

**Teaching and Research in International Politics:
Surveying Trends in Faculty Opinion and Publishing**

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Over the past 25 years the international system has changed dramatically, moving from a bipolar world characterized by a cold war between two superpowers to a system with a single great power. Transnational issues—drug-trafficking, environmental degradation, the spread of infectious diseases, and terrorism—increasingly top policy-makers’ agendas. A plethora of international organizations (IOs) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) address national security, human security, and development problems in much of the world. Increased economic interdependence and globalization compromise national borders and threaten state sovereignty. Has teaching and research in international relations (IR) changed to a corresponding degree during the past 25 years? Are teaching and research efforts responsive to changes in international politics and policy? Conversely, do research and teaching in IR have any influence on the real world of international politics and policy making? The literature is littered with impressionistic answers to these questions.¹ We should have little confidence in these answers, however, because almost no systematic research has been done to document empirical patterns or verify causal hypotheses. The research project outlined here seeks to remedy these shortcomings.

Political science, like all sciences, attempts to describe and explain the world around us, including the momentous transformations in global politics during the last decade and a half. Indeed, IR scholarship has not been blind to these changes. Traditional objects of study—such as anarchy, the balance of power, and the causes of war—now share space on university syllabi with studies on IOs, development, political economy, the global environment, and international norms. Does this signal an important and significant shift in the way that IR is researched and taught? Alternatively, is the IR field still mainly characterized by Cold War era paradigms? To what extent and in what ways have IR research and pedagogy changed in the past few decades? To what extent, more generally, do our ideas about international politics influence what we teach our students and how we structure our IR curricula? To answer these questions, we undertake the first systematic empirical analysis of IR research and teaching among American scholars. We compare, in short, what we preach (research) with what we teach (pedagogy in the classroom).

This project emerged from the observation by an undergraduate student that “all the IR scholars in our department have abandoned the realist paradigm as a guide to their own research, but they continue to highlight realism in introductory IR courses.” Robles (1993) makes a similar point after analyzing 12 syllabi from undergraduate IR courses. “The majority of instructors do not just identify realism as a major paradigm...realism is the unproblematic and unproblematic framework of international relations analysis (526).” A casual analysis of introductory IR text books and an unscientific round of emails to other faculty members in the field served to reinforce the point made by the William and Mary undergraduate. This outcome, if it is reflected

¹ The ubiquitous stock-taking exercises and “histories” of the discipline come to dramatically different conclusions about the trends in IR research. For examples, see Holsti 1985; Hollis and Smith 1990; Kahler 1993; Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 1998; and Elman and Elman 2003. In the area of IR research, we have identified only four studies where scholars use systematic methods to track changes in the IR literature (Weaver 1998; Vasquez 1999; Bennett 2002; Sprinz 2004); however all these studies restrict their inquiry to six or fewer journals, ten or fewer years, and three or fewer variables per article. We cover 25 years, 11 journals, and 24 variables. In the area of undergraduate teaching, very little systematic work exists. Robles (1993) offers some interesting impressions regarding the lack of “international” readings in 12 Introductory syllabi that were selected for APSA’s Political Science Course Syllabi Collection. But no comparable work on undergraduate IR education has been done to parallel the classic (but dated) study on graduate education in IR by Alker and Bierstecker (1984). They analyzed just over 20 graduate level syllabi from leading scholars in the discipline who were training the next generation of IR scholars.

in the actual patterns of IR teaching and research, seems puzzling. Our data-collection effort began (but did not end) with this simple puzzle about the apparent asymmetric rise and fall of IR paradigms.

The data-collection efforts outlined in this paper allow us to address this puzzle, as well as a host of other current and long-running debates, over the state of political realism in IR. Legro and Moravcsik (1999, 5) note that “Realism remains the primary or alternative theory in virtually every major book and article addressing general theories of world politics, particularly in security affairs.” Some scholars argue, however, that political realism is a degenerative paradigm that no longer accurately describes or explains events in the world (Vasquez 1999, 2003; following from Lakatos 1970). Still others claim that realists have overstepped their own paradigmatic bounds and increasingly misuse realism (Legro and Moravcsik 1996). We explore the extent to which IR scholars still employ a realist paradigm in their research or, alternatively, the degree to which competing approaches have supplanted realism as the reigning paradigm in the field. Similarly, we ask whether undergraduate “Introduction to International Relations” courses have changed with the times, or whether professors still heavily favor realism over competing paradigms. Put bluntly, is realism, IR’s paradigm *par excellence* since the 1940s, dead or dying? This puzzle is one of many that we have identified in the literature and in conversations with colleagues. By clearly describing the discipline over the past 25 years, we hope to (1) *systematically* analyze both the state of the field today and how it has changed in the last 25 years, and (2) understand if and how changing trends in scholarship are reflected in IR pedagogy.

In addition to our analysis of rising and falling paradigms in IR, our data also reflect trends in IR teaching and research that reveal which methodologies and epistemologies are employed in journals and in the classroom; which specific empirical questions are addressed in research and teaching; which issue areas receive attention; which geographic regions receive attention; whether the proportion of men and women in the field has changed; which level of analysis is employed most frequently; whether scholars increasingly attempt to synthesize distinct theories or keep them separate when explaining outcomes; whether scholars seek to make their work policy relevant; whether they address normative questions; and whether they tend to address current or historical issues in their teaching and research. Just as there are numerous empirical and theoretical puzzles that might be resolved with our data on the rise and fall of specific paradigms, so each of these other variables can measure and assess a number of other specific stylized facts that scholars sometimes debate, but more often assume, without the benefit of reliable data.²

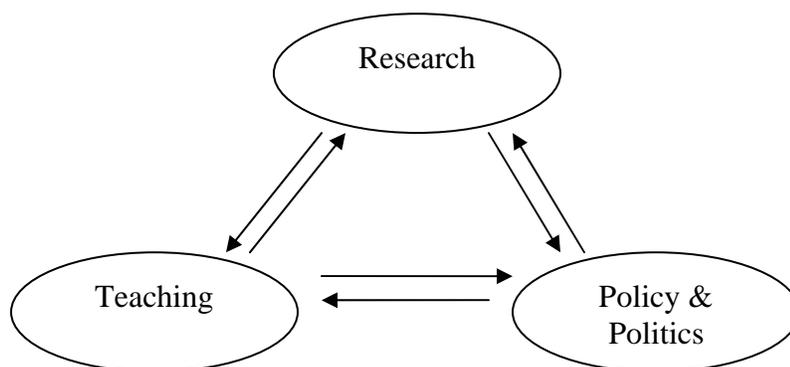
Our investigation has two major empirical components. First, we explore which prominent paradigms, methods, epistemologies, etc. have been employed over time in IR research by coding articles published in 12 top IR and political science journals from 1980 to 2004. Second, we measure trends in IR research and teaching with results from an extensive survey of IR professors teaching undergraduate courses in American colleges and universities over the same period. One of our goals is to compare scholarship and pedagogy to see whether or not scholars teach the same paradigms, methods, issue areas, and regions that they employ in their own re-

² Ole Weaver got it exactly right when he argued, “The articles on the history of the discipline, slowly growing in number, are usually not based on systematic research or clear methods. They are, at best, elegant restatements of “common knowledge” of our past, implicitly assuming that any good practitioner can tell the history of the discipline. However, without looking systematically at the past, we tend to reproduce myths (1998, 52).” The problem is even more acute when discussing teaching and curriculum issues, which also demand systematic analysis.

search. This study is the first step toward the construction of the most extensive database on IR teaching and research among American political scientists.

Once completed, these databases will provide content for the three boxes in the TRIP triad displayed below in Figure 1 (though our data-collection efforts focus primarily on teaching and research). IR scholars and political scientists already have produced a large number of datasets that measure political outcomes and policy choices found in the lower right hand corner of the triad (Policy and Politics).

Figure 1: The TRIP Triad



Numerous qualitative and quantitative data collections capture important features of international policy and politics, including data on trade flows, conflict processes, crisis decision making, terrorist attacks, aid flows, the diffusion of democracy, number and type of NGOs, event data, etc. These observations are located in the lower right hand box of the triad. We lack good data, however, for the other two corners of the triad—teaching (lower left) and research (top middle). Our project seeks to balance the triad and provide the sound descriptive basis upon which specific empirical conjectures and theoretically derived hypotheses might be tested.

At the same time, we seek important new data for the policy corner of the triad. These data-collection efforts will allow us to explore the ways in which, first, events in the political world influence how we teach and study IR and, second, how research and teaching influences or might influence the policy world. In the first case, anecdotal evidence from our own courses, discussions with colleagues, and perusal of newly published books and articles suggests that momentous international events—such as the end of the Cold War or the 9/11 terrorist attacks—have significant consequences for the content of our courses and publications.³ In the second case, there is significant anecdotal evidence suggesting that the ideas of particular teachers or the curricula of particular schools can influence the thinking (and ultimately the policy decisions) of their students. In *MITI and the Japanese Miracle* (1982), for example, Johnson argues that so long as MITI was “staffed by men who share a common outlook” because of their training at

³ We collected data in our 2004 survey that speaks directly to the impact of events in IR on teaching and research practices.

Tokyo University, the Japanese government was able to maintain a coherent policy of infant-industry protection and export-led growth. When it started watering MITI's staff down with American trained economists and those from other Japanese universities, however, the foreign economic policy of Japan changed. Many analysts of contemporary US foreign policy similarly track the intellectual influence of Leo Strauss and the University of Chicago Political Science Department on the Neo-Conservatives of the Bush administration (Drury 2001; *Economist* June 2003; Hersh 2003; Shorris 2004).

In short, how does research influence teaching and vice versa? How do international politics and policy influence the way we teach and study IR? How do research and teaching influence the policy-making process?⁴ A necessary step that must precede any descriptive or causal inference is the crucial task of accurately measuring our variables of interest. This will allow scholars to answer a range of questions located along the three sides of our inter-related triad.

This paper provides an introduction to the broader project. We describe the nuts and bolts of data collection for the teaching and research boxes, but make occasional reference to the third part of the triad. In part one, we describe the research design for the article-coding component of the project, including discussion of the journals and articles studied, variables coded, and procedures used to generate the data. Part two presents the research design and the procedures that we used to survey IR faculty in US colleges and universities from October-December 2004. Part three presents some preliminary findings from both the article coding project and the survey of IR faculty. We conclude by exploring the implications of these findings, and outline future research plans.

I. Article-Coding Research Design

Part one of the project examines IR articles published in 12 top IR and political science journals from 1980 to 2004.⁵ For each article, we code 23 distinct variables discussed below. This is our primary measure of research in the field. We choose this measure because a scholarly field is largely defined by the articles that are published in its peer-reviewed journals (Merton 1942; Whitely 1984). According to Ole Weaver (1998, 57), "They are the crucial institution of modern science." Text books and full length monographs certainly play a significant role in defining the field of IR, but they generally take much longer to complete and publish and often are subject to different standards than journal articles.⁶ Naturally, we immediately confronted the

⁴ Our formulation suggests that there are six sets of relationships that might be explored. The IR literature already contains inductively and deductively informed hypotheses that correspond to all six of the causal arrows in figure 1. For a good overview of the various impacts of teaching, research, and policy on each other see George 1979; Zelikow 1994; Leggold 1998; Bennett and George 1999. For an ambitious cross-national study that attempts to identify the intellectual foundations of foreign policy making in a large number of countries see Chan 1994.

⁵ We code full length articles but exclude book reviews or correspondence. We also code controversies and research notes, since they provide original insights on IR and are typically subject to the same review process as stand alone articles.

⁶ We currently have no plans to systematically analyze text books or research monographs; however, such an effort would certainly compliment our project. Some new and big ideas that shape future research and teaching in the field are certainly distributed through books, but many of these same ideas and methods are captured in articles published by the same author in peer reviewed journals. If one listed the five most influential books in IR over the past 25 years, it is quite likely that each of them would have an article (or articles) summarizing the main ideas and findings

question: which journals define this field? We selected our journals based on three criteria—impact,⁷ a rigorous peer-review process, and significant readership among US IR scholars. Each journal had to meet all three conditions to be included in our database. Hence, some journals that are widely read and undoubtedly shape and reflect the views of US policymakers were excluded. For example, *Foreign Affairs*, *Global Governance*, *Orbis*, and *Foreign Policy* were all excluded because they either lack double blind peer-review procedures or a significant number of their articles are commissioned by the editors. Other high quality journals—including *Millennium* and *British Journal of International Relations*—were excluded because so few US scholars read or cite them. Finally, a number of other journals—such as *International Relations*, *International Interactions*, *SAIS Review* and *Political Science Quarterly*—simply do not have as great an impact among IR scholars as the journals selected.⁸

Our choice of which journals to code was subsequently justified through our survey of IR scholars. We asked respondents to list the top four journals in the IR field (See Appendix 1, question 25). Because some respondents did not answer the question and others listed fewer than four journals, the total number of votes cast was 2803. All but two of our sampled journals were rated in the top 12 by IR scholars. The *Journal of Politics* and the *British Journal of Political Science* were not believed to have a major impact on the IR sub-field. The *Review of International Studies* and *Millennium* were near the bottom of this list, but both were rated higher than JOP or BJPS. We have decided to keep JOP and BJPS in our database because of their impact ratings; however, these journals can be omitted by a query function in our database to see whether our findings are robust in their absence. Since these two journals publish very few IR articles, we do not expect that they will have a major impact on the descriptive statistics reported below.

Variables Coded for Each Article

The variable names, descriptions, and coding explanations are listed in the order they appear in the database.

- 1) **Year, volume and number (Year, Vol, Num).**
- 2) **Journal publication name (Name).** We will code all international relations (IR) articles in the following journals:

1—AJPS = *American Journal of Political Science*

2—JOP = *Journal of Politics*

contained in the book. (For example, in a pre-test or our survey we asked 26 IR faculty from around the country to list the most influential books in IR over the past 25 years. Our conjecture holds for the five books that were listed most often: Waltz 1979; Krasner 1983; Keohane 1984; Russett 1990; and Huntington 1998). Hence, we are not losing as much information as one might think by looking at journal articles. On the other hand, a large number of influential articles are published every year without any corresponding book.

⁷ For current data on journal impact based on reputation and number of citations see Hix 2003.

⁸ If we do include a 13th journal in the next round of coding it will almost certainly be the *International Studies Review*, since all members of the ISA now receive it and because it is increasingly publishing original research rather than focusing on review essays. Originally, we omitted it from our sample because it did not exist for the majority of the time period under study.

- 3—WP = *World Politics*
- 4—ISQ = *International Studies Quarterly*
- 5—JCR = *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- 6—APSR = *American Political Science Review*
- 7—IS = *International Security*
- 8—IO = *International Organization*
- 9—BJPS = *British Journal of Political Science*
- 10—EJIR = *European Journal of International Relations*
- 11—SS = *Security Studies*
- 12—JPR = *Journal of Peace Research*

We consider the following “IR journals” and thus code *every* article in every issue for every year of their publication between 1980 and 2004: IO, IS, ISQ, WP, JCR, EJIR, SS, and JPR.⁹ In the general political science journals (JOP, APSR, AJPS, BJPS), we only code those articles that fall within the IR subfield (broadly defined).

