the educational trajectory of researchers. This should be differentiated from three other salient kinds of capital: knowledge capital or human capital that is related to skills, knowledge and capacities; symbolic capital that is expressed in the publication record or the scholarly impact of researchers; and social capital that is manifested in different memberships of research teams, editorial boards or scientific associations.

Academic capital can be accumulated and invested in every level of the field of science. It can be institutionalized, embodied and objectified in various forms like academic degrees or records of research grants earned and fellowships won at elite universities. Language skills, especially proficiency in academic English, together with an extensive set of skills regarding intercultural communication, is also part of academic capital (Astaneh and Masoumi, 2018). Finally, a curriculum vitae (CV) itself, including a publication record that contains papers in elite journals, as well as citations to those papers, can be capitalized too (da Silva, 2020).

Moreover, academic capital can be accumulated not just by the individual agents of the field like students and researchers but also by higher education institutions and research centres. Since university rankings such as the THE, ARWU and the QS are based primarily on the scientific output of faculty members—typically expressed in the number of their papers in high-profile journals and the number of academic awards—one can say that the academic capital of a given institution consists of the combination of its reputation (measured as symbolic capital) and the accumulated scientific production of its employees (measured as academic capital). In the same way, an international journal's academic capital consists of the totality of the academic capital provided by the authors, expressed by the number of citations they get to their published papers in elite, indexed journals. Consequently,

the academic capital of a publishing house is the summation of the academic capital of its published periodicals.

As it has been mentioned earlier, later followers of Bourdieu extended his theoretical framework in order to apply it to the field of the global academy. Gerhards et al. (2017) and his colleagues developed the concepts of transnational field and transnational human capital, referring to the global context in which academics operate today. By applying the world-systemic theoretical perspective to the field of global science (Chase-Dunn, 1999; Cline, 2000; Galtung, 1971; Wallerstein, 1991), we can not just broaden the use of the concepts of field theory to cover global issues, but we can also provide a theoretical explanation for persistent global inequality and inequity in the field of global academic knowledge production because we are able to show that these inequalities operate in a systemic way. As Schott puts it:

The community of scientists is not a community of equals because scientists differ in their accomplishments, and its network is not a uniform grid. Indeed, an accomplished

scientist attracts many ties while a novice is typically ignored. Ties are especially dense between some participants and particularly sparse between some nodes. Ties are dense within a country and sparse between different nations. Ties within and to a periphery are sparse. The accomplishments of the center attract more ties, both from within the center and from peripheries. (Schott, 1998, p. 116)

Table 1 provides a summary of the model of the world-systemic dynamics that structure GAK production drawn from my earlier work (Demeter, 2019b). I used this framework to analyse both central and horizontal stratification within the world system of GAK production.

Building on my earlier analysis of the geopolitical stratification of power relations within the world system of GAK production, in this article, I focus on identifying the systemic features of development studies, as an international scholarly field. In order to understand how diverse GAK is within development studies and what might be done to improve it, I ask two empirical questions: first, what are the publication patterns in leading development studies periodicals?; second,

Table 1. The World Systemic Structure of Global Academic Knowledge Production

	<i>Horizontal centrality</i>	<i>Horizontal peripherality</i>
<i>Vertical centrality</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • US elite institutions like the Ivy League universities • Elite universities at the UK (Oxbridge, UCL, LSE) • International associations founded at and governed by the Global North • the (inter)national elite of the Global North • Leading publishing houses (situated, without exception, at the Global North) • Leading international journals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American elite universities at the Global South like the CEU in Hungary or the American University in Cairo • Global South countries with very strong ties to American elite institutions (Israel is the typical example but also Hong Kong and Singapore) • the international elite of the Global South who are capable to educate their heirs at Global North elite universities
<i>Vertical peripherality</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community colleges at the USA • Small state schools at the Global North • Mass education as it is (as opposed to the elite schools) • The lower classes of the Global North • underprivileged groups at the Global North 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ordinary Global South HEIs • The national publishing houses and periodicals of the Global South and the lower class of the Global South underprivileged groups at the Global South

Source: Demeter (2019b).

what are the career trajectories of leading development studies departments' faculty members?

