The Study of International Organizations within (American) Political Science

By Daniel Maliniak (UCSD)
and
Michael J. Tierney (William and Mary)

The study of international organizations (IOs) has traditionally been a subject reserved for political scientists and legal scholars.[1] However, over the past twenty five years an increasing number of economists[2] and economically-oriented political scientists have employed the standard techniques of positive political economy in order to analyze the origin of IOs,[3] the design and reform of IOs,[4] and the behavior of IOs.[5] In fact, a number of scholarly journals, conferences, and academic societies have recently been created to further enhance dialogue and collaborative research between political scientists and economists who are interested in empirical research on IOs. For example, the new journal *Review of International Organization* publishes original research by both economists and political scientists and the editorial board is composed of roughly equal numbers from each discipline. The International Political Economy Society (IPES) was founded by some of the leading IO scholars within political science. The IPES is dedicated to the proposition that economists and political scientists have much to learn from each other and the annual meeting provides one forum in which they can share their research. Finally, this conference encourages scholars from both disciplines to employ the techniques (mostly) of positive political economy in order to study IOs. It is now abundantly clear that large and growing numbers of scholars from both disciplines believe there is something to be gained from closer engagement with their counterparts in the other discipline. Opportunities for bridge building abound.

However, useful political economy bridges will require firm disciplinary foundations and some knowledge about the nature of the shores on which this bridge is being built. Political scientists need to learn more about what economists do. How do economists study IOs? Similarly, economists could benefit from a better understanding about what political scientists have done in the IO sub-field and how political scientists study IOs today. In this paper we attempt to contribute to this second goal by illuminating trends in the political science literature on IOs and by surveying political scientists who study IOs. We present systematic data on the way in which political scientists have studied IOs over the past 27 years. Further, we describe the views and practices of political scientists in U.S. and Canadian universities who study IOs. We would like to provide comparative data on the views and practices of political scientists in Europe and of economists in the U.S. and Europe. Unfortunately, nobody has collected these data. Therefore, readers should consider the limitations of the analyses that follow. The data in

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[1] Ruggie and Kratochwill, 1986.
[2] For seminal work by economists on IOs see Vaubel and Willet 1991; Sandler 1983, 1992.
[3] Keohane, 1984. Axelrod.
[4] Koremenos et al 2001; Downs, Rocke and Barsoom 1996.
[5] Nielson and Tierney 2003; Gould 2003; Martin 2006

this paper do not provide a good view of the emerging research that takes place at the intersection of economics and political science. Instead, data collection methods restricted our frame of reference to political scientists and political science journals. While the data presented below is the most systematic data on the political science sub-field of IO, readers should be clear about what is NOT covered – publications in second tier journals, publications in books, publications outside of the discipline of political science, and survey responses from scholars outside North America. With these caveats in mind, we hope the descriptions and analysis below can start a conversation about the study of IO.

Methods and Broader Project

In order to describe the sub-field of International Organization within the discipline of political science we utilize the Teaching and Research in International Politics (TRIP) project's databases.[6] First, we employ results from two surveys: one of American IR scholars from 2004 and one of American and Canadian scholars surveyed in 2006 in order to describe the research practices of IO scholars in those institutions.[7] We also report U.S. IO scholars' views on the broader IR discipline and on some pressing foreign policy issues. In order to distinguish IO scholars from the broader IR community, we often compare the responses of these two groups.

Second, we use the TRIP journal article database, which covers the top 12 political science journals that publish IR articles from 1980-2007 (Maliniak et al 2007a).[8] Since publication in these journals is not limited to American IO scholars, this data source helps

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[6] For more information on the TRIP project and related databases see Maliniak et al 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e; Maliniak and Tierney 2007; Peterson et al 2005; Lipson et al 2007; and the TRIP website at http://www.wm.edu/irtheoryandpractice/trip/

[7] For the 2006 survey conducted in the United States we used a list compiled by *U.S. News and World Report* to identify all four-year colleges and universities in 2005-2006. There were 1,199 such institutions. We also included the Monterey Institute and seven military schools that were not rated by *USNWR* but have a relatively large number of political science faculty who teach courses on international relations. We then found the IR faculty members teaching at these schools through an extensive series of web searches, email contacts, and phone calls to department chairs, secretaries, and individual scholars. We identified a total of 2,838 individuals who appeared to research and/or teach IR at these institutions. One hundred thirty-three respondents or their agents informed us that they did not belong in the sample because either they had been misidentified and neither taught nor did research in the field of IR, or they had died, changed jobs, or retired. These individuals were not included in our calculation of the response rate. In all, 1,112 scholars responded to the U.S. version of the survey, either online or through the mail. Certainly, there are additional individuals who were misidentified by our selection process but who never informed us. Hence, our response rate of over 41 percent is a conservative estimate.

[8] For the TRIP journal article database, we include data from articles in the 12 leading journals in the field. The journals selected were the most influential based on Garand and Giles (2003) "impact" ratings. The journals include *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *European Journal of International Relations, International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Security Studies*, and *World Politics*. Although *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* were ranked higher than some of the journals on our list, we did not include them because neither is peer-reviewed. In the IR-specific journals—*European Journal of International Relations, International Organization*, *International Security*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Politics*, *Security Studies*, and *World Politics*—we code every article in every issue for every year of their publication between 1980 and 2007. In the general political science journals—*American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*—we only code those articles that fall within the IR subfield (broadly defined). Details of the coding rules can be found in the TRIP codebook (Appendix 1 of this paper).

describe the sub-field of IO more broadly than the TRIP surveys will permit.[9] The article database reveals which journals publish the most (and most cited) articles within the IO sub-field. This database also allows us to identify trends in the substantive focus of IO research, the rise and fall of paradigms in the IO literature, the methods employed most frequently, direct comparisons between the IO literature and the broader IR literature, and whether IO generates theory and methods that diffuse into the rest of the IR literature or vice versa. Essentially, we can provide initial answers to important questions: is IO a cutting edge leader in the IR discipline, a simple reflection of broader trends in IR, or a conceptual and empirical laggard within the broader IR field?

While Canada is not in Europe, some preliminary research suggests that it may be somewhere between U.S. and Britain in terms of the sensibilities of scholars located there and in terms of the research they produce. The 2006 TRIP Survey included IR and IO scholars at Canadian universities and they appear to fit the "European model" more than the American one right next door.[10]

Political Science Journals: IR and IO Articles

For this paper we analyzed roughly half of the total number of IR articles in these political science journals. We coded every article in issue 1 and 3 from each journal for every year between 1980 and 2006. The total number of articles analyzed was 2806. In order to identify the subset of "IO" articles in our broader sample, we selected those articles whose primary **issue area** was coded as "international organization," as well as those articles which have a **substantive focus** on actual international organizations.[11] If an article fit either of those categories, it was considered an "IO article." Over the entire time period, we find 139 articles coded with a primary issue area of IO and 233 articles with a substantive focus coded as IO with a primary focus other than IO for a total 372 articles. As seen in Figure 1, the proportion of IO articles has increased over time; averaging below ten percent during the 1980s, rising steadily to a peak of 21 percent in 1999, and averaging 17 percent since 2000. In addition, the count of articles published in each year for IO and non-IO articles illustrates how remarkable the rise truly is. The two simple linear trend lines over the past 27 years reveal that IO and non-IO articles have grown at almost the same rate, 0.52 and 0.56 articles per year, respectively. The number of

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[9] It is almost certainly the case that European political scientists and American political scientists tend to publish their research in very different journals. The quintessential difference can be seen by comparing *International Organization* for the Americans, and *Global Governance* for the Europeans (and Canadians). Since the TRIP journal article database does not cover *Global Governance* (yet), this constrains our analysis. Future data collection efforts will include five additional "European-based" journals that publish peer reviewed research in IR. Our data does contain all the articles from the *British Journal of Political Science* and the *European Journal of International Relations*, which tend to publish proportionately more work from scholars at non-American institutions.