For the purposes of this project, we handle the difference between IR and other subfields in the following way: if the dependent variable (DV) has anything to do with an *inter*-state or transnational issue, the article is classified as an IR article and coded. If the independent variables (IVs) make any mention of *inter*-state or transnational issues, the article is also classified as an IR article. For example, an article that examines bureaucratic decision-making (IV) to explain the causes of inter-state war (DV) qualifies as IR under our definition. Similarly, an article claiming that economic interdependence (IV) drives electoral competition in Belgium (DV) also is classified as IR. An article claiming that civil wars (DV) are caused by religious cleavages within specific countries (IV), however, is classified as comparative politics, not IR, and is therefore excluded from our database. Hence, many articles that are published in general political science journals will not appear in our database because both the IVs and the DVs focus on strictly domestic factors.

When we encounter articles that are purely theoretical, without reference to a particular sub-discipline (for instance a *strict* game theory article without reference to a specific empirical application), we employ the following rule: if that article is in an IR journal, we code it; if not, we do *not* code it, unless it specifically refers to *any* IR question/issue. We have adopted this rule because any article published in an IR journal is likely to be read by many IR scholars and is thus likely to have an impact on the IR subfield. A general game theoretic article in *JOP* might well be read by and influence the future research of IR scholars, but we cannot assume that it would. If the same article were published in *JCR* or *ISQ*, however, we would include it in our sample because more IR scholars read these journals, and such articles therefore are expected to have a greater impact on the field.

- 3) **Journal Editor (Editlast, Editfirst).** The first and last name of the journal’s editor or editors.

⁹ All articles of WP are coded—that is, we consider it an IR journal—but we recognize that an increasing proportion of those articles fall within the sub-field of comparative politics. Hence, we also measure this change over time.

- 4) **Journal Editor Paradigm (Editpar).** This variable captures the preferred paradigm of the journal editor. We establish the accuracy of this value by searching books and articles written by the editor during the periods prior to and during his/her tenure as editor. We will supplement this coding rule by sending each current and former editor a survey which asks, among other things, the respondent to report his/her paradigmatic, methodological, and epistemological commitments.

This variable can take one of six nominal values. Some scholars might refer to these categories more narrowly as theories or more broadly as approaches, but we adopt the term most commonly used in the literature to refer to these four major schools of thought.¹⁰ One might divide the literature in other ways (in terms of the “rationalist/constructivist divide,” levels of analysis, or epistemology); hence, we attempt to capture such variation in the literature with additional variables specified below. If an author combines or synthesizes two or more paradigms, rather than advancing one in particular, this variable is coded to reflect the paradigm that appears more prominently or is mentioned first. The six values for “Paradigm” are listed below¹¹:

- 0—Realist
- 1—Liberal
- 2—Marxist/globalist
- 3—Constructivist
- 4—Non-paradigmatic
- 5—Atheoretic/none

Authors working within a particular paradigm tend to focus on certain dependent variables, but paradigms are defined primarily by their core assumptions and secondarily by the independent variables they emphasize. Paradigms are not defined by their dependent variables. Hence, there are both realist theories of war and liberal theories of war. They differ not in their attempt to explain why wars occur, but in their core assumptions and in the explanatory variables they privilege in empirical research.

We code an article as realist if it employs the following assumptions: (1) states are the dominant actors in international politics; (2) states are unitary, rational actors; (3) states pursue their interests, which are defined in terms of power; and (4) the international system is anarchic. Most realist approaches use power and/or anarchy to explain international outcomes. Explanatory variables include hegemony, polarity, offense-defense balance, and relative and absolute power.

¹⁰ Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner refer to these four categories as “general theoretical orientations” and distinguish them from “specific research programs” (Katzenstein et al 1999).

¹¹ We include within each school all the variants. For example, neorealism, structural realism, offensive realism, and classical realism are all included in our “realist” paradigm. Neo-marxist and neoliberal approaches similarly fall under the broader paradigmatic categories because they share core assumptions with Marxism and liberalism, respectively. For a narrower (and, perhaps, more coherent) definition of liberalism see Moravcisk (2004). We include neoliberal institutionalism under the liberal category because this choice is consistent with discourse in the field of IR, not because we believe it is analytically the cleanest choice. Further, excluding neo-liberal institutionalism from the liberal paradigm would inhibit comparisons to other work in the field that has attempted to catalog trends in IR.

We code an article as liberal if it is consistent with the following assumptions: (1) the primary actors in IR are individuals and private groups, who organize and exchange to promote their own interests; (2) states represent some sub-set of (domestic and, sometimes, foreign) societal actors through domestic political institutions, which transmit demands to government officials authorized to act in the name of the state;¹² (3) the nature of the international system (including state behavior and patterns of conflict and cooperation) is defined by the configuration of state preferences rather than the distribution of power or the dominant system of economic production; (4) as a result of shifting patterns of preferences states may develop shared norms and institutions, which serve some of the functions typical of institutions within domestic polities (see Moravcsik 2003 and Keohane and Nye 1977). Liberals often highlight the importance of the following causal variables: domestic institutions, the preferences of societal actors and transnational actors, the relative competitiveness of economic producers in the international market, economic interdependence, international law, regimes, international institutions, ideas, and beliefs.

We code an article as Marxist if it is based on the following assumptions: (1) economic actors are the dominant unit of analysis in international politics; (2) the international system is hierarchical; and (3) mechanisms of domination perpetuate underdevelopment. Marxist approaches tend to focus on class structure, the global capitalist system, and the role of elites within that system as the primary causal variables in their explanations.

We code an article as constructivist if its authors assume that the identity of agents and the reality of institutions are socially constructed. Constructivists employ many IVs that are typical of Liberalism—such as regimes, norms, identities, and institutions—and even sometimes with realists or Marxists. In addition to the causal variables they share with other paradigms, constructivists frequently examine organizational culture, discursive processes, and principled beliefs as explanatory variables. Constructivists certainly are associated with the “ideational turn” in IR research, but they have no monopoly on ideational explanations and many articles that invoke the importance of ideas do not fit within the constructivist paradigm. We include constructivism as the fourth major research paradigm in IR not because it is perfectly analogous to the other three paradigms,¹³ but because it has become the fourth major category for organizing research by IR scholars (Katzenstein et al 1999; Nye 2003).

We also employ a “non-paradigmatic” category, which captures articles that do advance or test a coherent theory, but do not fit comfortably within one of the four major paradigms outlined above. We do not imply by this choice that the previous four paradigms are superior to alterna-

¹² Hence, both the underlying structure of preferences among potential governing coalitions, and the specific domestic rules that structure political bargaining and transmit demands are crucial to determining the preferences of a state in IR.

¹³ In fact, unlike Realism, Liberalism, and Marxism, Constructivism does not suggest any particular substantive model of politics or human behavior. As Adler (2002) explains, constructivism is not “yet another IR ‘ism’, paradigm, or fashion.” Instead, constructivism is a “meta-physical stance, a social theory, and an IR theoretical and empirical perspective.” Hence, constructivism may be less a paradigm or theory of politics than a meta-theoretical approach within which a variety of specific theories could be built. This leaves open the possibility of a “liberal-constructivist” or a “realist-constructivist approach to IR.

tives in the IR literature—such as feminism, post-modernism, cognitive psychology, or a host of other potential rivals—but only recognize the fact that the first four paradigms are the most prominent and frequently discussed in the IR literature.

Those articles that do not employ any theory at all are coded as “atheoretic.” Generally, these atheoretic articles are purely descriptive or test inductively derived hypotheses that are not related to any theory or paradigm.

- 5) **Total articles (Total, TotalIR).** This counts the total number of articles published in a given volume of the journal, and how many of these are IR articles.
- 6) **Title (Title).** This is the full title of the article.
- 7) **Author’s name (A1Last, A1First–A4Last, A4First).** We enter the first and last name of all authors listed. Example: Dessler, David; Nye, Joseph.
- 8) **Number of authors (Numauth).** We record the number of authors for each article.
- 9) **Author’s gender (A1Gen–A4Gen).** This is recorded for all authors of an individual article. If an author’s gender cannot be determined by his/her name, then we attempt to discover the author’s gender through a literature search or contacting the author directly.
- 10) **Paradigm advanced/advocated by author or used to guide analysis (Paradv).** Here, we measure the paradigm used to frame the research question and answer. We employ the same values as in #4 above.
- 11) **Paradigms taken seriously by author or used as alternative explanation (Paraser1–Paraser3).** This variable captures which paradigms are discussed in a serious way—that is, treated as alternative explanations and/or used to frame the research question. A simple “straw-man” depiction of an alternative paradigm does not qualify as “taken seriously.” Instead, the reader needs to learn something about the utility, internal logic, or scope conditions of the alternative paradigm (or a specific model following from some alternative paradigm), in order to be categorized as “taken seriously.” We employ the same values as in variables #4 and #10 above.
- 12) **Synthesis (Synth1–Synth2).** This variable refers to whether or not the authors attempt to synthesize explanations from two or more paradigms. Here, we are primarily interested in the article’s main independent variables. Thus, we treat an article as synthetic if the IVs are drawn primarily from two or more distinct paradigms. We do *not* repeat paradigms here. So, if an article is synthesizing a liberal approach with a constructivist one and we have already coded the main paradigm as liberal (for variable #10), we only enter a value of “3” for constructivism. If we encounter an article where we are unsure which is the *main* paradigm and which is the “synthesized” paradigm, we list the first paradigm mentioned as main and the second as synthesized.

0—Realism

- 1—Liberalism
- 2—Marxism
- 3—Constructivism
- 4—No synthesis

Synthesis is different from variable #11 (other paradigms taken seriously). Certainly, there can be no synthesis if an author does not take seriously more than one paradigm. Variable #12 does not capture the use of more than one paradigm, however, but whether there is conscious bridge building between/among distinct paradigms. To count as an effort at synthesis, the explanatory variables from different paradigms must be integrated as part of a single explanation.

- 13) **Ideational (Idea)**. This variable attempts to capture the role of ideas in explanations for outcomes in IR. Any article where *ideas, beliefs, perceptions, norms, or identity* play a central explanatory role in the argument is coded as ideational. Put differently, we code an article as “ideational” if its IVs evoke these *non-material* explanations. In instances where the scholar evokes both material and ideational IVs (such as Walt 1987), we give a value of “yes” to both (so, in Walt’s case, we code that famous article on the “balance of threat” as “yes” because he evokes one ideational variable in addition to three more prominent material IVs). This variable allows us to distinguish between constructivism and other explanations that invoke the importance of ideas to explain outcomes (for example, psychological arguments and some liberal ideational arguments).

In addition to causal variables, some articles seek to explain changes in the culture or identity of some group or actor in IR. Hence, if the DV *or* IV in an article is ideational, then it receives a “yes” for this variable.

- 0—No (ideational variables are not used)
- 1—Yes (ideational variables are used)

- 14) **Material (Mater)**. This dummy variable captures the article’s use of material factors, in either the independent or dependent variables. As with the “ideational” variable, this variable is dichotomous, with either a “yes” or “no” value.

- 0—No
- 1—Yes

Material variables are non-ideational and refer to ascriptive characteristics of actors or the structures in which actors are embedded (states, organizations, corporations, class structure, physical capital, etc.), what actors pursue, and what drives their behavior. They can be physical endowments, such as land or capital; or they can describe capabilities, such as military capability, physical location, or natural resource endowments.

- 15) **Epistemology (Epist)**. By what criteria does the author establish knowledge claims? If the author employs the tools and techniques of the scientific method in an effort to describe or explain some pattern, then the article is coded as “positivist.” If the author employs critical theory or interpretive methods that reject the aim of establishing causal connections

through the systematic collection and analysis of empirical evidence, however, we code the article as “non-positivist.” Positivists derive hypotheses, attempt to gather data in a systematic fashion, and then test their hypotheses using scientific methods of inference (King et al. 1994). Non-positivists employ interpretative, critical or normative methods, and are not solely concerned with establishing causal relationships, and often strive for “thick description” (Geertz) or make explicit normative judgments about policy or behavior.

0—positivist

1—non-positivist/post-positivist

16) Time period (Time1–Time9). We classify each article in terms of its temporal domain. This variable reflects the time period of the subject or cases studied by the author in depth; individual anecdotes about particular historical events are not considered when coding this variable. From which historical eras are cases selected and evidence drawn? We code each time period as a dummy variable. We have selected date ranges that correspond to specific historic eras as discussed by historians and IR scholars. None of these dates should be taken as epistemological boundaries and the number of years within each time period varies dramatically. Obviously, individual articles often draw upon historical data from more than one of these time periods, and our coding scheme allows us to capture such choices. The values for this variable are listed below:

- **Timepre.** Pre-history to 476 AD. Captures ancient civilizations, including Egypt and Greece, and extends to the fall of the Roman Empire.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timeant.** 476 to Oct. 1648. Captures late antiquity, the early and high Middle Ages, as well as the early modern period in Europe. It extends to the end of the Thirty Years' War and the signing of the Peace of Westphalia.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timewes.** Oct. 1648 to June 28, 1914. Captures the Enlightenment period, Age of Colonization, the American and French Revolutions, Napoleonic Wars, the first two Balkans wars, and extends to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timeww1.** June 28, 1914 to June 28, 1919. Captures World War I and extends to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timeint.** June 28, 1919 to September 1, 1939. Captures the inter-war period and extends to the German invasion of Poland.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timeww2.** September 1, 1939 to August 1945. Captures World War II, including V-E and V-J Days in 1945
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes

- **Timecw.** September 1945 to November 9, 1989. Captures the Cold War period, including the origins of “containment” as the official policy of the United States toward the Soviet Union, the consolidation of the United Nations, and decolonization. It ends with the Fall of the Berlin Wall.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timepcw.** Nov. 9, 1989 to September 10, 2001. Captures the post-Cold War era.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timep911.** September 11, 2001 to present. Captures the events of September 11 and the post-9/11 world.
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes
- **Timena.** None/Not Applicable
 - 0—No
 - 1—Yes

17) Contemporary Timeframe (Contemp). This variable reflects whether the article analyzes events within ten years of the publication date.

- 0—No
- 1—Yes
- 2--N/A

So, for instance, if an article written in 1981 used data from 1973, we would code this as “Yes.” If an article from 1995 used data from 1980, however, it would receive a value of “No.” If the article does not concern specific time periods at all, it receives an “N/A.” The N/A designation allows us to expand or restrict the denominator when specifying the ratio of articles that address contemporary empirical questions. Some might argue that purely theoretical articles with no empirical content should be removed when making such a comparison. Our coding rule permits both measures to be constructed.

18) Policy Prescription (Policy). Does the author make explicit policy prescriptions in the article? We only record a value of “yes” if the article explicitly aims its prescriptions at policy-makers. A prescription for further research on some topic does not qualify, but a prescription that the government ought to change its foreign policy or increase funding for certain types of research does qualify.

- 0—No
- 1—Yes

19) Issue Area (Issue). This nominal measure includes sub-fields of IR: International Security, International Political Economy, Human Rights, the Environment, Health, IR theory, US Foreign Policy, Comparative Foreign Policy, IR historiography, Philosophy of Science and International Law. The value of this variable reflects the primary issue area to which the article contributes.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| 0—International Security | 3—Environment |
| 1—International Political Economy | 4--Health |
| 2—Human Rights | 5—IR theory |

6—US Foreign Policy	10—International Law
7—Comparative Foreign Policy	11—Other
8—IR Historiography	12—General (or non-specific)
9—Philosophy of Science	

Note: the value 12 refers to an article that makes a “general” argument about IR that could apply to more than one of the issue areas (yet it does not specify whether IS or IPE, etc.). If more than one issue area is specifically addressed in a substantive manner, the prominent issue area or one listed first is coded (assuming the article is not “general”).