IV. Methods

Geopolitical distribution has generally been measured by the geopolitical construction of different levels of knowledge of GAK production (Demeter, 2019a, 2019b; Goyanes and Demeter, 2020; Lauf, 2005), thus, I analyse the geopolitical distribution of development studies academics' education trajectories and the geopolitical distribution of development studies journal paper's authorship. While there is a clear correspondence between geographical locations and geopolitical regions, they are also slightly different. For instance, despite Developed Asia and Developing Asia (see categorization below) both being located in Asia, they are distinct geopolitical regions from several political, ideological, economic and historical points of views. The same holds for Europe, where, while different countries have their own unique histories, an Eastern and a Western bloc can be distinguished with specific geopolitical characteristic in common.

By distribution (diversity), I mean the pattern of the share of different geopolitical regions in a given journal in a specified period. For example, if there are 12 world regions in our categorization scheme (see later), then the geopolitical distribution (or geopolitical diversity) of a journal that published 120 papers over 5 years would be perfectly balanced if each world region has 10 papers written by corresponding regional authors. If all 120 papers were written by US scholars, then the geopolitical distribution of journal authors (or the geopolitical diversity of the journal's authorship) is zero. In other words, the more balanced (or equal) a journal's authorship is across different geopolitical regions, the more diverse it will be. The same holds for educational trajectories. If a given department has 100 faculty members with US diplomas, then the geopolitical diversity of the faculty—in terms of the educational background of faculty members—is zero. The geopolitical diversity of the department will

be raised by each scholar that the department recruits who has been educated outside the USA. Thus, in my conceptualization, geopolitical diversity and geopolitical inequality are reciprocal concepts: more geopolitical diversity means less geopolitical inequalities, while the zero or minimal geopolitical diversity means considerable inequality in the analysed field.

Data collection was conducted between 15 November 2018 and the 30 May, 2019. In the following, I, first, describe the steps taken for analysing journal paper authorship and, second, those taken for analysing the educational background of faculty members in the field of development studies.

First, I selected 17 top journals that are indexed in Scopus under the category 'Development' (Table 2) and analysed the geopolitical diversity of all the papers that were published in these journals from the 1960s to the 2010s ($n = 61,781$). I measured the geopolitical diversity of the sample in every decade in order to provide a longitudinal analysis. In defining world regions, I used those categories that are common in *Scientometrics*. Each article was coded in line with Scopus categorization that assigns the article by the current affiliation of the first author. I referred all articles to one of the following categories: 1: USA; 2: UK; 3: Western Europe; 4: Australia and New Zealand; 5: Canada; 6: Israel; 7: Developed Asia (including Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Japan); 8: Africa; 9: Middle East; 10: Developing Asia; 11: Latin-America; and 12: Eastern Europe (including Russia). When categorizing world regions into Global North and Global South blocks, I considered categories from 1 to 7 as parts of the Global North, and categories from 8 to 12 as parts of the Global South, in accordance with former studies (Lauf, 2005; Demeter, 2018a; Demeter and Instratii, 2020).

Second, I selected 10 leading universities where development studies departments were ranked highly on the 2018–2019 QS World University Rankings for the analysis of faculty members' educational backgrounds. Originally, I wanted to analyse

Table 2. The Sample for the Analysis of the Selected DS Journals

<i>Journal name</i>	<i>Number of articles (n)</i>
<i>Journal of Development Economics</i>	3,907
<i>Population and Development Review</i>	694
<i>World Development</i>	8,073
<i>Policy Sciences</i>	1,167
<i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i>	949
<i>Journal of Regional Science</i>	2,121
<i>New Political Economy</i>	832
<i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i>	852
<i>Development and Change</i>	1,348
<i>Third World Quarterly</i>	2,211
<i>Sustainable Development</i>	936
<i>Journal of Development Studies</i>	3,096
<i>International Journal of Educational Development</i>	2,077
<i>International Development Planning Review</i>	584
<i>Journal of International Relations and Development</i>	346
<i>Development Policy Review</i>	1,112
<i>Gender and Development</i>	557

Source: The author.

Table 3. The Sample for the Analysis of the Selected DS Departments

<i>Department</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Faculty members (n)</i>
University of Sussex	UK	49
Harvard University	US	12
University of Oxford	UK	38
LSE London	UK	33
University of Cambridge	UK	22
UC at Berkeley	US	25
SOAS University of London	UK	27
The University of Manchester	UK	37
Ambedkar University Delhi	India	6
Universidad de los Andes	Colombia	11

Source: The author.

elite universities in many world regions, but I found that most top-ranked universities are located at the Global North, and there were several Global South universities on which it was impossible to collect appropriate data regarding the career trajectories of

development studies department faculties. As a result, my sample consists of eight Global North and two Global South departments that are highly ranked on the QSranking for development studies (Table 3).