[10] See Lipson et al 2007.

[11] See TRIP Codebook (Appendix to this paper) for the coding rules, "In general, the DV determines the issue area. So, an article that explains how war influences trade patterns is an IPE article. An article that explains how trade patterns influence the probability of war is coded as an International Security article." The "substantive focus" variable tends to measure the empirical content of the article. So, an IPE article about exchange rate regimes that focused substantial attention on the role of the IMF would be coded as having a substantive focus on IOs. As explained in the codebook, "There may be multiple values in this column—that is, an article may have more than one substantive focus."

IR articles in these journals has been growing over time, and IO seems to be capturing almost half of that growth.[12] This increased attention by political science journals to the role of IOs is consistent with a belief that IOs are increasingly consequential in domestic and international politics.[13]

Figure 1.: Number and Percent of IO and Non-IO Articles in the IR Literature
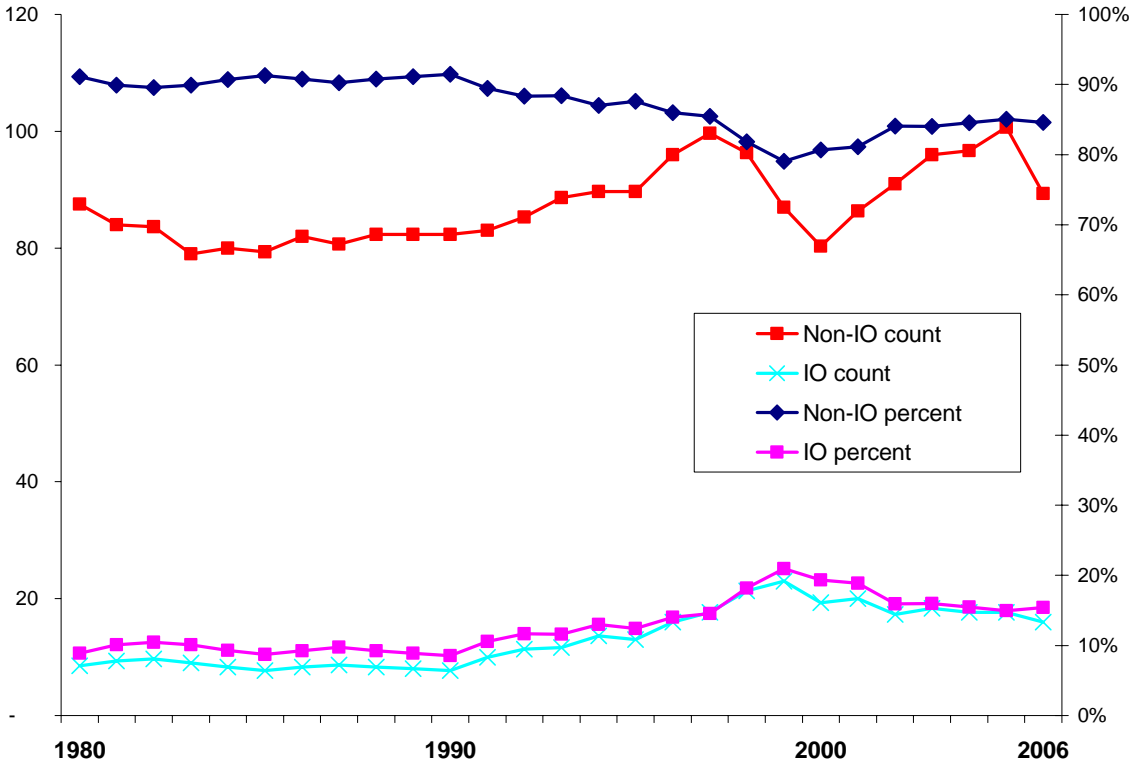
Within the IR literature, articles that have an IO as the dependent or independent variable account for roughly 13 percent of the total sample of articles we coded. However, across the journals, the percentage of articles dealing with IOs varies greatly. Perhaps not surprisingly, a great deal of research on IOs is being published in the pages of *International Organization*. In fact articles dealing with international organizations account for 30 percent of all articles published in *International Organization* over the past 27 years. *EJIR* (29%), *BJPS (20%), AJPS (17%)* and *ISQ (15%)* also publish a substantial share of their IR articles on IO-oriented themes.[14] As evident in Table 1 below, *IO* devotes more of its space to IO research topics than any of the other journals in our sample. Of articles published in the four non-IR focused journals, IO articles account for 14% of the total number of IR articles. Of total number of

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[12] When we control for those articles found only in IR journals published over the entire time periods, the finding holds, although both the coefficient for IO and Non-IO are slightly smaller. Thus, this finding is not simply a result of the addition of new journals later in the time series, such as *EJIR.*

[13] Hawkins et al 2006.

[14] Note, for *AJPS, APSR, BJPS* and *JOP,* we only count IO articles as proportions of IR articles in order to make the statistics comparable to the other journals. Obviously, the vast majority of articles in these journals focus on domestic politics rather than international politics.

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articles that were classified as "IO articles," 30 percent of them were found in the pages of *IO*. *ISQ, IS, EJIR and JPR* also had significant amounts as shown in Table 2.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">Table 1:
Percent of IO-oriented IR
Articles within Journal</td><td></td><td colspan="2">Table 2
Distribution of IO Articles
Across the Journals</td></tr>
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Table 1: Percent of IO-oriented IR Articles within Journal			Table 2 Distribution of IO Articles Across the Journals	
AJPS	17%		AJPS	4%
APSR	14%		APSR	4%
BJPS	20%		BJPS	3%
EJIR	29%		EJIR	9%
IO	30%		IO	30%
IS	9%		IS	9%
ISQ	15%		ISQ	15%
JCR	5%		JCR	6%
JOP	6%		JOP	1%
JPR	8%		JPR	9%
SS	10%		SS	5%
WP	8%		WP	6%

Within the leading journal, *International Organization*, we observe an increase in the number of IO articles over time with a peak at around 50% of total articles published between 1999-2001. Near the end of the time series the numbers decline to the previous level, around 30 percent.