20) Level of analysis (1image–no level “Level of analysis” refers to the unit of study; it provides a means of categorizing the independent variables identified by a theory or argument. We adopt Kenneth Waltz’s use of three levels of analysis and enter a “yes” or “no” in the appropriate column for each level. We record a “yes” when an author locates either her IV or DV at that level. Articles may be coded “yes” for multiple levels.

Level 1 refers to the individual level of analysis and includes such independent variables as: personality, perceptions, beliefs, images, values, human nature, bias, accidents, timing, means/ ends calculations, group processes (such as groupthink), and any other factors specific to the individual decision makers and/ or the decision-making process.

Level 2 refers to the nation-state level of analysis and includes such independent variables as: regime type, regime stability, partisan politics, economic system, governmental structure, bureaucratic interests and bargaining, standard operating procedures, national culture, national resources, geography, and any other factors internal to the state.

Note that these are coded as level 2 variables only when they are ascriptive, not when they are interactive or distributional. Geography, resources, regime type, and other variables may be considered level 3 when causality inheres in the distribution of these variables across the international system. For example, the statement, “The fact that the United States is a democracy explains the development of its foreign policy,” is coded as a level 2 argument, but the statement, “The increasing number of democracies in the international system during this historical period explains the declining number of interstate wars,” is coded as level 3.

Level 3 refers to the international level of analysis and includes such independent variables as: anarchy, security dilemma dynamics, the offense/defense balance, the distribution or balance of power, specific catalytic events that are external to the actor whose policy is being explained, action/ reaction processes, international institutions and norms, transnational actors, and any other factors external to the state, including the distribution across the international system of any level 1 or 2 variables.

(1image) First image—0—No 1—Yes

(2image) Second image—0—No 1—Yes

(3image) Third image—0—No 1—Yes

(nolevel) No levels of analysis/can’t tell—0—No 1—Yes

21) Methodology (Quant–Theory). This is a nominal measure of whether the study uses quantitative (statistics), qualitative (case studies), formal modeling (calculus, game theory, spatial modeling), or some other methodological approach. Many articles utilize more than one methodology. For example, an article with a formally modeled theory as well as a case study would be coded for both formal modeling and qualitative analysis. Again, for each methodology employed, we record a “no” (0) or a “yes” (1) in the appropriate column.

1—Quantitative (Quant): this methodology involves numerical values for *both* the IVs and DV and some way of *linking* the IV and DV values. Hence, articles that contain only descriptive statistics that illustrate an empirical trend do not qualify and instead should be categorized as “descriptive” as explained below. To qualify as a quantitative methodology, an article must include some attempt by the author to relate his/her quantitative data to an actual hypothesis. Note: this variable is coded as quantitative even if more advanced statistical techniques (such as regression analysis) are *not* used.

2—Qualitative (Qual): this approach includes primarily case studies. Qualitative evidence is organized in a systematic manner for the purpose of testing an hypothesis, providing a systematic approach to illustrating path dependence, examining a deviant case not explained by prevalent theories, or for generating new hypotheses or theories. Detailed historical descriptions that do not employ qualitative evidence for the purpose of theory building or theory testing do not qualify as a qualitative method. Instead, those articles are categorized, as explained below, as “descriptive.” Anecdotal evidence that is not presented in a systematic way does *not* count as a qualitative methodology.¹⁴

3—Formal Modeling (Formal): this methodology may take either or both of two forms: (1) formal, derived mathematical equations or (2) use of diagrams (such as game theoretic decision trees and spatial models). A simple arrow diagram does *not* count as formal modeling.

4—Counterfactual (Count): this approach requires the explicit use of a subjective conditional in which the antecedent is known or supposed for purposes of argument to be false. While any article implicitly uses counterfactual reasoning when making a causal inference (King et al. 1994), we aim to capture the explicit use of a counterfactual method as articulated in Fearon (1991) or Tetlock (1996).

5—Analytic/Non-formal Conceptual: this approach attempts to illuminate features of IR or IR theory without reference to significant empirical evidence or a formal model. (Wendt, Dessler, and Waltz are all examples).

6—Descriptive: this approach uses quantitative or qualitative information to describe contemporary or historical trends or events in IR. No attempt is made to test an hypothesis or develop broader theoretical generalizations.

¹⁴ Similarly, Bennett (2003) distinguishes between the systematic use of qualitative data to test hypotheses, which is characteristic of the case study method, from pure descriptive recounting of events. Of course, there are a host of other tools associated with “qualitative methods,” but here we intend to isolate those qualitative approaches that employ case studies for the purpose of advancing IR theory. For a thoughtful and more expansive view of different tools employed in qualitative research, see Munck (2004).

7—Policy Analysis: This category includes articles whose primary purpose is policy analysis, evaluation of options available to policy makers to respond to a specific policy problem.

22) Region under study (Reg1–Reg6). If an article *specifically* focuses on a particular region or a country/countries within that region, we list the region. If more than one region is mentioned, we list each region. If the study concerns all regions of the world (such as an article about total IMF lending) and *does not make references to particular regions/countries*, we code it as global (11). If an article’s theory claims to explain *all* global phenomena, but only presents evidence for specific countries/regions, we enter values for these variables pertaining to those specific regions. For instance, an article claims that all states balance power within the international system and has two case studies—one study examines US-Soviet relations during the Cold War and the other examines India, Pakistan and China. We code this article with the following values: 0, 4, 6, and 7.

0—US	5—Middle East/North Africa
1—Canada and Western Europe	6—East Asia (incl. China)
2—Latin America (including Mexico)	7—South Asia (including Afghanistan)
3—Sub-Saharan Africa	8—Southeast Asia
4—FSU/Soviet Union/Eastern Europe, including Central Asian states, except for Afghanistan	9—Oceania
	10—Global
	11—None/purely theoretical

23) Substantive Focus (Sub1–Sub3). This variable captures the substantive focus of the article, usually measured as the DV used. There may be multiple values in this column—that is, an article may have more than one substantive focus. We enter a number for each value from the following list:

- 0—Environment
- 1—WMD proliferation
- 2—Inter-state war
- 3—Economic Interdependence
- 4—Regional integration
- 5—International (intergovernmental) organization(s)
- 6—Terrorism
- 7—Trade
- 8—Balance of power
- 9—International law
- 10—North-South relations
- 11—Development
- 12—Alliances
- 13—Transnational actors/ NGOs
- 14—International regimes/norms
- 15—Regime type
- 16—Foreign policy
- 17—Weapon systems, arms races, and arms control
- 18—Deterrence and strategy
- 19—Sanctions
- 20—Diplomacy
- 21—Foreign Aid/ lending
- 22—Monetary policy
- 23—Other: _____

Methods

Given time and resource considerations, we developed the following process for determining each of the variable values: We read an article's abstract, skim the article (paying particular attention to headings within the text), and read the introduction. If the author explicitly declares his/her epistemology, paradigm, methods, etc., then we code accordingly. Quite often, the author's commitments are implicit and we have to read more closely to infer the value of the variables. If there are some variables that can not be coded using this process, we read the article more thoroughly. On average, each article takes 15 minutes to code.

To ensure inter-coder reliability among our five coders, we had two initial test rounds of coding, in which all researchers coded the same sample of 100 articles. We compared our results and discussed discrepancies, which allowed us to clarify our rules and procedures. Once we collectively improved our coding, we divided the journals among the researchers so that each article was assigned to two independent coders. If both coders independently came to the same conclusion about the value of a particular variable within an article, then we accepted the observation as part of the final data set. If one coder could not come to a decision on the value of a particular observation, he/she highlighted the cell and a senior coder (i.e. Tierney or Peterson) filled in a value that would be checked against the value of the second coder. If any two coders disagreed on the value of any observation, however, then two senior coders would independently code that observation. If they agreed on the value, then it was adopted and we sent a memo to the rest of

the group explaining the decision. If the senior coders did not agree, however, the observation was left un-coded until we could meet and collectively decide the appropriate value. In the event that no consensus could be reached, we left the observation un-coded.¹⁵

II. Survey-Research Design

The second major data collection effort involved an extensive survey of faculty at US colleges and universities who either teach courses in IR or who do research in the field of IR. Since a comprehensive list of IR professors does not exist, we instead compiled a list of institutions using the *US News & World Report's* (USNWR) 2003–04 college rankings.¹⁶ Using this selection mechanism, we then compiled a list of every IR professor on the faculty of these schools. We scoured the web sites of political science departments (by any name), and affiliated schools of international affairs and public policy. In some cases, a school's website did not list a professor's area of expertise or classes taught. In these cases we contacted the departments directly by phone and email to discover the identity of IR scholars at these schools. Broadly, any professor in a political science department (or its equivalent) with transnational research interests qualified. In addition, political scientists who studied or taught IR in professional schools were also included. Thus, professors with research interests such as international political economy, international security, foreign policy, etc. were included. However, if a research interest only listed comparative political economy, area studies, or comparative politics, we excluded that person.¹⁷

The surveys are self-administered and conducted online.¹⁸ Although not anonymous, all results are confidential and no respondent's name ever is matched to a specific answer. When first navigating to the webpage, a respondent sees the project's goals and aims. Each respondent is asked to log in with a unique username and password sent via email. Each section of the survey has between ten and 23 questions. The survey takes 16–35 minutes to complete. Respondents are allowed to navigate back and change their answers within a given section of the survey. Once a section (teaching, research, field, policy) is submitted, however, the answers are fixed. A running tally keeps track of how many questions the respondent has answered and how many are left blank. Once answers are submitted, a respondent can neither change her replies nor take the survey again. For those respondents whose e-mail addresses did not work, or were incorrect, we sent hardcopies of the survey to their work addresses. Perhaps due to the length of the survey, we experienced some drop-offs between sections. In an effort to help rectify this, we sent out e-mails to those who had left any one section blank, informing them that they still could complete the survey.

¹⁵ As of February 2005, we have not completed all of these inter-coder reliability and validity procedures for our initial sample of 588 articles (over 14,000 observations). Hence, these data, while likely reasonably accurate, should not be taken as certified TRIP data.

¹⁶ We did not seek member lists of the ISA or the APSA sections on IR. Such a sampling technique would omit a huge percentage of faculty teaching and doing research in IR and in the case of the ISA would include numerous non-political scientists and area studies specialists. Further, such a technique would introduce selection bias in favor of research universities and active researchers. Our technique allows us to make these factors variables to be analyzed, rather than selection criteria.

¹⁷ In this way, we paralleled our decision rules for determining whether an article was IR, as discussed in the previous section of this paper.

¹⁸ We thank Vincent Piattelli for all his hard work and patience in designing and programming the survey's website.

The survey, a complete copy of which is attached as Appendix 1, is divided into four sections. Section 1 contains 17 specific questions and asks respondents about the structure of their IR courses and their views of IR pedagogy. Among other things, we question respondents about the percentage of their IR courses devoted to each of the major paradigms in the discipline and how this has changed since they first began teaching their course; whether and to what extent their courses are designed to prepare students to be participants in the policy-making process; which regions of the world are covered, and the proportion of readings from non-American authors.

Section 2 turns from teaching to the respondents' views of IR as a discipline. Here, many questions mirror those in the article database discussed above in section one. We ask respondents to evaluate each major paradigm's place in IR and whether each paradigm's influence has increased, stayed the same, or decreased in the past 20 years. We ask specifically about the alleged "ideational turn" in IR research and whether respondents' research has been shaped by this shift. We also ask respondents to assess the appropriate relationship between scholarship and policy, to assess the most useful (and useless) debates in the field over the past 25 years, and to identify the most influential scholars, graduate programs, and journals in the discipline.

Section 3 asks respondents about their own scholarship—what substantive questions they address, what regions they cover and which paradigms, epistemologies, and methods they employ in their research. In future research we will directly compare a respondent's answers in this section with her articles that we coded in the journal article database. We also explore respondents' ideas about strategic regions of the world and the relationship between theory and policy in their own work.

Section 4 asks respondents to offer their expert opinion on a range of contemporary foreign policy issues and to do some simple forecasting about the state of the world in the medium and short term. The policy issues include the war on terror, the Iraq war, the impact of free trade agreements, the role of the UN, and defense spending. Many of these questions are identical to public opinion questions that were reported by Pew in late 2004. This should allow us to compare responses of IR faculty to those of the general public. Since we also asked respondents' gender, political ideology, and dominant paradigm, we can control for the effects of these variables and ultimately identify possible epistemic effects on scholars' views.

III. Preliminary Findings in Journal Article and Survey Database

Journal Article Database

To date, we have coded 588 articles from eight journals. This means we have more than 14,000 observations across 24 variables and 25 years. We have enough observations, therefore, to uncover some longitudinal trends and make tentative cross sectional comparisons between types of journals and even between specific journals. All these data will become more robust when we add the four remaining journals and code all articles in all years. When this process is complete, we estimate that we will have 58,300 observations over 25 years. In addition, we include some results from our survey of IR faculty. Specifically, we compare journal and survey results on questions of paradigm, methodology, epistemology, and use of ideational variables. We highlight both predicted and surprising results.

To produce some usable data at this early stage in the project, we decided to code all the articles in the first issue of every year for eight of our 12 journals. This sampling technique allowed us to get some information from all eight journals for every year of the study. Hence, we should be able to identify large trends, if they exist. Because we did not code 75% of the articles in these eight journals, however, we cannot be entirely confident in the results (we sampled 588 out of 2,400 articles published over the past 23 years). The journals included in this round of coding were *IO*, *WP*, *EJIR*, *JCR*, *AJPS*, *JOP*, *APSR* and *BJPS*. The last four of these journals are general political science journals, while the first four are specifically IR journals. Naturally, not all the articles in the general political science journals were focused on IR. Due to time and resource constraints, we did not include *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Security*, *Journal of Peace Research*, or *Security Studies* in this round. Our selection of journals was not random and does have an impact on our substantive results discussed below. In short, we believe our sampling choice will undercount realism, the security-issue area, and qualitative methods when compared to the population of articles in these 12 journals. It also may over-count female authors since women appear less likely to publish in *IS*, *JPR*, and *SS* than in the other journals selected for our study.

TRIP Survey

The survey was sent to 2,406 people whom we identified as IR scholars at four-year colleges and universities during the fall semester of 2004. Our sampling process is described in detail above. The respondents were contacted by e-mail starting in September and last reminded in late November. Although response rates varied with each of the four sections of the survey, with a small drop-off occurring at each successive section, we had a total of 1041 respondents. When we were informed that a respondent did not teach or do research on IR, was deceased, or was otherwise ineligible for the survey, she was removed from the sample. We had an overall response rate of 45%, with a total of 2320 IR scholars in our sample.¹⁹ Some questions in the survey did not apply to all respondents and some respondents chose not to answer individual questions. Hence, in the results that follow we provide the number of responses for each question.