I recorded data on every faculty member listed in October 2018, regarding the level of their position, their gender (as it could be ascertained by their bio) and their education trajectories ($n = 260$). Positions were coded into three categories. The first category included assistant professors, junior researchers and lecturers; the second category included associate professors, readers and senior lecturers; and the third category included full professors. Gender was coded in binary terms into male and female categories. Career trajectories were coded by the place of each faculty members' BA, MA and PhD degrees. Collected data were further analysed in Gephi network analyser and visualization software.

V. Findings

To address my first research question, I analysed the geopolitical diversity of my sample of development studies journals and authors. Results show that international development studies journals are typically published at Global North locations. The highest position is occupied by the UK with more than

45% share, and, together with the USA and Western Europe, they publish 85% of Scopus-ranked development studies journals (Figure 1). Moreover, it should be noted that even those few journals that are published at more peripheral locations, typically in Developing Asia and Latin America, are indexed in lower quartiles (in q3 and q4) than their Global North counterparts that are all q1-ranked journals.

All the 17 leading development studies journals that I analysed are published in the UK, the USA or Western Europe. The publication output of these journals is strongly biased towards the Global North, as 83% of the articles ($n = 61,781$) published in these periodicals are written by authors currently working in the Global North. However, as Table 4 shows, different journals are biased towards Global North publications to different extents, since the share of the Global North varies between 63% (*International Development Planning Review*) and 97.5% (*Policy Sciences*). From the emerging regions, it is Africa and the Developing Asia (typically China and India) that have a visible authorship in these

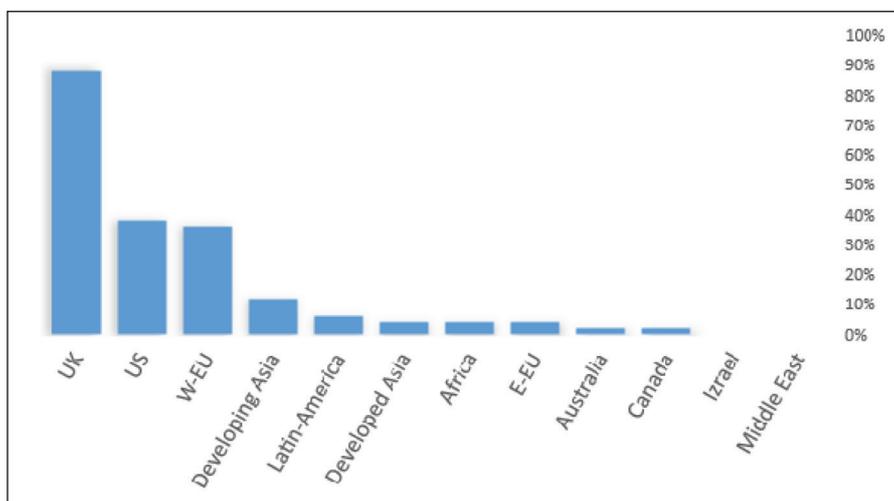


Figure 1. World Regions' Share in Scopus-indexed Journals in Development Studies ($n = 228$)

Source: The author.

Table 4. World Regions' Share in Analysed High-Profile Journals in Development Studies (%)

	USA	UK	W-EU	Australia	Canada	Israel	Developed A	Africa	Middle E	Developing A	Latin-A	Eastern E
<i>Journal of Development Economics</i>	47	10	18	2	4	1	5	1	1	5	6	0.5
<i>Population and Development Review</i>	51	10	21	4	4	1	2	1	0	3	1	1
<i>World Development</i>	40	13	19	3	3	0.5	3	6	0.5	7	5	0.5
<i>Policy Sciences</i>	63	5	15	4	7	2	2	0	0.5	1	0.5	0.5
<i>Economic Development and Cultural Change</i>	51	7	13	3	3	1	6	3	1	7	5	0.5
<i>Journal of Regional Science</i>	58	7	18	1	6	1	6	0	0	2	1	0.5
<i>New Political Economy</i>	12	47	21	5	9	0	2	1	1	1	1	0.5
<i>Studies in Comparative International Development</i>	73	5	5	1	4	1	2	1	0	1	4	1
<i>Development and Change</i>	20	27	26	3	4	0	2	5	1	8	3	0.5
<i>Third World Quarterly</i>	19	30	18	5	11	0	2	5	2	3	3	1
<i>Sustainable Development</i>	8	20	28	9	3	0	8	6	3	10	2	3
<i>Journal of Development Studies</i>	30	25	20	4	3	0	3	5	1	5	4	0
<i>International Journal of Educational Development</i>	20	24	9	3	3	1	7	17	3	8	3	1
<i>International Development Planning Review</i>	8	16	10	3	3	0	22	12	3	20	2	0
<i>Journal of International Relations and Development</i>	15	21	40	1	5	1	3	1	1	1	0.5	9
<i>Development Policy Review</i>	19	29	23	3	3	0	1	10	0.5	6	3	0.5
<i>Gender and Development</i>	13	36	10	3	6	0	0	16	0.5	11	3	0.5
Total	32	20	18	3	5	0.5	4	5	1	6	3	2