Figure 2: IO articles as a percent of articles in *International Organization*
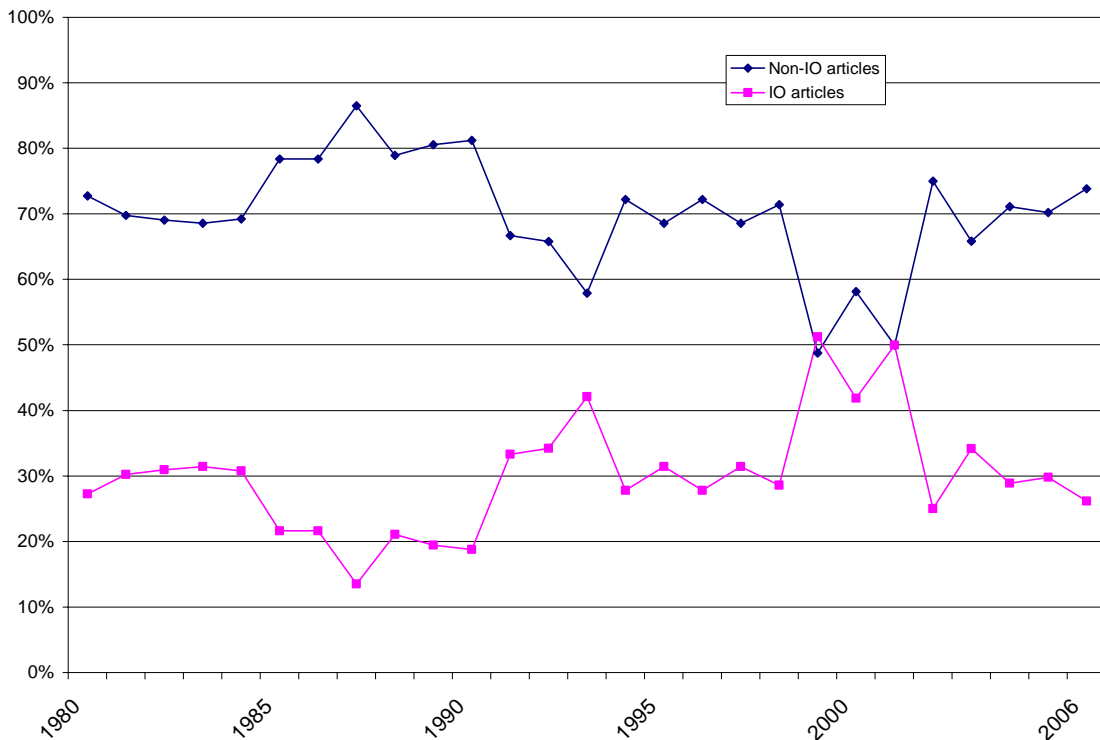
In addition to looking at the number and percentage of IO articles published in various journals, we also used citation counts in order to determine which journals publish IO articles that have the greatest impact on the way other scholars think about their work. What we find is resounding evidence that *International Organization* is the focal point for political science research on IOs. An IO article published in *IO* is likely to be cited more often than an IO article published in any journal other than the *APSR*. Further, *International Organization* accounts for 48 percent of the total number of citations of all IO articles. Despite *IS*'s dearth of IO articles, those that are published by *IS* receive high levels of citations (this was similar to our previous finding on the sub-field of IPE),[15] suggesting that publishing outside of one's narrow sub-field in highly rated journals can still shape the way the rest of the field thinks about IOs.

Table 3: Citations by Journal

Journal	Average Citations per article	Percent of all IO Citations
AJPS	22.0	6%
APSR	32.6	9%
BJPS	5.9	1%
EJIR	3.2	2%
IO	27.0	48%
IS	17.9	14%
ISQ	7.7	8%
JCR	15.0	5%
JOP	11.0	1%
JPR	3.6	2%
SS	2.0	0%
WP	18.3	5%

While article citations provide one systematic, if indirect, measure of quality, a more direct measure would simply be to ask all IO scholars which journals published the best work in their area of expertise. In the 2006 TRIP survey, we did this.[16] This alternative measure reinforces the results on article counts and citation counts above. Not only does *International Organization* publish the most and most cited research on IOs, but it is perceived as the leading journal by those who study IOs. Table 4 and Table 5 below represent the opinions of U.S. and Canadian IR scholars, respectively, who claim that their primary or secondary area of research focuses on IOs. Note that three journals are ranked by American IO scholars that are not included in our TRIP article coding database: *Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy*, and *Global Governance*. Also note the substantial difference of opinion on *Global Governance* when comparing scholars at U.S. and Canadian universities. Canadians rank *Global Governance* much higher than their southern neighbors. In addition, although Americans and Canadians agree on seven of the top ten, there is substantial variation on ranking within the top 10 and diversity of

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[15] Maliniak and Tierney 2007.

[16] The actual question read: "List the four journals you read most regularly or otherwise rely on for the best research **in your area of expertise**." See Maliniak et al 2007d.

opinion beyond these 7 journals. We have suggested elsewhere that Canadian opinions may be closer to European IR than American IR.[17]

| | Table 4: Journals American IO scholars rely upon for "the best research" in their area of expertise. | | | Table 5: Journals Canadian IO scholars rely upon for "the best research" in their area of expertise. | |

Table 4: Journals American IO scholars rely upon for "the best research" in their area of expertise.

Rank	Journal	Percent
1	IO	63%
2	ISQ	37%
3	IS	22%
4	APSR	21%
5	Foreign Affairs	20%
6	World Politics	17%
7	JCR	14%
8	Global Governance	12%
9	Foreign Policy	10%
10	EJIR	10%

Table 5: Journals Canadian IO scholars rely upon for "the best research" in their area of expertise.

Rank	Journal	Percent
1	IO	54%
2	Global Governance	39%
3	IS	29%
4	Review of International Studies	25%
5	Foreign Affairs	18%
5	ISQ	18%
7	RIPE	14%
8	Millennium	11%
8	World Politics	11%
10	EJIR	7%

IR Paradigms and the Study of IO

Traditional reviews of the IR literature in political science are most commonly organized around the major paradigms that have characterized the field.[18] These paradigms are claimed to be ascendant/superior/more useful by their proponents, and degenerative/declining/irrelevant by paradigmatic foes. The same is often true of introductory text books,[19] specialized readers,[20] and graduate syllabi. IR is a field of "isms," or at least that is our collectively shared belief about the field. However, in a previous paper that analyzed actual journal articles,[21] we were quite surprised to find that no single paradigm dominated the IR literature in any time period over the past 27 years. Further, even when articles advancing one of the four major paradigms are added together, they barely account for a majority of all article published in any given year. It turns out that a large and growing proportion of the IR literature is "non-paradigmatic" – that is, theoretically inspired empirical work that does not fit neatly into one of the four major paradigms. In short, our earlier research demonstrates a surprising amount of paradigmatic diversity within the broader field of IR as practiced by political scientists.

While paradigmatic work has not characterized the IR field writ large, research in the sub-field of IO has more often been guided by paradigmatic approaches and a large portion of that research falls within a particular paradigm – liberalism. Sixty-four percent of all IO articles we coded fell into one of the four major paradigms: Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism or Marxism. However, since 2000 the percentage of articles in these four paradigms has grown to

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[17] Lipson et al 2007.

[18] For exemplars see Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 1998; Walt 2001; Snyder 2004; Elman and Elman 2004.

[19] Russet and Starr.

[20] Frieden and Lake.

[21] Maliniak et al 2007a.

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75 percent.[22] While the broader field of IR is becoming less paradigmatic in the later part of the time series, IO literature appears to be shifting in a paradigmatic direction. While liberalism is easily the most prevalent paradigm for political scientists studying IOs over the past 20 years, there is no positive trend over that time period. The increase in paradigmatic work writ large is driven largely by the increasing popularity of constructivism over the past 10 years.