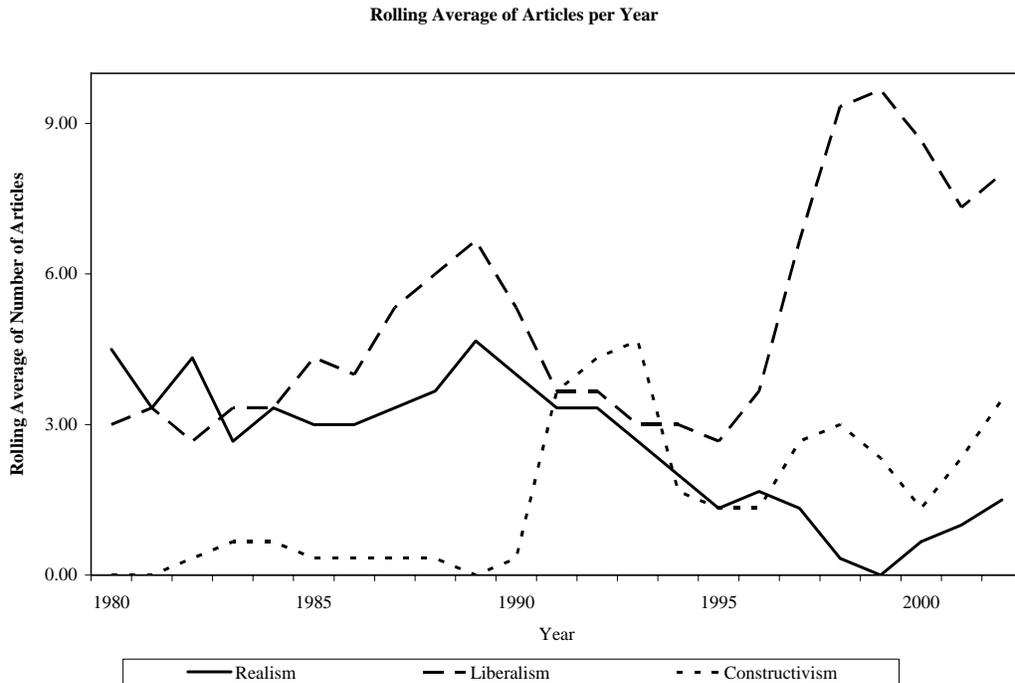
Initial Trends:

Our preliminary data allow us to draw some tentative conclusions about general trends in the paradigmatic, epistemological, methodological, and issue area focus of IR scholarship over the last 25 years. We display direct measures of these variables from the journal article database and also display demographic characteristics, self-reported practices, and opinions of the IR professoriate from the survey. These trends paint a portrait of the field that will become more de-

¹⁹ While this response rate is higher than most public opinion surveys, a tighter screen for “IR scholar” would almost certainly push us above 50%. Frankly, we were surprised at the willingness of busy scholars to take a long survey and were even more surprised to find that the response rate among the most prominent scholars in the field was even higher. Of the top 30 (living) U.S. scholars rated as having “the largest impact on the field over the past 25 years,” 76.6% completed the survey. Naturally, some economists, philosophers, deceased scholars, and IR scholars at non-American colleges and universities were also frequently mentioned as having a major impact on the field (Schelling, Foucault, Morgenthau, Carr, etc.); but these individuals never received the survey.

tailed (and more robust in the face of internal shocks – such as special issues) as more articles are coded.

Graph 1: Trends in Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism



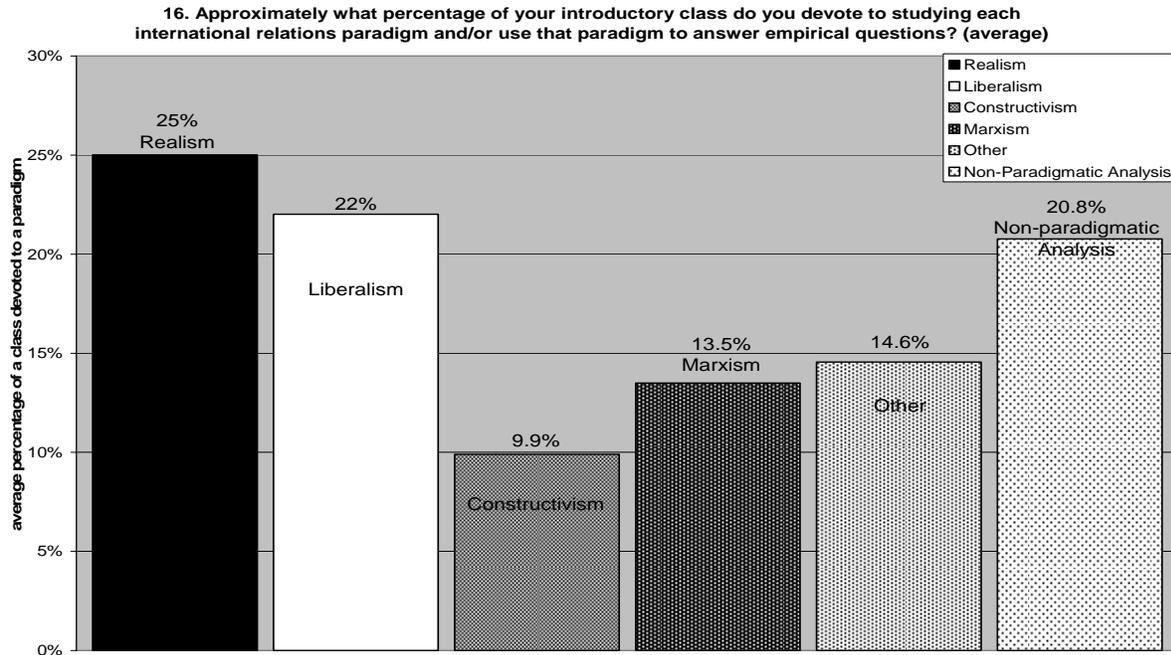
Graph 1 presents some general trends on the use of different paradigms within IR research.²⁰ The data show that the use of realism in IR articles has been declining steadily since the 1980s; based on this sample of journals, liberalism has replaced realism as the dominant paradigm within IR research.²¹ However, we do not see this trend reflected in Introductory IR classes (see Graph 2). Despite the large and growing gap between liberalism and realism in the IR literature, scholars report that realism remains the reigning paradigm in the Intro. IR classroom. Constructivism continues as the primary alternative to the more rationalist approaches of liberalism and realism in the literature. In fact, for the journals in our sample, constructivism has surpassed realism in published articles. Despite this relative shift, however, we were surprised to find that the number of constructivist articles has declined in absolute terms since a brief spike in popularity during the early 1990s and has remained essentially flat since 1994. As recently as 1998 in the introductory essay to the 50th Anniversary edition of *International Organization*, Katzenstein, Keohane, and Krasner announced that constructivism was now the main alternative to realism and liberalism. Yet the number of constructivist articles published since 1998 has not in-

²⁰ Since our data are very “spiky,” unless otherwise noted we report three-year rolling averages to “smooth” trend lines.

²¹ However, it is almost certainly the case that when we include Security Studies and International Security in the sample, the number of realist articles will rise disproportionately. However, the trend over time is likely to remain negative.

creased significantly. Moreover, constructivism plays only a bit part in Introductory IR classes. While constructivism has overtaken Realism in the literature, it appears less than half as often as realism in introductory courses. Marxism peaked at 11% of total articles in 1980 and 1983, but has accounted for only 0-5% over the past 16 years. Despite its disappearance from IR research, Marxist analysis lingers on in the IR classroom and still appears more often than constructivist alternatives.

Graph 2: Time devoted to each Paradigm in Intro IR Classes²²



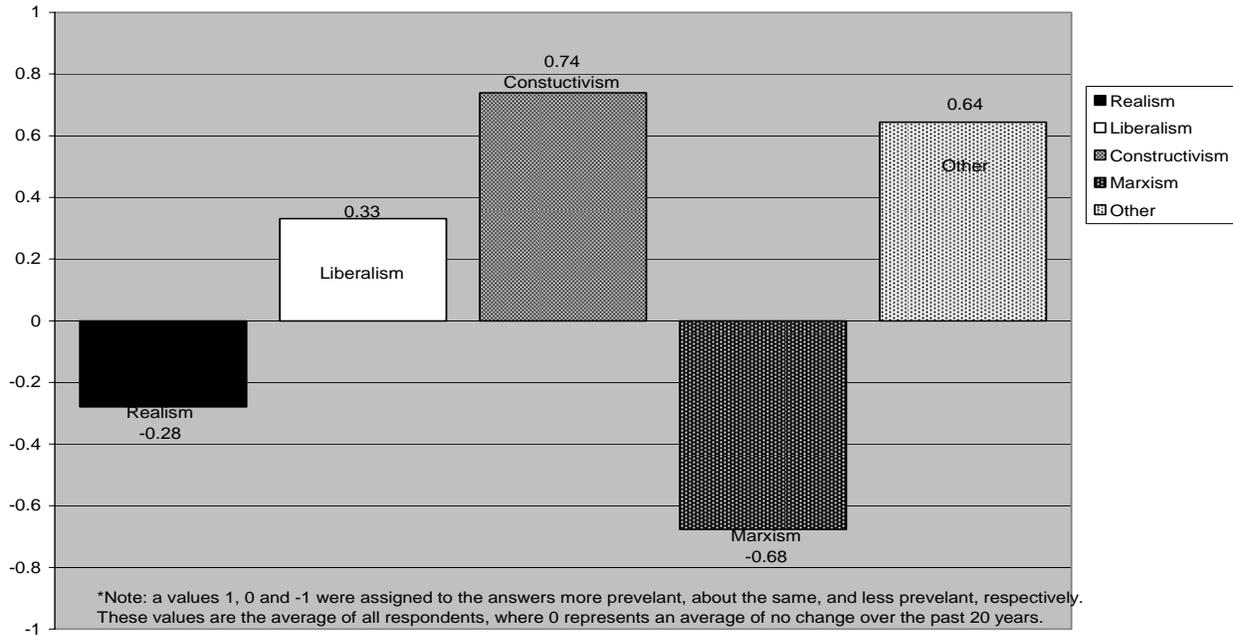
Graph 2 depicts survey results on the percentage of introductory IR classes instructors devote to studying certain paradigms or using those paradigms to analyze empirical patterns. Realism and liberalism are taught as the two main alternative approaches. As mentioned above, Marxism is more prominent than constructivism, which accounts for less than 10% of instruction. This might provide further evidence against the claim that constructivism is emerging as the main paradigmatic alternative to realism and liberalism. Alternatively, curricular choices at the undergraduate level may be particularly “sticky” and may lag behind the more current trends in the literature. This may result because many instructors of IR who were surveyed are no longer actively engaged in research, do not follow the current literature, or have simply made intellectual

²² The values here are calculated using the responses of survey question 16. The respondents were asked to rank how much time they allocated to each paradigm, given choices of, 75-100%, 50-75%, 25-50%, 10-25%, 1-10% and 0%. We then multiplied the number of respondents who chose that answer by the midpoint of our percentage range. We then averaged these values over all respondents, giving an average amount of time spent on each paradigm. Because the respondents were allowed to pick whatever values they thought best fit their teaching and were not bounded by 100% combined with the possibility of the average value of the range being higher than the actual intended value, the total sums to 106%. The N for this question varies by paradigm; Realism, n=876; Liberalism, n=874; Constructivism, n=830; Marxism, n=842, Other, n=373; Non-Paradigmatic Analysis, n=508.

investments in planning courses that would now be costly to change. Alternatively, just as introductory physics courses spend significant time on Newtonian physics since it was a paradigmatic precursor to contemporary approaches, so to the instructor of introductory IR may see some utility in introducing students to the “classic” approaches in the field. We could test a number of these hypotheses if we had comparable data on intermediate and advanced IR courses. The comparison of Graphs 1 and 2 certainly suggest a gulf between what IR scholars practice (Graph 1) and what they teach (Graph 2).²³

Graph 3: Shifts of Prevalence in Paradigms over the Past 20 Years²⁴

18. Compared to 20 years ago, today how prevalent is each of the following paradigms in the international relations literature? (average values)



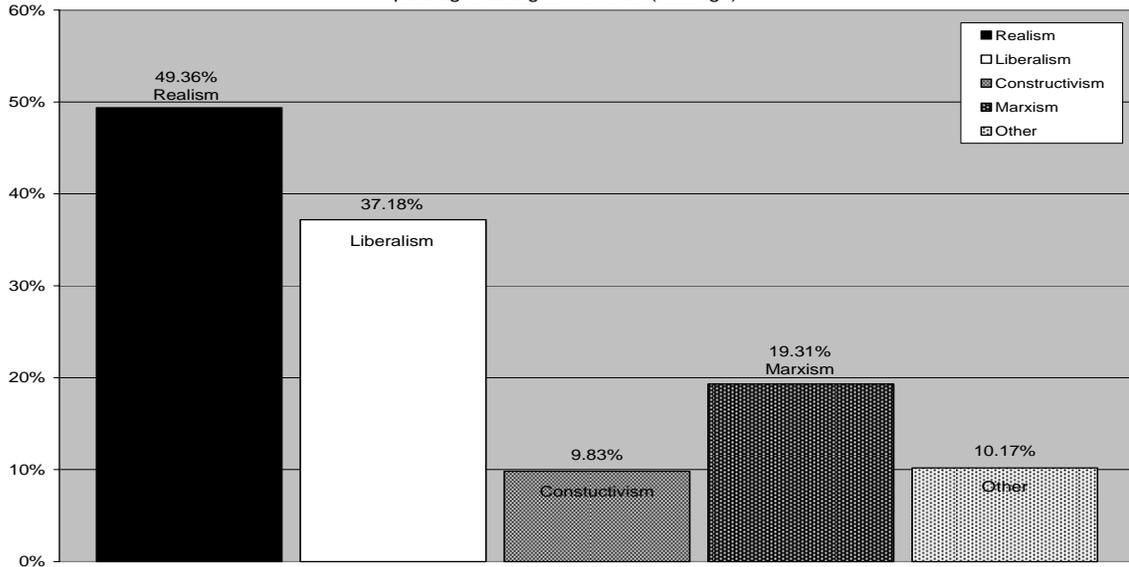
Graph 3 shows the opinions of respondents on the rise and decline of paradigms in the IR literature over the past 20 years. Comparing these results with those in Graph 1, scholars correctly detect the decline of realism, the rise of liberalism, the fall of Marxism, and the rise of constructivism. There is an overwhelming consensus on the fall of Marxism and the rise of constructivism in the IR literature. There is less consensus on the rise of liberalism and fall of realism. Future research will analyze these patterns while controlling for demographic factors and paradigmatic affiliations to better understand the way in which they may influence one’s opinions on this issue. These attitudinal results are consistent with our objective measure of shifts in the IR literature – scholars recognize the decline in realism and Marxism, and increasing popularity of constructivism and liberalism.

²³ While we do not analyze the question here, this gulf may exist even at the individual level. We have survey data from over 900 scholars on what they teach and also a variety of measures of their paradigmatic choices in their own-research. Perhaps even self-described constructivists and liberals spend significant time on realism in their courses.