Source: The author.

journals, while the contribution of Eastern Europe and the Middle East is extremely low.

Longitudinal analysis shows that the authorship share of the Global South has slightly increased from the 1960s to the 2010s. It was 13% in the 1960s, then after a significant decline in the 1970s when the periphery's share decreased to 8%, the share of the Global South gradually increased to 18% in the 2010s. However, the most significant changes occurred not in a centre–periphery relation, but within the Global North itself. The share of the USA, that was almost 70% in the 1960s, drastically decreased to 25% in the 2010s. In the meantime, the Western European contribution increased from 3% to 25%, together with a slight increase in the UK's share. While the field was absolutely dominated by US scholars in the 1960s, we have a relatively balanced American–Western European and British dominance now. At present, developed Asia, that was invisible in the 1960s and 1970s, also acquired some position with a 5% share.

Within the Global South, the results show two visible trends. The first is that Latin America, that has a visible contribution in the 1960s (7%), lost half of its share, declining to 3% in the 2010s. In contrast to this dynamic,

Developing Asia increased its 1% contribution in the 1960s to 7% in the 2010s (Figure 2).

To address my second research question, I scrutinized the geopolitical diversity of the education of the faculty members in my sample. When analysing the educational trajectories of faculty members of the selected universities, I found an unquestionable dominance of British universities. More than 70% of all faculty members who work at the selected departments have gained their PhD from one of the elite British universities. This share is only 54% at the MA level, meaning that those scholars who have come from outside the British region tend also to have gained their PhDs in the UK. Most importantly, while the staff members are slightly diverse in terms of their BA education, this diversity seriously decreases at the PhD level, where all the analysed scholars have degrees from the UK, the USA or Western Europe. It is important to note that this does not mean that there are no staff members who originate from the Global South. It is reasonable to suppose that those scholars who gained BA degrees from a university outside the Global North originated in the corresponding world region: these scholars educated at BA level in the Global South account for 16% of the analysed faculty. However, the

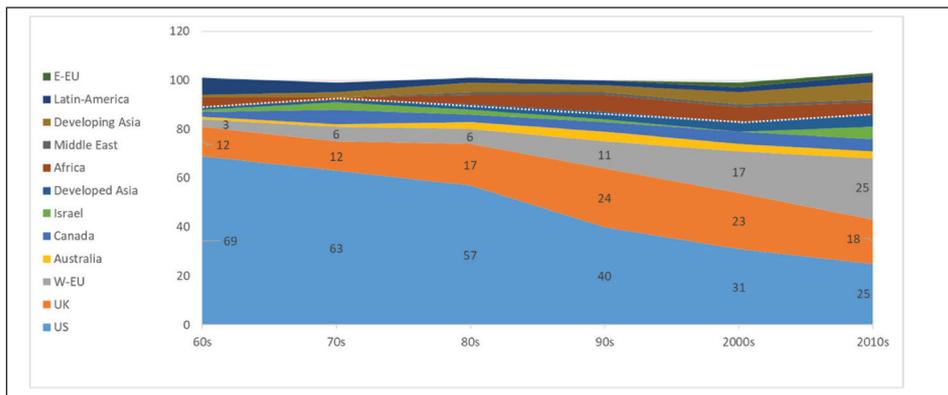


Figure 2. Share of World Regions in GS—Longitudinal Results of Publication Output. Dashed White Line Divides Global North/Global South Regions

Source: The author.

proportion of faculty members educated to MA level in the Global South falls to 3% and none are educated to the PhD level in the Global South. This evidence suggests that, in order to have a faculty position at one of the most prestigious Global North development studies departments, it is mandatory to have a PhD from the Global North, and most likely also an MA from the Global North as well (Figure 3).