As seen in Figure 3, over the past 27 years liberalism has risen to a position of dominance in the IO literature and now accounts for somewhere between 40-50 percent of all the articles published on international organizations. This has been true since the late 1980s. Like the rest of the IR field, the IO literature has moved away from atheoretic work, or that work which is "purely descriptive or tests inductively derived hypotheses that are not related to any theory or paradigm." Except for a small rise to around 10% in the mid-1990s, realism has remained largely absent from the study of IOs as measured by the quantity of articles published. Constructivism has risen dramatically over the past 15 years and accounts for a significant portion of the IO literature from the early 1990s to the present. Currently, just less than 30% of all IO research takes place within the constructivist paradigm. This is substantially larger than the prevalence constructivism in the broader field of IR, where it now accounts for around 10% of all articles published.[23]

Figure 3: Paradigms in Political Science Research on IOs

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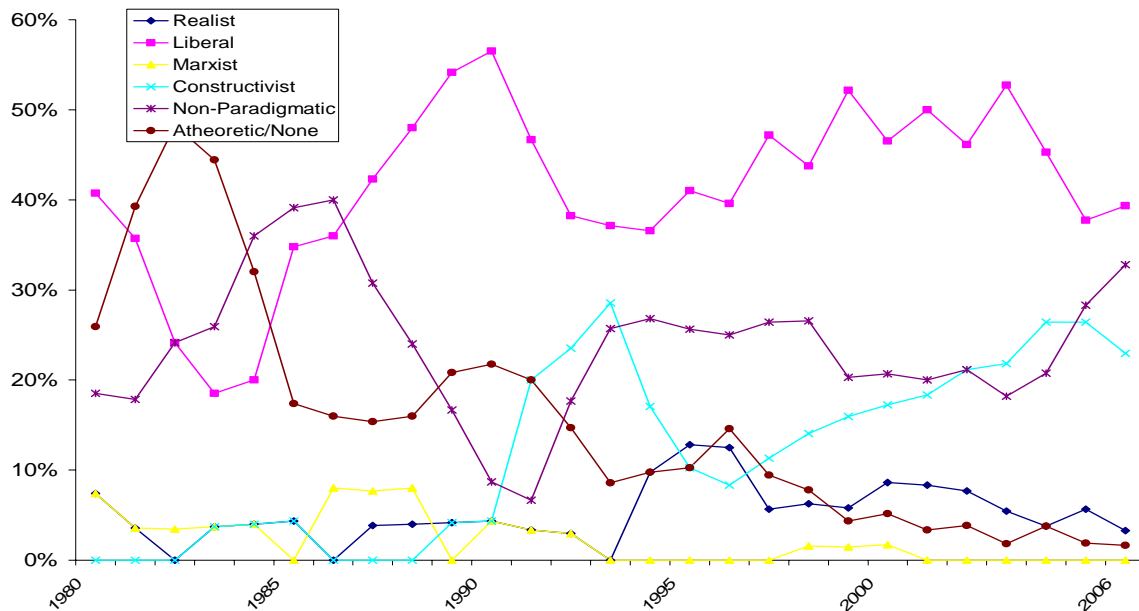
[22] Ironically, and in tension with the longer term trend, while it is likely too early to make a firm judgment, the IO sub-field may be lagging behind the broader IR field in terms of a shift toward non-paradigmatic research. In the last three years of the time series for which we have data (2004-2006), the sharpest increase in any category is non-paradigmatic research.

[23] Maliniak et al 2007a. To flip the analysis around, IO articles account for significant portions of the total number of liberal and constructivist articles in the broader database. 27 percent of liberal articles deal with IOs. While 28 percent of constructivist articles do. Unlike realism and Marxism, the IO issue area may thus be considered the home turf of liberals and constructivists.

An alternative way to measure the current popularity of particular paradigms within the sub-field is to ask scholars who self-identify as IO specialists, "which paradigm are you primarily committed to in your research?" Such an approach yields no trends over time and will include responses from political scientists who are no longer research active or who publish their research in journals not covered by the TRIP database or who publish in books. The results from the 2006 survey are instructive as illustrated in Table 6 below.

Table 6: U.S. and Canadian IR scholars vs IO Scholars

	US		Canada	
	Non-IO	IO	Non-IO	IO
Realism	30%	11%	17%	13%
Liberalism	27%	43%	13%	37%
Marxism	3%	0%	8%	10%
Constructivism	17%	25%	23%	27%
Non-paradigmatic	2%	1%	6%	0%
Other	22%	19%	34%	13%

The results in Table 6 reinforce the view that scholars who do research on IOs tend to employ liberal and constructivist approaches in their research. While both U.S. and Canadian IO scholars are more likely to employ liberal and constructivist approaches than their countrymen studying other issue areas and other empirical phenomena in IR, liberalism is more prevalent in the U.S. while constructivism is more popular in Canada. Finally, while Marxism is basically dead as a research paradigm in the U.S., it is employed by roughly 10% of IO scholars at Canadian universities. While we have no systematic evidence, numerous conversations at the ISA bar suggest that these differences would be magnified if we conducted similar research on European IR scholars.

Who are the IO scholars in Political Science?

Do IO scholars differ from the rest of the field of International Relations within the United States? Using answers from the TRIP survey allows us to measure specific characteristics of the individuals who make up the IO sub-field within Political Science. In some respects scholars who claim IO as their primary or secondary issue area differ from the broader population of IR scholars, but in other ways they are indistinguishable. IO scholars are trained at different schools, they use different methods, they study different regions of the world, and they come from different regions of the world (specifically, they are far more international than their IR colleagues at U.S. institutions). However, in other respects where we might expect variation across areas of study, we see very little. The percent of men and women studying IO different from IR is; IO scholars are slightly younger on average than their IR counterparts, and they rank

journals, PhD programs, and threats to U.S. national security about the same as the broader IR community. Overall, 28 percent of IR scholars in the US do work in the IO sub-field.[24]

IO scholars are, on average, three years younger, and more diverse in terms of their gender than other IR scholars. On average, IO scholars received their PhD four years later (1994) than the broader group of IR scholars. This youth is reflected in the position of IO scholars in their home department. Fewer IO scholars hold the position of full professor (37 percent) compared to those studying in other sub-fields (33 percent). While we can't be certain, it is quite likely that students earning their PhDs more recently have been motivated to study IOs at a greater rate than their teachers because IOs have become more important in the real world of international relations. Alternatively, many of the newest and most provocative theories in the IR field focus attention on the role of institutions in political life.

Interestingly, we find evidence of a gender difference within the IO sub-field that is different from the general IR population.[25] While the percentage of women in IR as a whole is 23 percent, the percent who study IO is 31 percent. Research on publication rates in political science and IR demonstrate that women publish less than their male colleagues and the IO sub-field provides no exception to this trend.[26] Since the year 2000 only 24 percent of all authors of IO articles published in the leading journals were women. So, the gap between the proportion of women in the sub-field (31%) and the number publishing articles in top journals (24%) is substantial. Despite this fact, there is strong evidence from the TRIP survey that IO scholars value the research of women to a greater extent than other IR scholars do. More women appear in the various top 25 lists for greatest impact on the field (3), most interesting work (6) and most influential on your own research (6). Among non-IO scholars the number are only 2, 4, and 2 respectively. In fact, according to IO scholars, three of the top five scholars producing "the most interesting work" are women, according to IO scholars: Martha Finnemore(1), Kathryn Sikkink (4) and Beth Simmons (5). In all three of these categories IO scholars are more likely to list women than are IR scholars who study other issue areas in IR.[27]

Political Science Departments and IO Scholars

The list of institutions that have trained the largest number of IO scholars does not differ dramatically from those that have trained IR scholars in general. However, four schools do rise into the top ten, which suggests some specialization: Yale University, UCSD, UCLA and Wisconsin have trained proportionately more IO scholars than IR scholars in other sub-fields, while the opposite is true for MIT and Stanford, which drop out of the top ten.