²⁴ the n for this graph is the same as graph 2

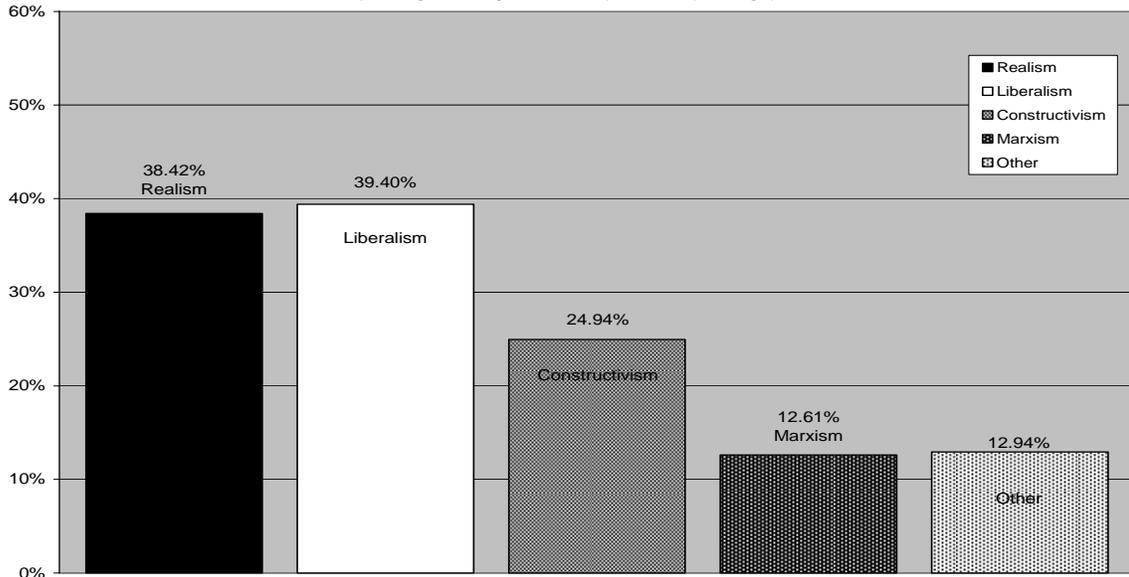
Graph 4: Percentage of Literature devoted to each Paradigm in 1980's²⁵

19. What percentage of the international relations literature would you estimate was devoted to each paradigm during the 1980s? (Average)



Graph 5: Percentage of Literature devoted to each Paradigm in 1990's²⁶

20. What percentage of the international relations literature do you think was devoted to each paradigm during the 1990s-present? (Average)



²⁵ The values here are calculated using the responses of survey question 19. The respondents were asked to rank how much of the literature they believed was allocated to each paradigm, given choices of, 75-100%, 50-75%, 25-50%, 10-25%, 1-10% and 0%. We then multiplied the number of respondents who chose that answer by the midpoint of our percentage range. We then averaged these values over all respondents, giving an average amount of time spent on each paradigm. Because the respondents were allowed to pick whatever values they thought best fit their analysis of the literature and were not bounded by 100% combined with the possibility of the average value of the range being higher than the actual intended value, the total sums to 126%. The N for this question varies by paradigm; Realism, n=786; Liberalism, n=786; Constructivism, n=769; Marxism, n=771, Other, n=161.

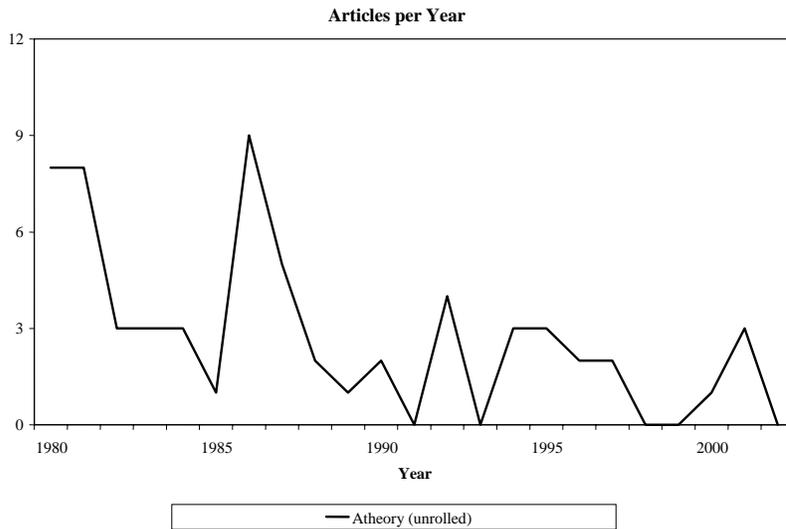
²⁶ See above comment for methodology on calculating. The N for this question varies by paradigm; Realism, n=792; Liberalism, n=792; Constructivism, n=777; Marxism, n=778, Other, n=179.

A comparison of Graphs 4 and 5 illuminates the perceived differences in paradigmatic prevalence in the IR literature between the 1980s and 1990s. While respondents perceive a decline in realism, they do not perceive either a positive or negative change in liberalism. This result is surprising given the significant increase in liberalism within journal articles that we report in Graph 1. IR scholars also over-estimate the rise in constructivism from the 1980s to the 1990s. Frankly, like our IR colleagues around the country, we also expected a greater surge in constructivist articles and continue to wonder if our small sample size in journal articles accounts for the small increases we measured in constructivist articles over the past 10 years.

Graphs 6 and 7 speak to epistemological trends in IR. Graph 6 illustrates a striking trend in the number of “atheoretic” articles. These descriptive articles were most popular at the beginning of the survey period when they accounted for 42% of all the articles published in 1980. The trend declines in an uneven manner over time, but after 1986 it never moves above 30% and in five of the past 10 years no atheoretic articles appear in our sample. In the other five years the number is never greater than 15%. This steady decline in descriptive articles suggests that theoretically informed research is not only more prominent, but is virtually a necessary condition for publication in a peer-reviewed journal. It also likely reflects the growing emphasis in graduate programs and the field more generally on formulating and testing generalizable theories.

Graph 6: Atheoretic Articles per Year

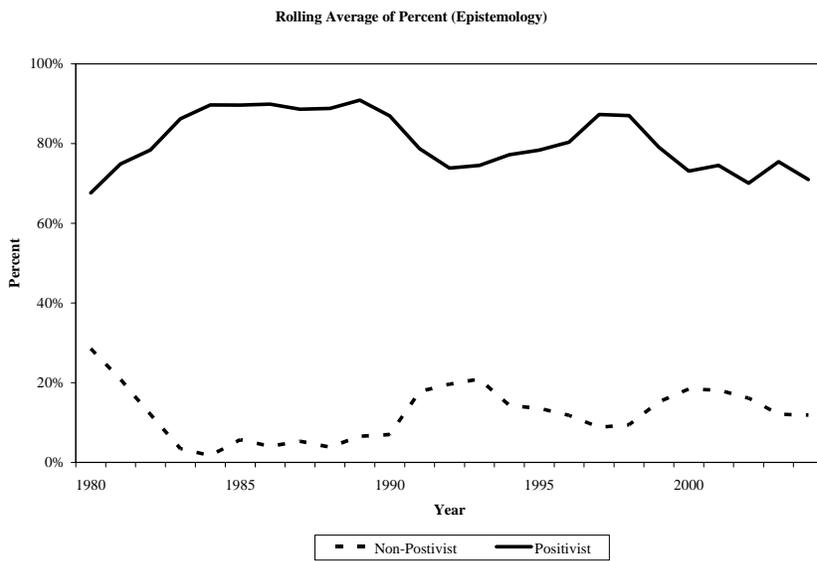
Rolling Average of Number of Articles



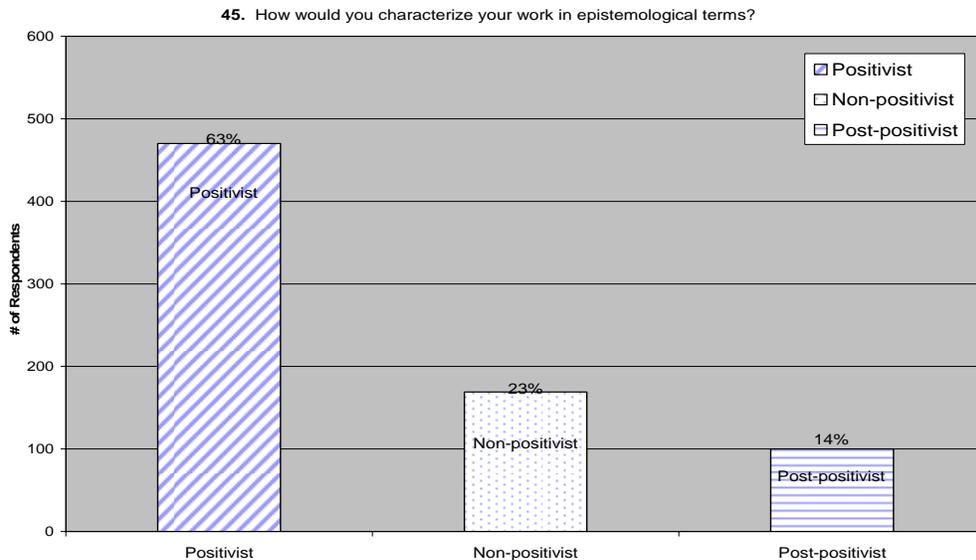
This trend has not been accompanied, however, by any significant increase in the number of published articles that employ a positivist epistemology. As Graph 7 shows, non-positive approaches to understanding IR have remained under 20% for most of the past 25 years with only a brief surge of interest in during the early 1990s. Graph 8 reports scholars’ characterization of their own epistemological approaches. The results are not completely comparable to those from the journal article database, since the latter allows coders only two choices, positivist or not, while the faculty survey offers respondents three choices – positivist, non-positivist, post-positivist. Perhaps it is unsurprising, then, that only 63% of respondents characterize themselves as positivist, while 37% claim non-positivism or post-positivism. That said, Graph 7 shows that

positivism is the overwhelming epistemological preference of published authors (ranges from 65 and 90 percent). Aside from non-comparability of the two measures, there may be a number of explanations for this apparent gap. First, non-positivist researchers may get rejected disproportionately when they submit articles to the top journals (and eventually stop submitting there). Second, it is possible that more non-positivist scholars find jobs at teaching colleges or universities where research expectations are lower, hence, while they are represented in the survey data, they appear less often in our journal article database. Third, non-positivists may publish books rather than articles. We have individual-level survey data that will allow us to test some of these hypotheses.

Graph 7: Epistemological Trends per Year



Graph 8: Epistemology of Survey Respondents²⁷

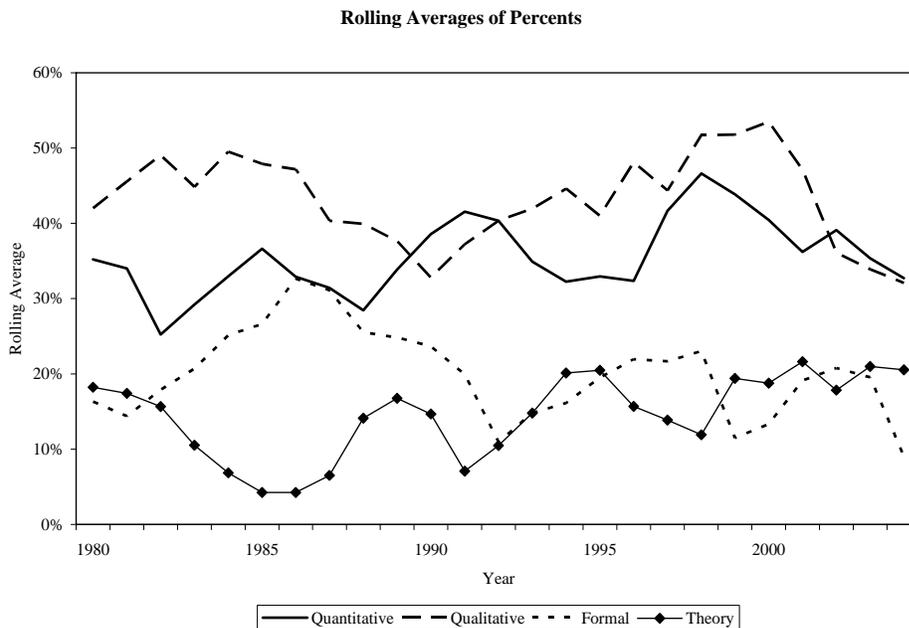


²⁷ n=739.

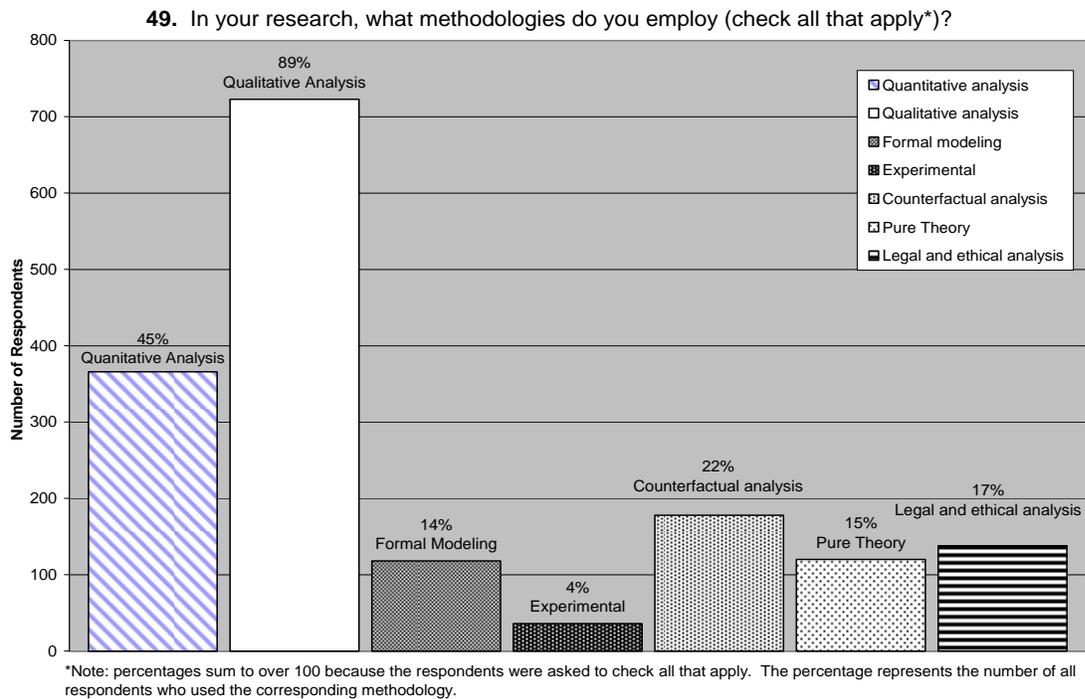
Graph 9 examines the prevalence of different methodological approaches in IR articles by displaying rolling averages by year of the percent of total articles employing qualitative, quantitative, or formal methods, as well as those that are purely theoretical. Similar to Bennett et al.'s (2003) results, we find that the use of formal models has declined in recent years, after spiking at 33% in 1986. In recent years, moreover, quantitative methods have overtaken qualitative methods in popularity. Like Martin (1999), who analyzed four years of data in the mid-1990s focusing exclusively on the sub-field of international security, our data further show that formal modeling is not supplanting more traditional methods. This result is striking, since formal models are more prevalent in the journals we sampled when compared to those that Martin sampled – she included both *Security Studies* and *International Security*, which rarely publish any articles employing formal methods.