This imbalance is striking, given the fact that MA- and PhD-level education in development studies is available in the Global South and is better represented among faculty members at Global South universities. In both of the Global South universities (Ambedkar University of Delhi and the Universidad de los Andes) that I studied, there are a significant number of development studies faculty members who were educated at Global South universities. In the case of the former university, all faculty members gained their BA and MA education in India, and there is only one scholar that gained his PhD education at the UK. In the case of the latter, 82% of the faculty members gained their BAs in Latin

America, with 52% having a Latin American MA, but only 9% gaining their PhDs from Latin America.

The exact career trajectories of the analysed scholars show that development studies faculties are far from having faculty members with diverse educational backgrounds. Our results show that, besides the aforementioned trajectories that lead from Global South BA to Global North PhD, there is a tendency to employ scholars who have been educated in the same region, and there is also a tendency for Western European scholars to get their PhDs in the UK. I also found that African scholars tend to go to the UK for postgraduate education, while Latin American scholars and their peers from Developing Asia prefer either the UK or the USA.

Finally, the analysis of career paths also showed a very high tendency for academic knowledge reproduction, often called 'academic inbreeding' (Altbach et al., 2015). This concept refers to the tendency for departments to employ their former students, typically their former PhD students. The extent of this academic knowledge reproduction

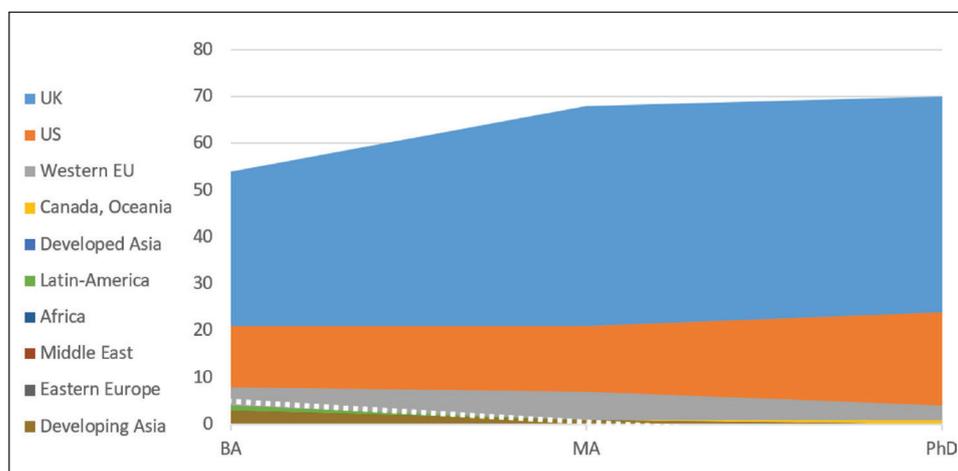


Figure 3. World Regions' Share on Different Levels of Education in Development Studies (Global North universities)

Source: The author.

Note: Dashed white line divides Global North/Global South regions.

varies between departments with a mean of 30%, with Cambridge as the most extreme example: here, the share of Cambridge PhDs within faculty staff members is 70%, and half of the faculty members also have their MAs from Cambridge.

VI. Discussion

The data show that there is a considerable Global North bias within the field of development studies, and the discipline is oligopolistic in terms of both GAK production and the acceptance of educational trajectories. Geopolitically, it means that a very few economically powerful countries hold possession of GAK production for development studies. According to these results, the so-called international academic knowledge representation in development studies is far from being diverse, since it is predominantly a product of researchers from a very limited variety of cultural, epistemic and academic backgrounds. In line with former studies that found a considerable Northern overrepresentation in development studies journals (Cummings and Hoebink, 2017), we also found a severe geographical bias with a slightly decreasing Global North hegemony over time. Former studies lack a longitudinal perspective, and our study is the first that measures the changes in the representation of different world regions within development studies over the past decades. In line with the general realignment in world-systemic power positions (Chase-Dunn, 1999; Wallerstein, 1991), we found a considerably decreasing US representation with more research production from European and Asian development studies scholars, but the visibility of Global South countries is still minimal as compared to their Northern counterparts.