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[24]This number represents those who answered that their primary or secondary area of study/substantive focus was IO. 7 percent of respondents reported that IO was their primary area of interest, while 21 percent reported that it was a secondary research interest. (A total of 242 respondents out of 1112 claimed that IO was their primary or secondary area of interest).

[25] For a detailed analysis of women in the IR discipline and what issue areas they tend to study see Maliniak et al 2007b.

[26] Maliniak et al 2007b.

[27] Further, many of the women who get named on these three lists have made substantial contributions to research in IO (Beth Simmons, Helen Milner, Martha Finnemore, Lisa Martin, and Kathryn Sikkink). For the complete lists see Maliniak et al 2007d.

Table 7:
Departments training the most IO scholars

Rank	University	Percent
1	Columbia University	6%
2	Harvard University	4%
2	Ohio State University	4%
4	University of California, Berkeley	4%
4	Yale University	4%
4	University of California, San Diego	3%
4	University of Michigan	3%
8	University of California, Los Angeles	3%
9	University of Chicago	3%
9	University of Virginia	3%
9	University of Wisconsin	3%

Table 8:
Departments training the most IR scholars

Rank	University	Percent
1	Columbia University	5%
2	Harvard University	5%
3	University of Michigan	4%
4	University of California, Berkeley	3%
5	Cornell University	3%
6	University of Virginia	3%
7	Ohio State University	3%
8	Stanford University	3%
9	MIT	3%
10	University of Chicago	2%

Training graduate students is one measure of how important a particular department is for the sub-field. An alternative measure is the number of articles published in the top 12 journals by scholars affiliated with a particular department. The data in Table 9 and Table 10 below illustrate the percent of IR and IO articles published in those journals over the past 27 years. Princeton, Georgetown, and the London School of Economics are the three institutions that "outperform" their broader IR publication record. LSE is the only non-American university in the top 20 for publications in the leading IR journals.

Table 9:
Number of IO articles produced since 1980

Rank	University	Percent
1	Harvard University	5%
2	Columbia University	4%
3	Stanford University	3%
4	Princeton University	3%
5	Georgetown University	3%
5	University of Chicago	3%
7	London School of Economics	2%
7	University of Wisconsin, Madison	2%
9	Ohio State University	2%
9	Yale University	2%

Table 10:
Number of IR articles produced since 1980

Rank	University	Percent
1	Harvard University	6%
2	Columbia University	3%
3	Stanford University	3%
4	Ohio State University	2%
5	University of Michigan	2%
6	Princeton University	2%
7	Yale University	2%
8	University of Illinois	2%
9	University of Chicago	2%
10	University of California, Los Angeles	2%

Table 11: Citations by School with Author counts

School	Total Citations	Number of Articles	Citations per Author
University of Chicago	731	12	60.91
Harvard University	554	24	23.08
Columbia University	394	17	23.18
Princeton University	374	14	26.71
Yale University	299	9	33.22
University of Wisconsin, Madison	206	10	20.6
Northwestern University	203	6	33.83
University of Alabama	203	5	40.6
Stanford University	191	15	12.73
University of California, Los Angeles	164	4	41
Georgetown University	152	12	12.67
Emory University	129	6	21.5

Table 11 illustrates the total citations by university. However, since articles with multiple authors receive the value of the total number of citation multiplied for each author, a single article with multiple authors from the same school will include the same citations for each author. For example, if an article receives 100 citations and has three authors, one from Harvard and two from Chicago, Harvard will have 100 total citations and Chicago will have 200, all for one article. To help control for this and give another metric by which to evaluate the citations, we provide the number of citations at the school per total number of IO articles published. This helps to normalize the multiple author issue. University of Chicago has both the largest total of citations and citations per article.

Table 12:
Most Profound impact on your own research[28]
(IO Scholars)

Rank	Scholar	percent
1	Robert Keohane	19%
2	Alexander Wendt	14%
3	Martha Finnemore	9%
3	Peter Katzenstein	9%
5	James Fearon	8%
5	John Ruggie	8%
7	Kathryn Sikkink	7%
8	Joseph Nye	7%
9	Kenneth Waltz	6%
10	Ernst Haas	6%
10	Stephen Krasner	6%
12	David Lake	5%
12	Robert Jervis	5%
14	Hans Morgenthau	5%
14	Robert Gilpin	5%
16	Andrew Moravcsik	4%
16	Hedley Bull	4%
18	Helen Milner	4%
19	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita	3%
19	Nicholas Onuf	3%
21	Beth Simmons	3%
21	Lisa Martin	3%
21	Stanley Hoffman	3%
24	Anne Marie Slaughter	2%
24	Bruce Russett	2%
24	Duncan Snidal	2%
24	G. John Ikenberry	2%
24	J. David Singer	2%
24	James Rosenau	2%
24	Jeffrey Legro	2%
24	John Mearsheimer	2%
24	Peter Gourevitch	2%
24	Peter Haas	2%

Table 13:
Greatest impact on the field[29]
(IO Scholars)

Rank	Scholar	percent
1	Robert Keohane	66%
2	Alexander Wendt	48%
3	Kenneth Waltz	34%
4	James Fearon	17%
5	John Mearsheimer	14%
6	Joseph Nye	13%
7	Samuel Huntington	12%
8	Robert Jervis	10%
9	John Ruggie	10%
10	Peter Katzenstein	9%
10	Stephen Krasner	9%
12	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita	8%
13	Bruce Russett	7%
14	James Rosenau	6%
14	Kathryn Sikkink	6%
16	Robert Gilpin	6%
17	Martha Finnemore	4%
18	Michael Doyle	4%
18	Robert Cox	4%
20	Jack Snyder	3%
20	Stephen Walt	3%
22	Francis Fukuyama	3%
23	Ernst Haas	2%
23	Helen Milner	2%
23	Robert Axelrod	2%

Among those scholars listed as having the most profound impact on self-identified IO scholars (Table 12), the top three scholars listed reflect the two dominant theoretical traditions in IO, liberalism and constructivism: Robert Keohane (19 percent), Alexander Wendt (14 percent),

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[28] The question said: "List up to four scholars who have had the most profound impact on your own research and the way that you think about IR." These are responses of IPE scholars in the U.S. For the Canadian list see Lipson et al 2007.

[29] The question said: "List up to four scholars who have had the greatest impact on the field of international relations over the past 20 years." These are the responses of IPE scholars about the broader field.

Martha Finnemore (9 percent). Further inspection of Table 12 illustrates the diversity of individuals "having the most profound impact" on IO scholars.

Methodology in the Study of IO

Since one purpose of PEIO is to bring to bear the methods of economics and political economy to research on IOs, a stock-taking exercise is in order. How well does the political science sub-field currently integrate various methods in published research? What are the major methods used in the study of IO? For IO scholars in political science, the dominant method over the past 27 years has been qualitative, utilized in 43% of IO articles we coded. 23 percent of IO articles use quantitative methods. Formal modeling and analytic/non-formal were each employed for 12% of all articles in our sample.[30] In the early 1980s, no single method monopolized the field of IO and most articles employed only one method. By the mid 1980s, qualitative and quantitative research became much more prevalent and individual articles increasingly employed multi-method research designs (a trend which increased throughout the time series). Despite being the most utilized method in 1984 and 1985, quantitative research declined to a low point in 1993 of three percent. Although we have no story for this decline, it is worth mentioning that no similar pattern exists in the IPE articles or IR articles in general. During the decline in the use of quantitative methods, qualitative research enjoyed dominance. By 1993 qualitative methods appeared in 74% of all IO articles. Even though there was a relative dearth of quantitative work, a method employed more frequently in economics, formal modeling, which also borrows from economics, was relatively plentiful. Formal theory rose from being employed in no IO articles in 1989 to being utilized in 28 percent in 1995. This is more than IPE during the same timeframe.[31] Most recently, the field of IO is more in line with the rest of IR with qualitative work generally the most prevalent method, followed closely by quantitative research, formal modeling, and analytic/non-formal work. Not until the last year of the time series does quantitative work overtake qualitative where it peaks at 51 percent. This contrasts dramatically with the trends in IPE, where roughly 90 percent of all articles published in 2006 employed statistical methods.