Note that the total percentage of articles coded exceeds 100% in every year because our coding procedure allows us to identify articles that employed multiple empirical methods. Bennett et al (2003) report a slight increase in the number of political science articles using multiple methods, and we see a similar trend within the more narrow sub-field of IR. This result follows if we add up the percentages of all three methods combined. The total number of methods used increases over time. In future research we will report the specific combinations of methodological approaches which prove most popular.

Graph 9: Methodological Trends per year



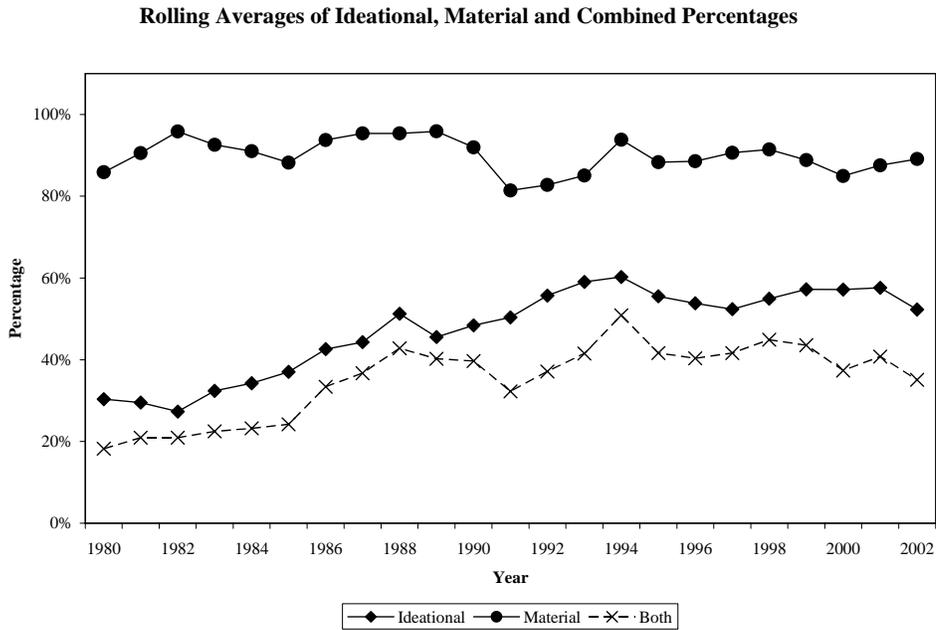
Graph 10: Methodologies as Reported by Survey Respondents²⁸



These findings show a rough parity between qualitative and quantitative analysis in published articles. Graph 10 suggests, however, that almost all scholars use qualitative methods in their research, while less than half use quantitative methods. This outcome may not be as puzzling as it first appears. Graphs 9 and 10 are not directly comparable since a scholar may employ qualitative methods in his or her research in general, even if only in a very small percentage of his total published articles. Further, purely qualitative researchers may publish their research in books since detailed and lengthy case studies may not fit as easily in a journal article. This would mean that everybody answers “yes” to using qualitative methods, but that such research is not captured in the journal article database. Fully 89% of scholars report that they use qualitative methods, while less than *half* (45%) of those respond that they use quantitative methods. Echoing our findings from journal articles, formal modeling is a method used by relatively few IR scholars (only 14%).

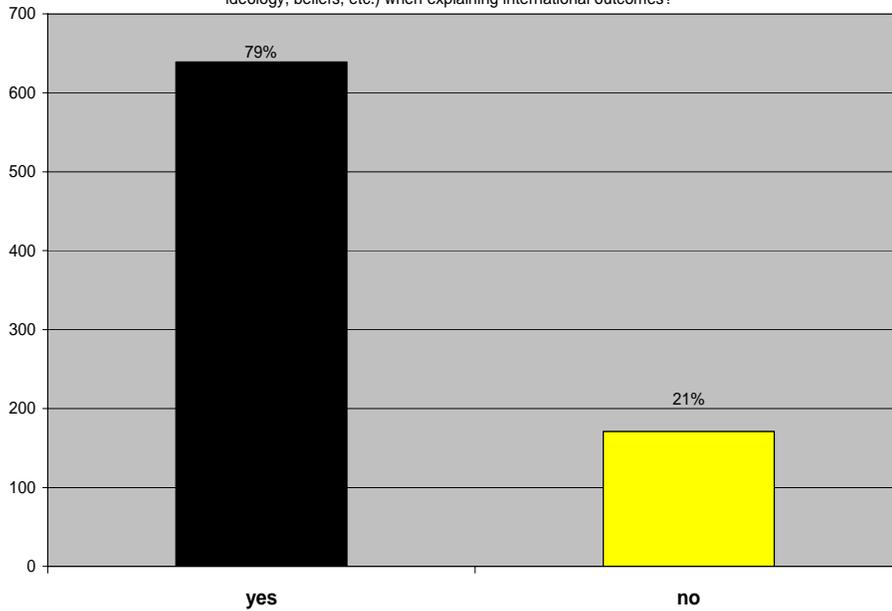
²⁸ n=814

Graph 11: Rolling Averages of Ideational, Material and Combined Percentages



Graph 12: Emphasis of Ideational Variables²⁹

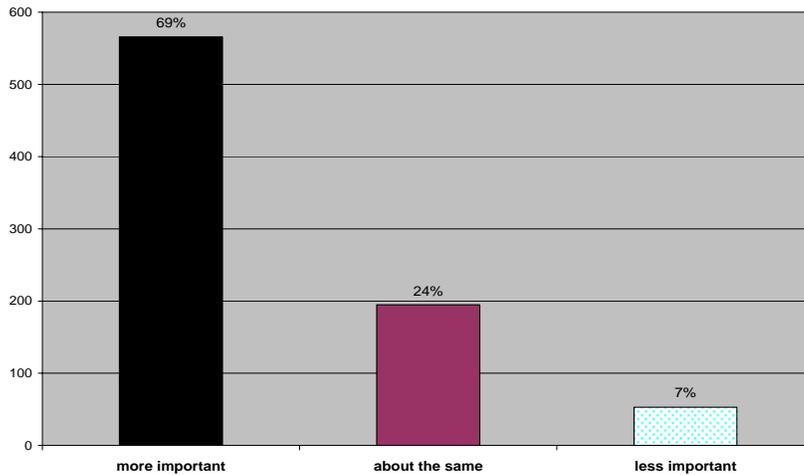
46. In your research do you emphasize the role of ideational factors (such as culture, perceptions, ideology, beliefs, etc.) when explaining international outcomes?



²⁹ n=810

Graph 13: Role of Ideational Variables over the Past 20 Years³⁰

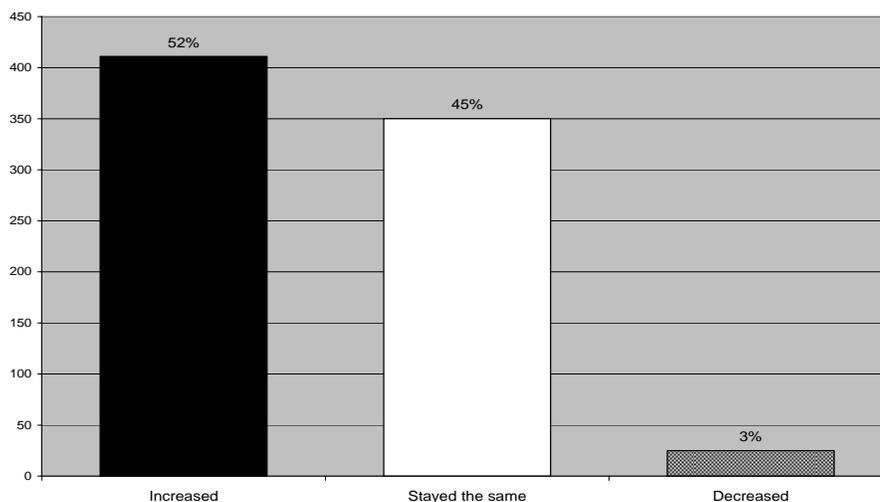
21. What is your impression of the role of ideational variables in the international relations research over the past 20 years?



Comparing Graphs 11 through 14 reveal some interesting and surprising results. Graph 11 shows an increase in the use of ideational variables, such as norms, culture and perceptions, in published articles since 1980. Seventy-nine percent of scholars report in Graph 12 that they use such an approach in their research, over-predicting the use of such non-material variables. Moreover, Graph 13 reflects a widespread view among IR scholars that there has been an “ideational turn” in IR research over the past 20 years, while Graph 14 demonstrates that 52% of respondents believe that their attention to ideational variables in their own work has increased over time. While this again suggests that respondents may be over-estimating the extent of the shift, all four graphs support the contention that an “ideational turn” has occurred in IR, associated with both constructivist and (some) liberal approaches and in contradistinction to the materialist approaches of realism and Marxism.

Graph 14: Role of Ideational Variables in Respondents’ Research³¹

48. Has your attention to such ideational factors changed over time?



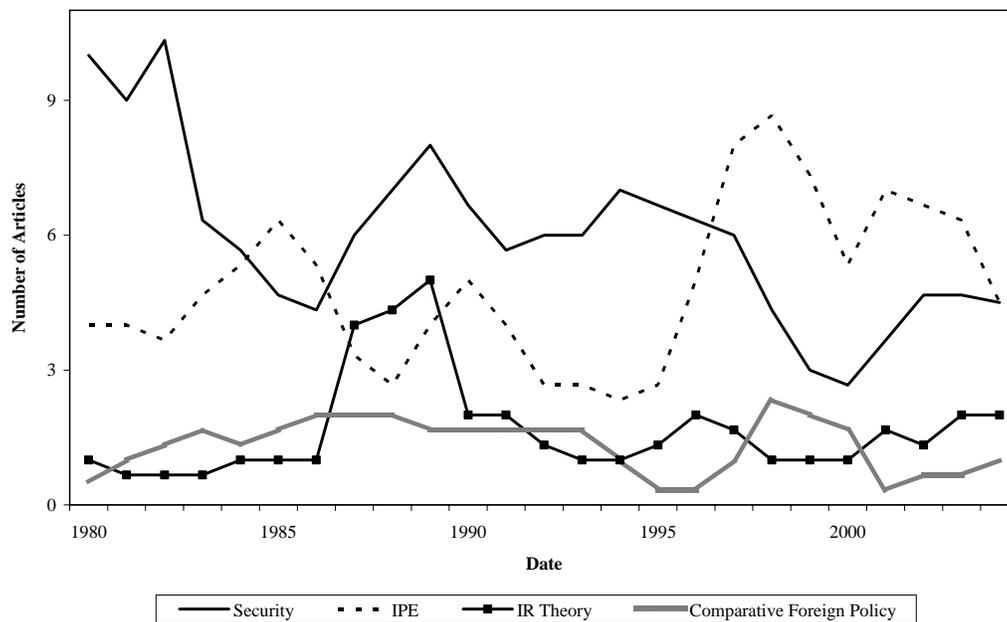
³⁰ n=814

³¹ n=786

Graph 15 tracks the four most frequently studied issue areas in IR over time. We observe a decline in IPE articles and an increase in security articles in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The increased attention to security issues in this time frame reflects, perhaps with some time lag, the influence of the renewal of the cold war in the early to mid 1980s, as well as the increased funding opportunities for IR students and scholars who chose to study security issues. Unsurprisingly, the end of the Cold War coincides with increased attention to the IPE subfield. The security subfield garners renewed interest in the 2000-2004 period as intra-state wars and, especially, the threat of terrorism loom. The other very obvious trend was the spate of pure “IR theory articles written during the late 1980s and early 1990s. This surge likely captures the “paradigm wars” between neo-realists and neo-liberals that were primarily disputes about core assumptions. In addition, the surge may result from articles written as part of the “third great debate.” Again, this debate took place at the level of ontology and meta-theory and was not resolved by turning to research in substantive issue areas of IR. The other issue areas that we studied were not represented in the literature in significant numbers.

Graph 15: Issue Areas over Time

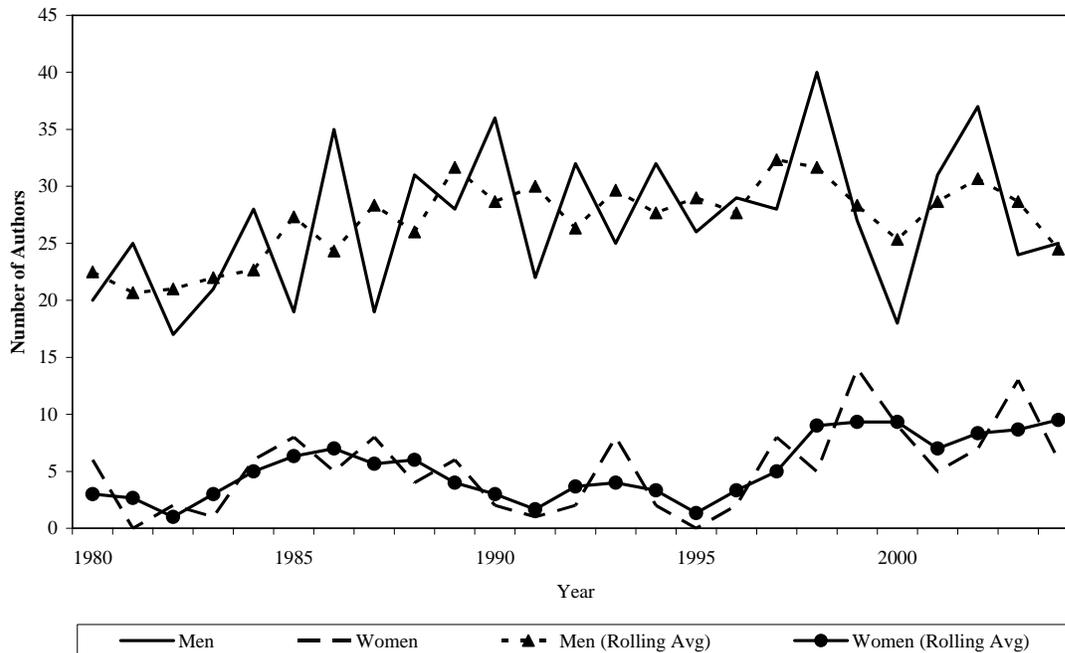
Rolling Averages of Articles by Issue Area



Our data show a slow but generally steady increase of female authors over time. The increase shown in Graph 16, which tracks the number of male and female authors of IR articles over the past 25 years, seems relatively modest when viewed in light of increasing efforts to attract women to the profession and the general increase in the number of women in the larger field of political science. We expect that the gap between men and women will get larger when *Security Studies* and *International Security* are added to the sample, since fewer women are likely to publish in that area than in IPE, IO, Environment, Human Rights or IR theory, in general.