The same bias can be found in terms of the academic background of faculty members at leading development studies departments that employ only those scholars who accumulate the appropriate (Northern) academic capital. In fact, the only acknowledged kind of transnational academic capital is that accumulated

at elite Global North universities. I found that the only Southern-origin scholars employed by the Northern universities analysed were those who had completed their education with a Northern PhD. Furthermore, I found that 16% of most likely Southern-origin scholars employed as faculty in the universities studied in the Global North had either received or repeated their MA or PhD at a Northern university. This implies that scholars from the periphery who want to be employed in Global North universities take or retake postgraduate qualifications gained in the Global South to become eligible for positions in the Global North: a process that has been called re-education (Demeter, 2021). By so doing, in terms of academic habitus, they become similar, if not identical, to their Global North peers, and they develop what I call camouflage identities (Demeter, 2021). These camouflage identities mean that while scholars originating in the Global South are under-represented at the most prestigious academic positions and in leading journals, they can still get academic positions as long as they look like they belong in the Global North in terms of their educational trajectories. Since the agents of the global academy may not be racist but rather elitist, Global South scholars with a promising academic futures do not need to look as if they come from the Global North in terms of their physical appearance, but they must have Northern academic capital, including, but not limited to, education in the Global North in order to be perceived and valued at the centre.

The necessity for camouflage identities for scholars from the Global South who work in the Global North, and the education and re-education that it involves, results in a further loss of diversity that compounds their already low representation in the Global North. The more central a journal or department is, the more likely it contains authors and faculty members with similar educational backgrounds, implying that they lack significant epistemic diversity and diversity in terms of GAK production. Unfortunately, the results of

this study show that development studies is no exception from this trend that is typical in the world system of GAK production.

VII. Conclusions and Future Research Directions

To conclude, I consider the policy implications of my findings for efforts to improve the diversity of GAK production and the diversity of accepted academic capital within development studies. These point towards the need for greater diversity among development studies academics in leading universities and in the authorship of leading articles in development studies journals. A radical improvement in the diversity of educational backgrounds of the academe is needed, and might reasonably be expected, to contribute to the epistemic decolonization of the discipline.

First, the role that elite degrees play in the selection process of faculty members should be decreased, and more complex sets of measurements (such as the local reputation of candidates, their past performance in their original context, their achievements in internationalizing their local academic cultures, etc.) should be developed in order to show that different kinds of academic capital (and not just elite education and current Western affiliation) can lead to equally important contributions to international scholarship. Specifically, the demarcation between academic capital (as it is expressed by elite degrees) and academic production (as it is expressed by publication record) should be made clear in order to avoid the world system, excluding highly productive scholars who do not have elite education. Future research should analyse the actual practices of academic recruitment at elite development studies departments with special emphasis on the weight selection committees put on the education trajectories of the candidates. In theory, as it has been already suggested, education history need not play a crucial role when assessing a candidate's scholarly merits since education should be manifested in research and teaching

performance. If one's education is better, then one's performance should be better, too: thus, assessing performance already includes the assessment of education. As a consequence, putting considerable weight on education history, especially on the places of diplomas, may multiply inequalities because it counts both the implicit values of elite education as manifest in better performance, as well as valuing elite education explicitly as well.

Second, a more diverse field of academics and journal paper authorship would introduce fresh ideas to the discipline: drawing on the abundant pool of talented scholars from all around the world, and their academic writing, would enable development studies to significantly broaden its perspective when it comes to the criticism of both the mainstream narratives of development and the prevailing structure of the world system of GAK production. The results of this current project have shown that development studies journals tend to be written by scholars who are both educated and work in the Global North. This situation should be altered by creating a more inclusive publication environment in which editors (and reviewers) give more voice to scholars with non-Western educations and academic cultures. This is a radical requirement, and agents with powerful positions in the publishing industry may insist on the idea that Anglo-American academic culture—including academic writing, rhetoric, research paper development, methodologies and established conventions for reporting results—is the only acceptable one, and that Northern standards are intrinsic to and required for (social) scientific rigour.

Third, research needs to consider intersectional identities and to investigate to what extent the diversity needed in development studies is only about geopolitical origins and education, or if it needs to also be about social class. Given that most faculty are educated at elite institutions, it seems reasonable to suspect that they are mostly from upper-middle-class family backgrounds.

Exploring how the (lack of) diversity of academics in terms of social class intersects with their lack of geopolitical diversity is particularly pertinent for a field that is intrinsically about investigating power relations.

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The author declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship and/or publication of this article.

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Note

1. Scholars with BA diplomas awarded by Global South universities were presumed to have originated at the Global South.

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