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[30] As we explain in our codebook (Appendix A), an individual journal article could be coded as employing more than one methodology; hence percents sum to over 100.
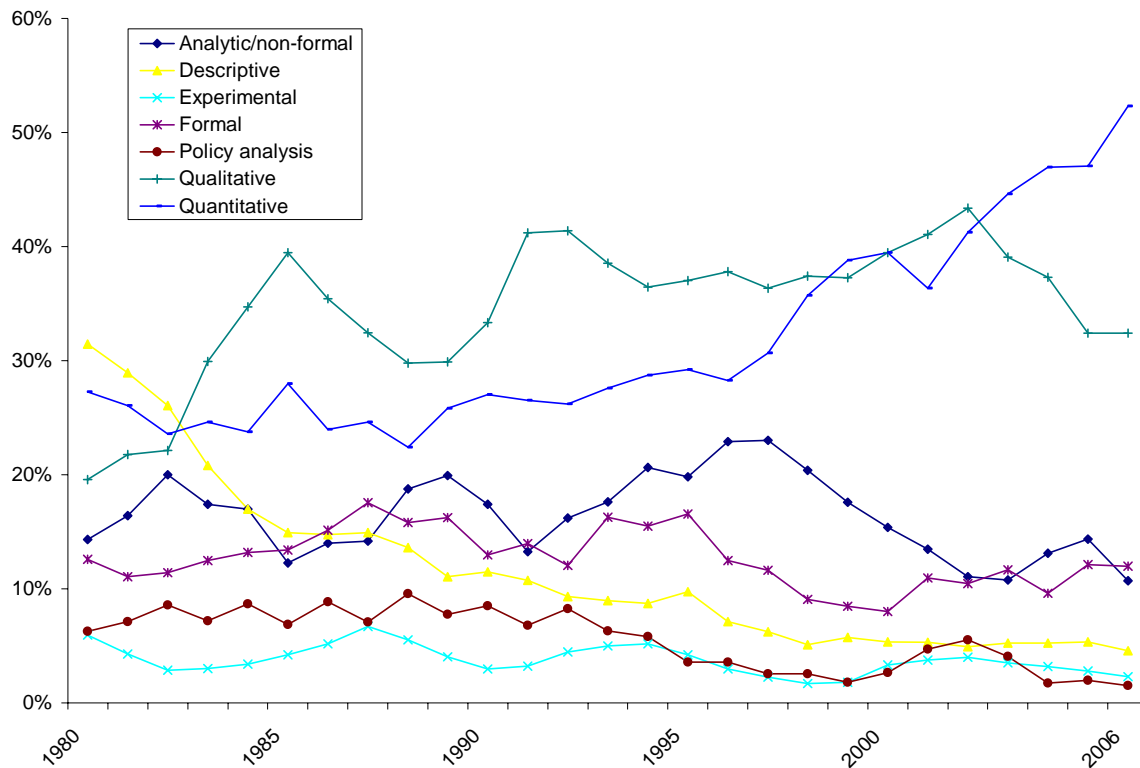
[31] See Maliniak and Tierney 2007.

Figure 4: Methods used in IO articles 1980-2006
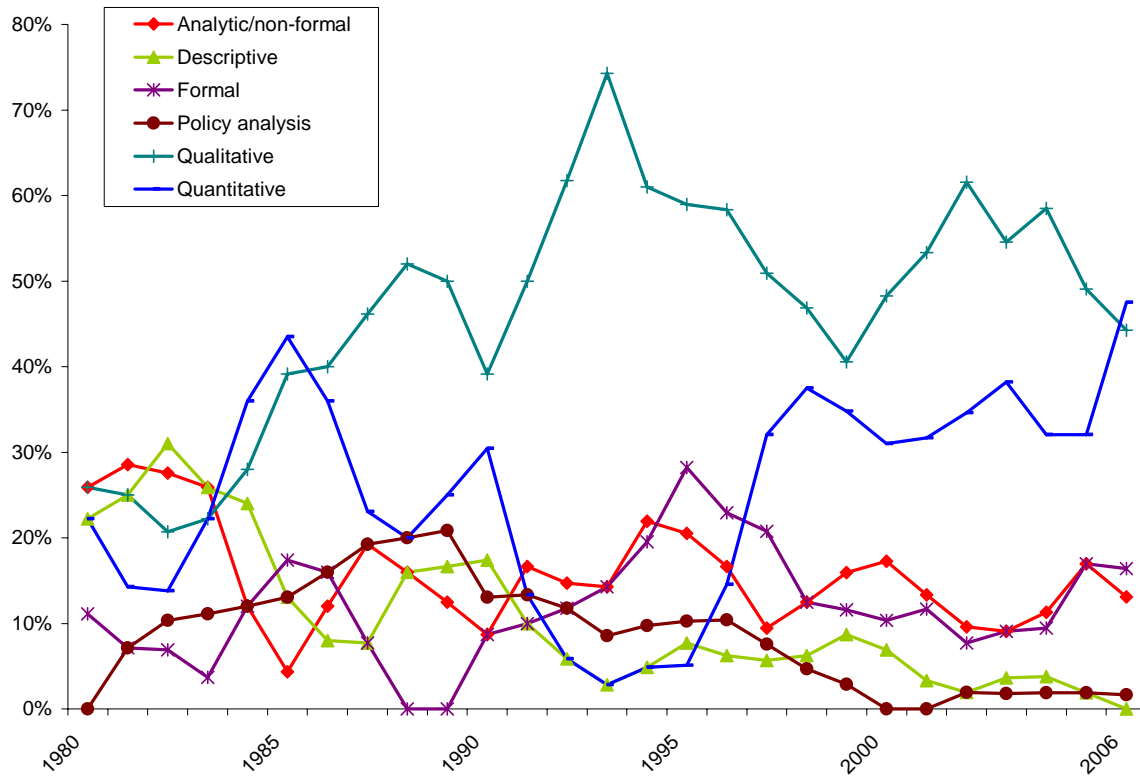
Much is made about the push for the integration of methods and multi-method work. In this area, the IO sub field is ahead of the rest of IR. Twenty percent of IO articles employ at least two methods, compared to only 15 percent in the rest of IR.