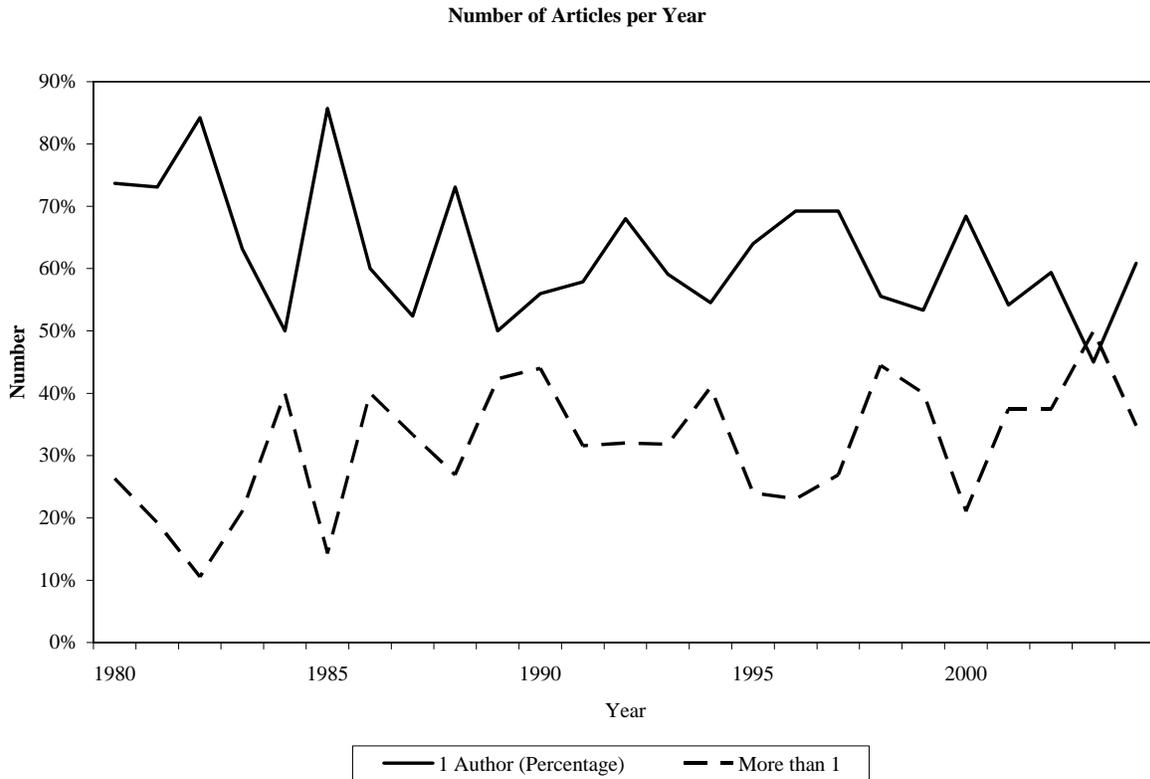
Graph 16: Gender Trends over Time

Number of Male vs. Female Authors



Graph 17 illustrates what may be the most striking finding in our research to date. During the early coding process we decided to record the names and number of all authors, rather than just the first author as previous studies have done. We wondered if political science was moving in the direction of the natural sciences in terms of publishing multi-authored articles. We reasoned that as political science became more technical, and as the research demands for professional advancement increased, there would be a specialization of skills among different IR scholars. These scholars would trade on their comparative advantages and produce a larger number of multi-authored works of higher quality than they could produce on their own. In addition to specialization, we reasoned that the revolution in information technology has dramatically reduced the transaction costs of collaboration. Hence, scholars who were once stuck in their own departments with few colleagues to talk to or collaborate with, now had a limitless supply of cyber-colleagues via email and file sharing software. Indeed, Graph 17 illustrates a significant increase in multi-authored work over time. In 2003 the number of co-authored articles actually exceeded the number of single authored articles for the first time.

Graph 17: Number of Authors per Article

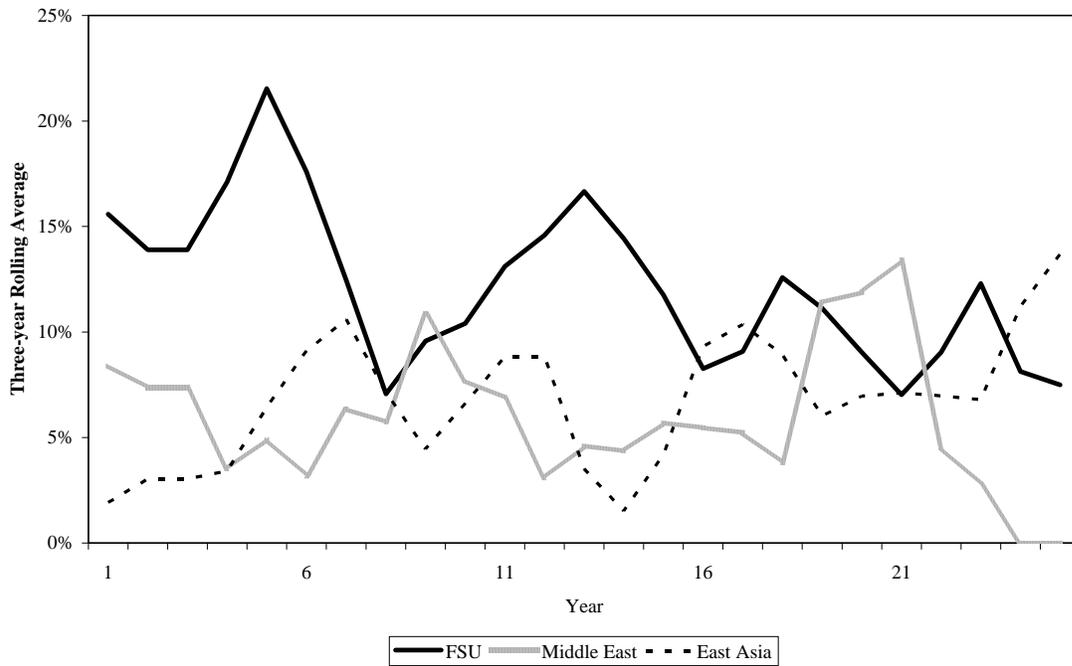


The geographic areas of interest to IR scholars vary over time in some interesting ways as well. Graph 18 charts the percent of articles that focus on the Soviet Union (and former Soviet Union after 1991), the Middle East, and East Asia. As one might expect, IR scholars focused a great deal of attention on the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War in the mid-1980s. A second surge of interest lags slightly behind the breakup of the Soviet Union when scholars wondered whether Russia and the former Soviet states would be integrated into the global system, make a transition from a planned economy, or become engaged in a second Cold War. Since a peak of interest in 1992 and 1993, however, articles on the FSU now hover at around 10% of the total. Much more surprising to us is the recent dearth of articles focusing on the Middle East. There was a surge of articles that correlate with the peace efforts of the 1990s. There was a peak in interest in 1999 when 8 articles were published. But with the ongoing war in Iraq, the post-9-11 “war on terrorism,” and the renewed uprising among Palestinians, we expected a surge in publications focusing on IR in the Middle East. We see the exact opposite, however. In fact, from 2002-2004 we see zero articles focusing on the Middle East. We are fairly certain that newspaper coverage and policy-oriented journals have increased their coverage of issues in the Middle East. It also is likely that the security journals that have not yet been coded contain increasing numbers of articles on the Middle East in recent years. The IR scholarly community as a whole, however, does not appear to have been overly quick to publish on an area of the world that by any measure is increasingly a hot spot in the real world of international politics.

This finding is supported by data from our survey of IR faculty. As Graph 19 shows, more than 50% of respondents say that a major international event, the end of the Cold War, influenced the geographic focus of their research “not at all.” Only 14% say that that event significantly influenced their geographic focus. Graph 20 shows a similar resistance to change among IR scholars. Sixty-three percent report that they changed the geographic focus of their research “not at all” in response to the events of September 11, 2001, and less than 7% report that these events significantly influenced the geographic focus of their research agenda. IR research, it appears, is relatively unresponsive to contemporary policy issues and debates.

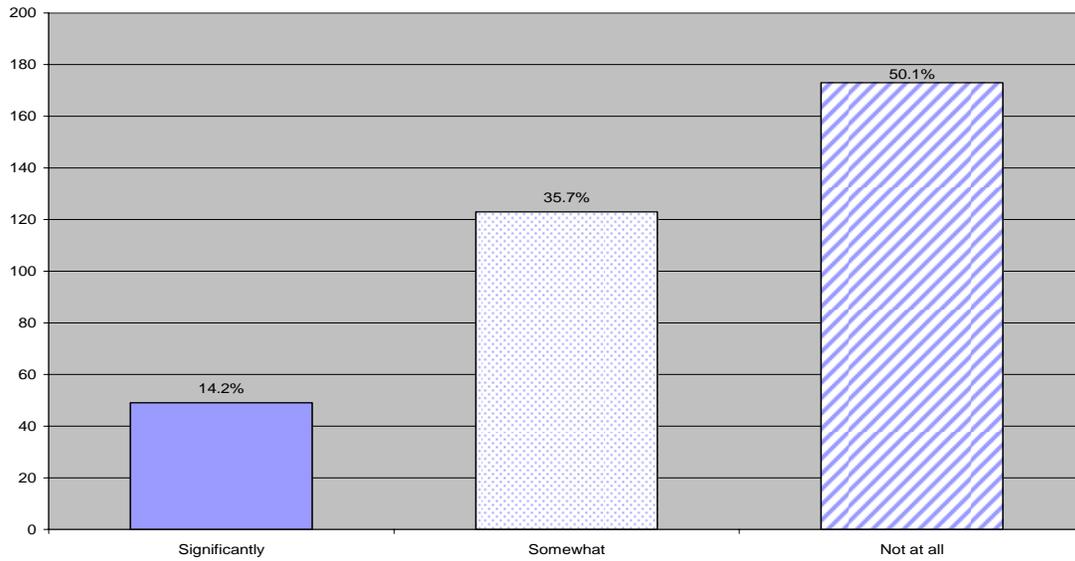
Graph 18: Articles on Selected Geographic Regions

Rolling Average of Percent Total (Region)



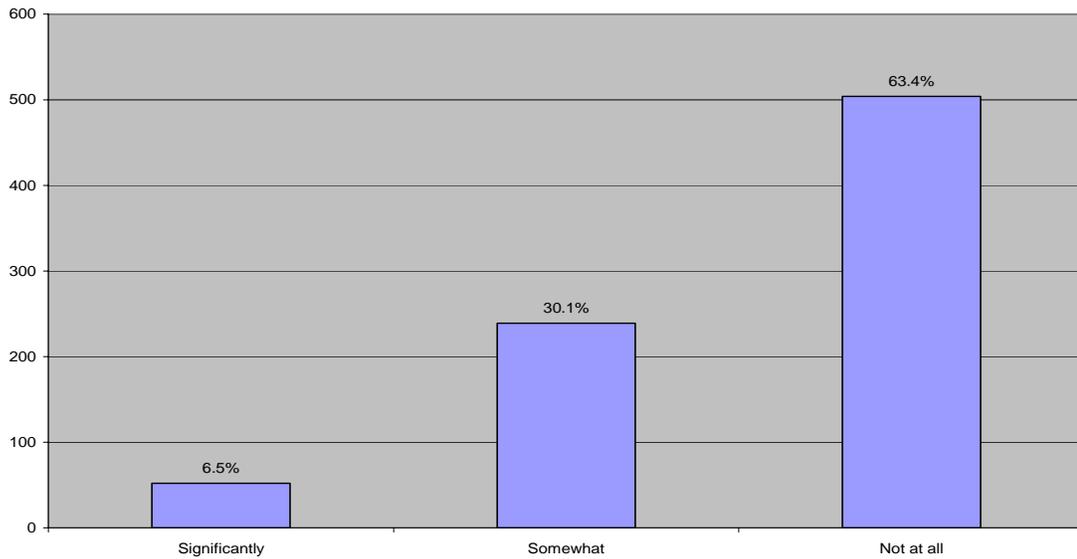
Graph 19: Influence of Cold War on Research³²

52. How did the end of the Cold War influence your research? (Geographic focus)



Graph 20: Influence of September 11th on Research³³

53. How did the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent "war on terrorism" influence your existing research agendas? (Geographic Focus)



³² n=345

³³ n=795

Conclusions

The two parallel data collection efforts described in this paper soon will allow us to test empirically the validity of the many stylized facts in the IR discipline. The results presented here from the journal article survey are preliminary. When complete, however, they will provide an important complement to our survey of IR faculty around the country. Together, these two data sets will enable us to track changes in teaching and research and, more importantly, to test extant hypotheses about the relationship between research and policy. Our preliminary results already demonstrate some clear and predicted patterns, such as the decline of realism. However, we have many surprising results as well, like the overestimation of the role of constructivism in recent years. The benefits of our approach when compared to prior efforts at tracking changes in the field of IR are: the use of systematic data to measure trends; a longer time period (25 years and counting) under study, more distinct variables measured in our article data base and in our survey, and comparable measures in our survey and article data base. In the long run we would like to encourage other scholars in Europe, East Asia, Africa, and Latin America to replicate our study within their own IR scholarly community. This would permit systematic study of a range of interesting comparative questions.

Appendix 1: Sample Survey

TRIP Survey on Teaching, Research and International Politics College of William and Mary, 2004

Please attempt to answer all questions completely. If you cannot answer all questions completely, partial answers are still useful. While no categorization scheme is exhaustive, we have used terms that are the most common in the field of IR. If you feel your research or teaching don't fit neatly into the categories provided, please feel free to use the "other" category liberally.

- (1) Have you ever taught introduction to International Relations (or its equivalent)?

Yes

No

- (2) If so, please enter the year in which you taught your first introduction to International Relations course at the college level:

Section I: Teaching International Relations

(3) Do you teach courses in any of the following (please check all that apply):

- American Politics
- Comparative Politics
- Comparative Foreign Policy
- Environmental Politics
- International Security
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- International Health
- International Organization(s)
- International Political Economy
- IR Historiography
- IR Theory
- Formal Methods
- Human Rights
- Philosophy of Science
- Policy Analysis
- Political Theory
- Qualitative Methods
- Statistics
- Other (Please Specify) _____

If you have not taught Introduction to International Relations (or its equivalent), please go to question 10. Only answer questions 4-9 if you have taught Introduction to International Relations.

(4) In your Introduction to International Relations course, what areas of the world do you study in substantial detail (i.e. you devote one or more classes to discussion of that area)? (Please check all that apply.)

- United States
- Canada and Western Europe
- Latin America (including Mexico)
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- FSU/Soviet Union/Eastern Europe, including Central Asian States except for Afghanistan
- Middle East/North Africa
- East Asia (including China)
- South Asia (including Afghanistan)
- Southeast Asia
- Oceania
- None – detailed case studies are not used in this class

(5) Is your Introduction to International Relations course designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of IR or to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international politics and foreign policy?

- a. It is primarily designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of international relations
- b. It is primarily designed to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international relations and foreign policy.

- Option I
- Option II
- Option I and II about equally
- Both I and II but gives greater weight to I
- Both I and II but gives greater weight to II

(6) When you first began teaching Introduction to International Relations, was your course designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of IR or to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international politics and foreign policy?

- a. It is primarily designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of international relations
- b. It is primarily designed to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international relations and foreign policy.

- Option I
- Option II
- Option I and II about equally
- Both I and II but gives greater weight to I
- Both I and II but gives greater weight to II

(7) What percentage of your Introduction to International Relations course do you devote to analyzing current policies and events? A policy/event is considered “current” if it has occurred within the last five years. Please pick one:

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

(8) What percentage of your Introduction to International Relations class is devoted to policy analysis and/or policy relevant research? (The policies analyzed need not be considered current.) Please pick one:

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

(9) Approximately what percentage of the assigned readings in your Introduction to International Relations class are written by non-Americans? Please pick one:

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

(10) To what extent do events in the real world influence the way you teach undergraduate courses in International Relations? (Select the response that comes closest):

- I adjust the content of my course from day to day depending on events in the world.
- I adjust my course a few times per semester when policy changes or events warrant.
- I only make adjustments within the semester in rare circumstances and only in response to major events like 9/11 or the Berlin Wall coming down.
- I only make adjustments from one semester to the next because of events in the world.
- I don't change my course based on events in the world because the core concepts of IR should be applicable no matter what.