Figure 5: Methods used in IR articles 1980-2006

Given how the methods employed in the IO literature compare to the IR literature overall (see Figure 5 above), it is surprising that IO scholars on the TRIP survey report using the same methods in similar proportions to the rest of the field. The years of qualitative prominence prior to 2006 in IO are reflected in the 94 percent of IO scholars who continue to consider qualitative as their primary (71 percent) or secondary (23 percent) method. While the percentage of scholars committed to qualitative methods is extremely high, they are not publishing their work I the top 12 journals at a rate commensurate with their numbers. Instead, quantitative and formal researchers are proportionately more likely to get their work published in these journals. These results may also be shaped by a generational gap. For those who received (or will receive) their doctorate in 2000 or later, 26 percent consider quantitative as their primary method. IO scholars who received their PhD in the 1990s rely less on quantitative methods (19 percent), and those who received their PhDs in the 1980s or earlier utilize quantitative methods even less (13 percent).

Epistemology in IO and IR Research

Like the rest of the field of IR, over the 27 years we study, articles in the IO sub-field in political science have increasingly adopted a positivist epistemology where researchers "implicitly or explicitly assume that theoretical or empirical propositions are testable, make causal claims, seek to explain and predict phenomena, and aspire to the use of a scientific method." (See Appendix A for discussion). In the early 1980s, non-positivist and post-positivist

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research accounted for over 40% of IO articles. However, by 1985 non-positivist and post-positivist research made up only 24%, and fell steadily to 11% by 2006.

Figure X: Epistemology in IO Scholarship
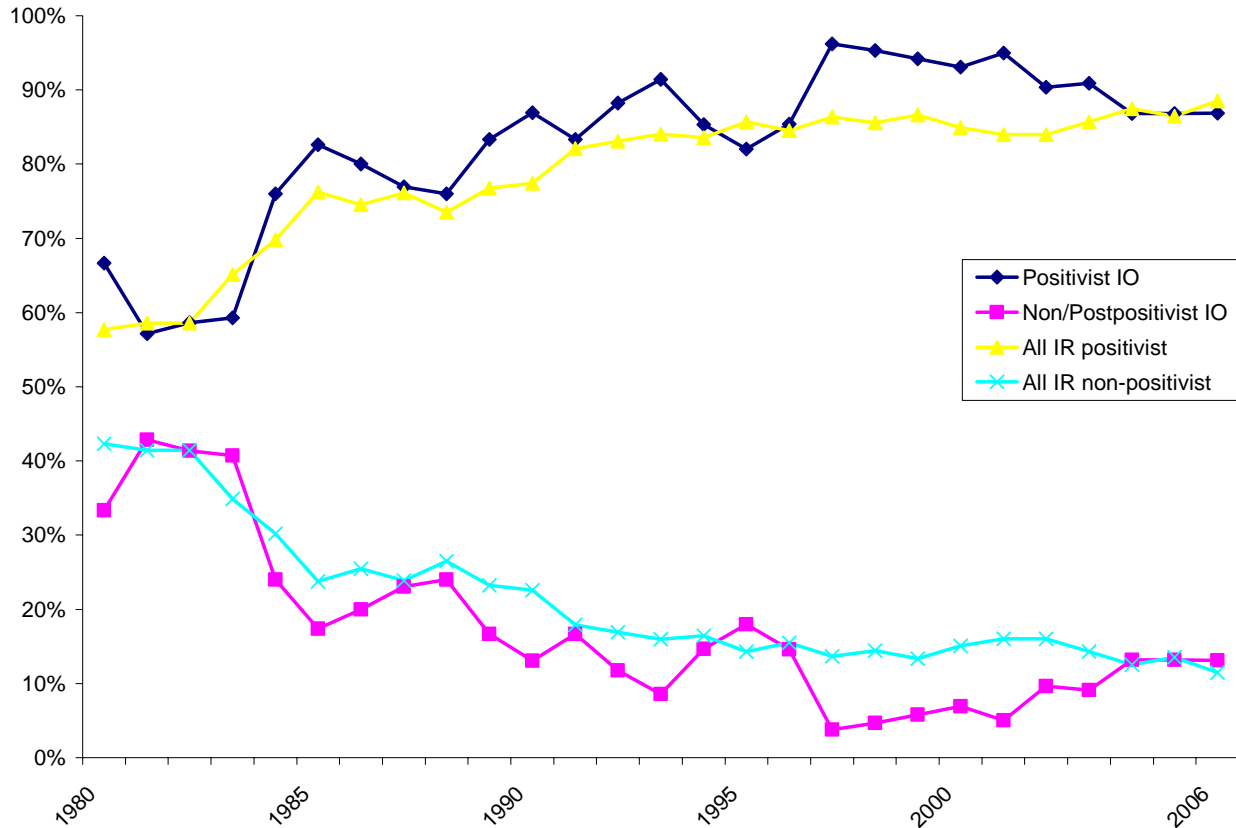

Ideational Turn in IO Scholarship

Much has been made of the "ideational turn" in IR over the past few decades, which is reinforced by the widespread view that constructivism has overcome its subaltern status to achieve paradigmatic popularity on par with realism or liberalism.[32] While the literature in the 1980s allegedly focused attention on the distribution of power, formal institutions, class structures, domestic sectoral economic interests and other "material" factors to explain outcomes in IR, "ideational" approaches explore the role of ideas in explanations for outcomes in IR. Any article where *ideas, beliefs, perceptions*, *learning*, *norms*, *identity*, *knowledge*, or *personality traits* play a central explanatory role in the argument is coded as ideational.[33] As Figure 6 illustrates, there is indeed evidence of an ideational turn in the IO literature. Nor has this shift come at the expense of the consideration of material factors. In fact, in no year did less then ten percent of the IO articles include material factors as central features of their explanatory

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[32] Checkel 1998.
[33] See Appendix A for a full discussion.