If you began teaching after 1992, please go to question 13. Please only answer questions 11-12 if you began teaching before 1992.

- (11) Did you discontinue teaching certain courses or teach any new courses because of the end of the Cold War?

Yes
 No

- (12) How did the end of the Cold War influence existing courses – including introduction to international relations – that you continued to teach?

a. The theoretical approaches I taught changed

Significantly
 Somewhat
 Not at all

b. The geographic focus of the course changed

Significantly
 Somewhat
 Not at all

c. The issue areas covered changed

Significantly
 Somewhat
 Not at all

- (13) Did you discontinue teaching certain courses or teach any new courses because of the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and the subsequent “war on terrorism”?

Yes
 No

- (14) How did the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent “war on terrorism” influence existing courses, including Introduction to International Relations, which you continued to teach? For each sub-question, please pick one:

a. The theoretical approaches I taught changed

Significantly
 Somewhat
 Not at all

b. The geographic focus of the course changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

c. The issue areas covered changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

(15) Since you began teaching, what real world events or issues have influenced most significantly the way you teach Introduction to International Relations? Please list up to five answers in descending order of their influence:

If you have not taught Introduction to International Relations, please go to question 18. Please only answer questions 16-17 if you have taught Introduction to International Relations.

(16) Approximately what percentage of your introductory class do you devote to studying each international relations paradigm and/or use that paradigm to answer empirical questions? (If you have multiple answers for “other,” only record the most prominent “other” paradigm). Please pick one response for each:

Realism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Liberalism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Constructivism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Marxism/Globalism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Other (Please specify): _____

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Non-paradigmatic Analysis

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

(17) Compared to when you first taught Introduction to International Relations, what is your impression of the relative importance of the following paradigms in Introduction to International Relations courses today? Please pick one response for each:

Realism

- Increasingly important and prevalent in courses today
- About the same / Has not changed
- Less important and prevalent in courses today

Liberalism

- Increasingly important and prevalent in courses today
- About the same / Has not changed
- Less important and prevalent in courses today

Constructivism

- Increasingly important and prevalent in courses today
- About the same / Has not changed
- Less important and prevalent in courses today

Marxism

- Increasingly important and prevalent in courses today
- About the same / Has not changed
- Less important and prevalent in courses today

Other (Please specify): _____

- Increasingly important and prevalent in courses today
- About the same / Has not changed
- Less important and prevalent in courses today

Non-paradigmatic Analysis

- Increasingly important and prevalent in courses today
- About the same / Has not changed
- Less important and prevalent in courses today

Section II: The International Relations Discipline

- (18) Compared to 20 years ago, today how prevalent is each of the following paradigms in the international relations literature? Please pick one response for each:

Realism

- More prevalent in published research
 About the same
 Less prevalent in published research

Liberalism

- More prevalent in published research
 About the same
 Less prevalent in published research

Constructivism

- More prevalent in published research
 About the same
 Less prevalent in published research

Marxism/Globalism

- More prevalent in published research
 About the same
 Less prevalent in published research

Other (Please specify): _____

- More prevalent in published research
 About the same
 Less prevalent in published research

- (19) What percentage of the international relations literature would you estimate was devoted to each paradigm during the 1980s?

Realism

- 75-100%
 50-75%
 25-50%
 10-25%
 1-10%
 0%

Liberalism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Constructivism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Marxism/Globalism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Other (Please specify): _____

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

(20) What percentage of the international relations literature do you think was devoted to each paradigm during the 1990s-present?

Realism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Liberalism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Constructivism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Marxism/Globalism

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

Other (Please specify): _____

- 75-100%
- 50-75%
- 25-50%
- 10-25%
- 1-10%
- 0%

(21) What is your impression of the role of ideational variables in the international relations research over the past 20 years?

- More important and prevalent in the literature
- About the same
- Decreasingly important and prevalent in the literature

(22) Please list the four scholars who have had the greatest impact on the field of international relations over the past 20 years:

(23) Aside from you, who has been doing the most interesting work in international relations in recent years? (List up to three scholars)

(24) What three scholars have had the most profound impact on your own research and the way that you think about international relations?

(25) List the top four journals in international relations (these can include general political science journals and/or non-political science journals). Specifically, which journals publish articles that have the greatest impact on the way international relations scholars think about their subject and their work?

(26) Recently, much international relations scholarship has been categorized as either “rationalist” or “constructivist.” How should we conceive of the models developed within these broader categories? Please pick one:

- As alternative approaches to be tested against each other
- As complementary explanations that should remain distinct and that explain different features of IR.
- As two important paradigms that could be usefully synthesized to create a more complete theory of IR.

(27) What is the most useful kind of research political scientists can provide to policymakers? Please pick one:

- Theoretical models
- Quantitative studies
- Area studies
- Historical case studies
- Contemporary case studies
- Policy Analysis
- N/A-IR research is not applicable to policymaking
- Other (Please specify): _____

(28) What are the most important way in ways in which political scientists and international relations scholars should contribute to the policy-making process? Please pick up to two:

- As active participants
- As advisors
- As creators of new information or knowledge for policymakers
- As trainers of future policymakers
- They should not be involved in the policymaking process at all
- Other (Please specify): _____

(29) What are the five best PhD programs in the United States for a student who wants to pursue an academic career in international relations?

(30) What do you consider the top five terminal masters programs in international relations for students looking to pursue a policy career?

(31) Do you consult or work in any paid capacity for any of the following? Please check all that apply:

- Non-governmental Organizations
- International Organizations
- US Government
- Foreign Governments
- Private Sector
- Think Tanks
- Interest Groups
- Other (Please Specify): _____
- None

(32) In the field of international relations and political science more generally, there have been heated debates over the direction of the field. What is the principal divide among international relations scholars? Pick one:

- Issue Area (e.g. IPE vs. International Security)
- Epistemology
- Methodology
- Generational
- General
- Paradigms
- Region
- Other (Please specify): _____
- None

(33) What do you consider the most productive controversies/research programs in international relations in recent years? Please pick up to three:

- Relative vs. Absolute Gains
- Democratic Peace
- Clash of Civilizations
- End of History
- Agent-Structure Debate
- Hegemonic Stability Theory
- Structural Realism Debate
- Levels of Analysis
- Positivism vs. Post-Positivism
- Two-Level Games
- Rationalism vs. Constructivism
- The New Institutionalism
- Other (Please specify): _____

(34) What do you consider the least productive controversies/research programs in international relations in recent years? Please pick up to three:

- Relative vs. Absolute Gains
- Democratic Peace
- Clash of Civilizations
- End of History
- Agent-Structure Debate
- Hegemonic Stability Theory
- Structural Realism Debate
- Levels of Analysis
- Positivism vs. Post-Positivism
- Two-Level Games
- Rationalism vs. Constructivism
- The New Institutionalism
- Other (Please specify): _____

Section III: Questions About Your Research Interests

(35) Where did you receive your graduate training?

(36) When did you receive or do you expect to receive your PhD?

(37) Do you belong to the following professional organizations? Please check all that apply.

American Political Science Association

International Studies Association

Other (Please specify): _____

(38) What is your primary subfield within political science?

International Relations

Comparative Politics

American Politics

Political Philosophy/Theory

Methods

(39) What is your secondary subfield? (please check all that apply)

International Relations

Comparative Politics

American Politics

Political Philosophy/Theory

Methods

(40) What paradigm within international relations are you primarily committed to in your research? If you don't think of yourself as "committed," please pick the paradigm in which most other scholars would place your work.

Realism/neorealism

Liberalism/neoliberalism

Marxism/globalism

Constructivism

Other (Please specify): _____

(41) What is your main area of study/substantive focus of your research? (Please check one.)

- International Security
- International Political Economy
- Human Rights
- The Environment
- IR Theory
- US Foreign Policy
- Comparative Foreign Policy
- IR Historiography
- Philosophy of Science
- International Law
- International Organization
- International Health
- Other (Please specify): _____

(42) What are your secondary areas of study? (Please check all that apply.)

- International Security
- International Political Economy
- Human Rights
- The Environment
- IR Theory
- US Foreign Policy
- Comparative Foreign Policy
- IR Historiography
- Philosophy of Science
- International Law
- International Organization
- International Health
- Other (Please specify): _____

(43) In your research, what is the main region of the world you study, if any? (Please check one.)

- US
- Canada and Western Europe
- Latin America (including Mexico)
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states, except for Afghanistan
- Middle East/North Africa
- East Asia (including China)
- South Asia (including Afghanistan)

- Southeast Asia
- Oceania
- Global/use cross-regional data
- Transnational actors/International Organizations/International Non-Governmental Organizations
- Other (Please specify): _____

(44) In your research, what other regions of the world do you study, if any? (Please check all that apply.)

- US
- Canada and Western Europe
- Latin America (including Mexico)
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states, except for Afghanistan
- Middle East/North Africa
- East Asia (including China)
- South Asia (including Afghanistan)
- Southeast Asia
- Oceania
- Global/use cross-regional data
- Transnational actors/International Organizations/International Non-Governmental Organizations
- Other (Please specify): _____

(45) Please list your three most recent journal publications, including title, journal name, and year of publication:

(46) How would you characterize your work in epistemological terms?

- Positivist
- Non-positivist
- Post-positivist

(47) In your research do you emphasize the role of ideational factors (such as culture, perceptions, ideology, beliefs, etc.) when explaining international outcomes?

- Yes
- No

(48) If yes, which ideational variables do you study? (Please select all that apply)

- Religion
- Societal/Political Culture
- Organizational Culture
- Beliefs
- Perceptions
- Identity
- International norms
- Domestic Norms
- Other (Please specify): _____

(49) Has your attention to such ideational factors changed over time?

- Increased
- Stayed the same
- Decreased

(50) In your research, what methodologies do you employ (check all that apply)?

- Quantitative analysis
- Qualitative analysis
- Formal modeling
- Experimental
- Counterfactual analysis
- Pure Theory
- Legal and ethical analysis

(51) Does your research tend to be basic or applied? By basic research, we mean research for the sake of knowledge, without any particular immediate policy application in mind. Conversely, applied research is done with specific policy applications in mind.

- Primarily Basic
- Both basic and applied but more basic than applied
- Both equally
- Both basic and applied but more applied than basic
- Primarily applied

(52) To what extent do events in the real world influence your research? (Please select the response that comes closest.)

- I regularly adjust the substantive area of my research depending on events in the world.
- I sometimes adjust the substantive area of my research depending on events in the world.
- I only make adjustments in rare circumstances and only in response to major events like 9/11 or the Berlin Wall coming down.
- My research agenda is largely determined by theoretical and empirical issues within an established scholarly discipline and does not change based on real world events.

If you received your Ph.D. after 1994, please go to question 53. Please only answer question 52 if you received your PhD in 1994 or earlier.

(53) How did the end of the Cold War influence your research?

The theoretical approaches I use in my research changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

The geographic focus of my research changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

The issue areas covered by my research changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

(54) How did the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent "war on terrorism" influence your existing research agendas?

The theoretical approaches I use in my research changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

The geographic focus of my research changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

The issue areas covered by my research changed

- Significantly
- Somewhat
- Not at all

(55) What real world events or issues most significantly influence (or influenced) your research? Please list up to five answers in descending order of influence.

Section IV: Policy and Politics

(56) As an expert on international relations, which area of the world do you consider to be of greatest strategic importance to the United States today? (Please pick one.)

- Canada and Western Europe
- Latin America (including Mexico)
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states, except for Afghanistan
- Middle East/North Africa
- East Asia (including China)
- South Asia (including Afghanistan)
- Southeast Asia
- Oceania

(57) As an expert on international relations, which area of the world do you believe will be of greatest strategic importance to the United States in 20 years? (Please pick one.)

- Canada and Western Europe
- Latin America (including Mexico)
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states, except for Afghanistan
- Middle East/North Africa
- East Asia (including China)
- South Asia (including Afghanistan)
- Southeast Asia
- Oceania

(58) In the Spring of 2003, did you support the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq?

- Strongly supported
- Supported
- Neutral
- Opposed
- Strongly opposed

(59) Based on your expert knowledge of international relations—rather than your political, moral, religious, or other beliefs—in the Spring of 2003 did you believe that the United States should go to war in Iraq?

- Yes strongly
- Yes
- Neutral
- No
- No strongly

(60) If, in the Spring of 2003, you had incontrovertible evidence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, would you have supported the US decision to go to war with Iraq?

- I would have strongly supported going to war
- I would have supported going to war
- I would have neither supported nor opposed going to war
- I would have opposed going to war
- I would have strongly opposed going to war

(61) Based on your expert knowledge of international relations—rather than your political, moral, religious, or other beliefs—did you believe in the Spring of 2003 that that the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq would end up enhancing U.S. security or making the United States less secure?

- I believed the war definitely would enhance U.S. security
- I believed the war probably would enhance U.S. security
- I believed the war would have no impact on U.S. security
- I believed the war probably would decrease U.S. security
- I believed the war definitely would decrease U.S. security

(62) Based on your expert knowledge of international relations—rather than your political, moral, religious, or other beliefs—do you currently believe that that the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq will end up enhancing U.S. security or making the United States less secure?

- The war definitely will enhance U.S. security
- The war probably will enhance U.S. security
- The war will have no impact on U.S. security
- The war probably will decrease U.S. security
- The war definitely will decrease U.S. security

(63) Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

- Helped
- Had no effect
- Hurt

(64) Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the United States is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

- Much greater
- Greater
- The same
- Less
- Much less

(65) What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world?

- It should be the single world leader
- It should play a shared leadership role
- It should not play any leadership role

If you answered “B” in question 64—that the United States “should play a shared leadership role”—please answer question 65. If not, please go to question 66.

(66) Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?

- Most active
- About as active

(67) Compared with the past, how respected is the United States by other countries today?

- More respected than in the past
- As respected as it was in the past
- Less respected than in the past

If you answered “C” in question—that the United States is “less respected than in the past”—please answer question 67. If not, please go to question 68.

(68) Do you think less respect for the United States is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

- Major Problem
- Minor Problem
- Not a problem at all

(69) In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization have been a good or bad thing for the United States?

- Very good thing
- Good thing
- Neither good nor bad
- Bad thing
- Very bad thing

(70) In general, how should the United States determine its foreign policy?

- It should be based mostly on the national interests of the United States
- It should take into account the interests of U.S. allies
- It should be based on both the national interest of the United States and the interests of U.S. allies
- It should be based on neither the national interest of the United States nor the interests of U.S. allies

(71) Do you think that the United States should increase its spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

- Increase
- Keep same
- Cut back

(72) How would you describe your political philosophy?

- Extremely Liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly Liberal
- Middle of the Road
- Slightly Conservative
- Conservative
- Extremely Conservative

(73) Other Comments on your answers or on the survey can be written on the back of this page. Thank you very much for assisting us in our research.

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