frameworks. The prominence of ideational variables closely correlates with the rise of constructivism (recall Figure 3). However, even without the constructivist articles, it is clear that ideational factors were increasingly prominent in the literature and appeared in both liberal and non paradigmatic approaches as well, albeit never in more than 50 percent of the non-constructivist articles contained ideational variables.
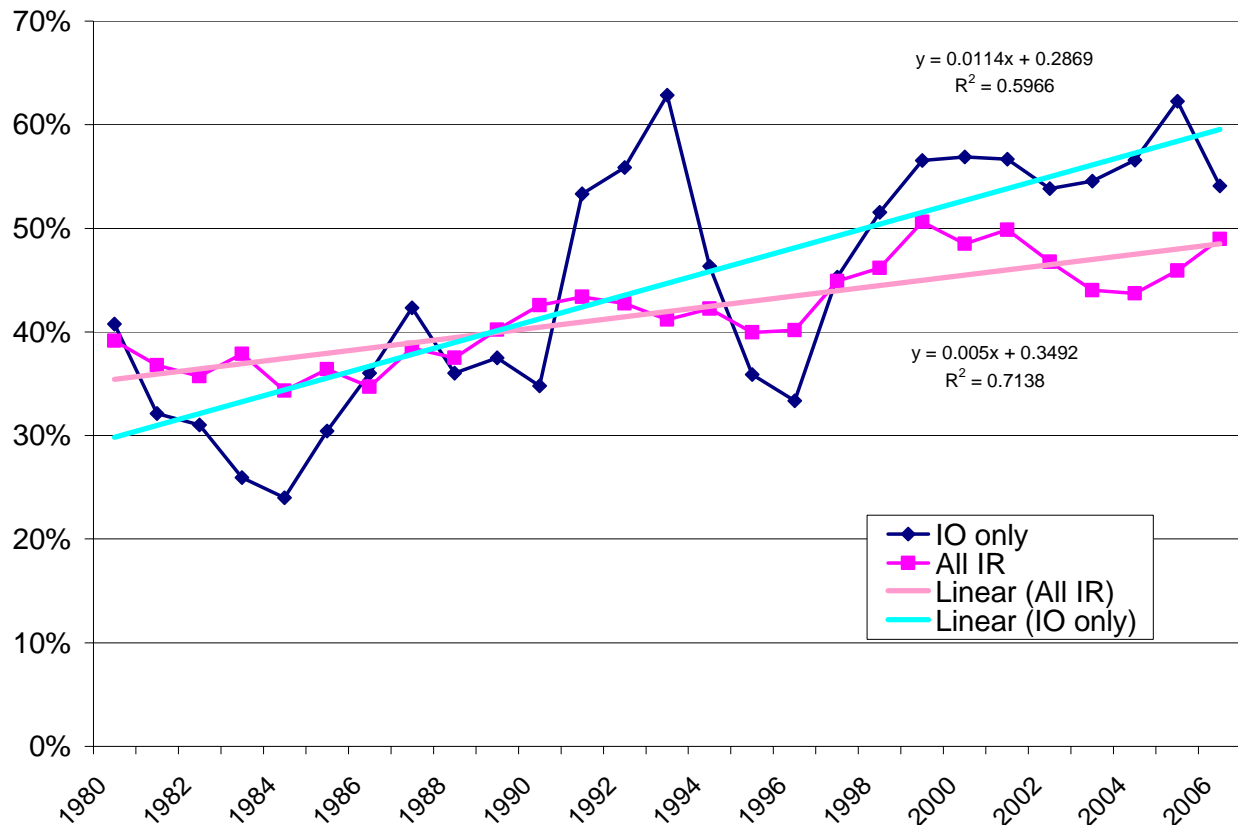
Figure 6: The Use of Material and Ideational Variables in IO articles: 1980-2006
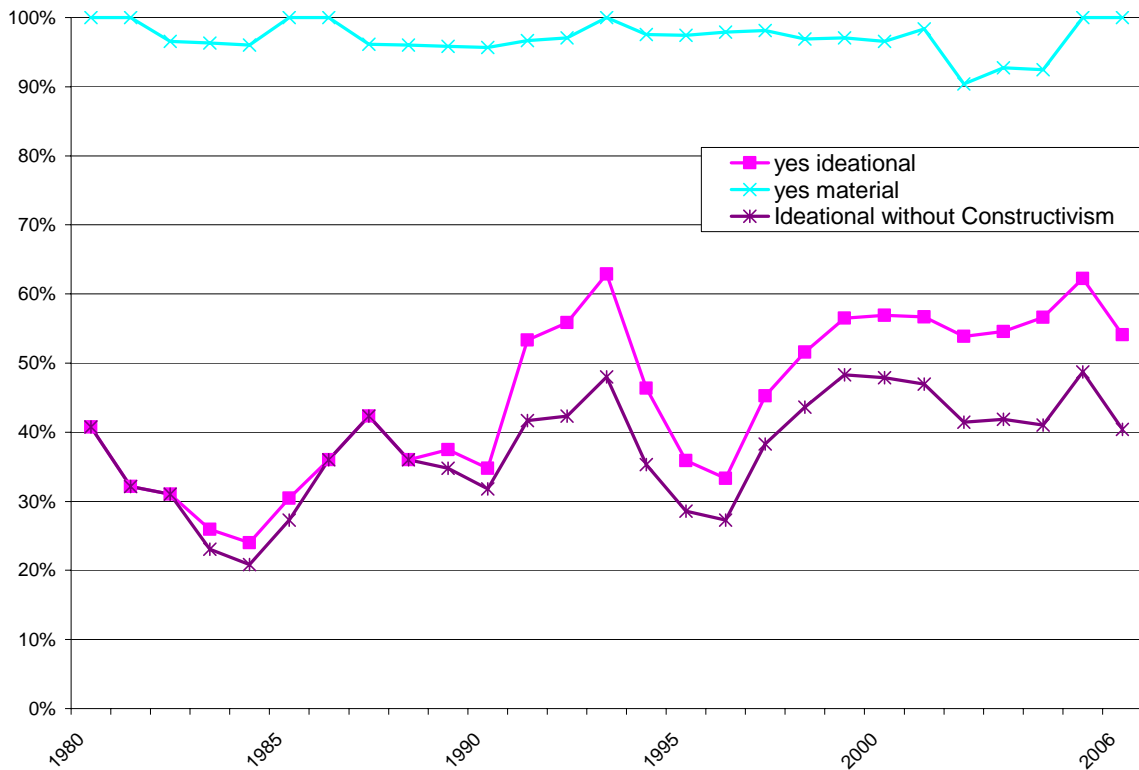
Moreover, compared to the overall sub-discipline of IR, IO seems to have taken a sharper ideational turn. Figure 7 below shows the percent of articles using of ideational variables in IO and IR along with trend lines for both. Although there is more variability in IO articles, they are using ideational factors in greater percentage terms. In addition, they are increasing at a greater rate than the field of IR. (For a sharp contrast, IPE has basically ignored the ideational turn in IR, at least in the United States and in the top 12 journals).[34]

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[34] Maliniak and Tierney 2007.

Figure 7: Trends in use of Ideational Variables: IO and IR Compared

The chart shows two trend equations:

$y = 0.0114x + 0.2869$
$R^2 = 0.5966$

$y = 0.005x + 0.3492$
$R^2 = 0.7138$

Legend:
- IO only
- All IR
- Linear (All IR)
- Linear (IO only)

IO Scholars and the Real World (MTV Season 11)

Beyond the theoretical talk of the Ivory Tower, what views do IO scholars hold and how do they interact with the real world? Even a cursory glance at the program for the PEIO conference makes clear that a number of researchers writing papers for this meeting are employed by IOs, think tanks, and other non-academic institutions. Although they are not part of our survey population, those who join the academic discourse by publishing articles in the top journals are included. In addition, there is some evidence that scholars of IOs are putting their practical knowledge to use beyond the ivory tower.

Do scholars who study IOs maintain distinctive policy opinions compared to scholars in the broader field of IR? Initial evidence suggests that they do, in limited areas. We asked respondents of out 2006 survey whether they would support unilateral American action against Iran, and North Korea, and then followed up with a question about whether they would support a multilateral force approved by the UN Security Council. If one thought studying IOs would affect the opinion of scholars, we would predict IO scholars to be more swayed to support action approved by the UNSC. However, we find that IO and non-IO scholars disapprove of unilateral action at the same level, 71% and 70% respectively for North Korea, and 78% and 76% for Iran. The levels of approval of multilateral action are similar as well for North Korea IO and non-IO

approve 54% and 53%, respectively, and for Iran 50% and 48%. So, both groups have a very strong preference for multilateral military action when compared to unilateral force.[35]

Of the most recent four major wars with US involvement, there is some evidence that IO scholars are more sensitive to international support than their IR colleagues. When asked about the "justness" of these major wars, IO scholars were less positive toward the two wars that were conducted with little or no support of IOs, Vietnam (-7%) and the 2003 Iraq War (-7%). However, they thought those wars with IO support were more just than their IR colleagues who did not study IOs: Persian Gulf (6%) and 2001 War in Afghanistan (3%).

Table 14: Scholars opinions on the justness of wars

	Vietnam War	Persian Gulf War	2001 War in Afghanistan	2003 Iraq War
IO Scholars	7%	90%	90%	8%
Non-IO Scholars	15%	84%	87%	15%
difference (IO less non-IO)	-7%	6%	3%	-7%

Moreover, the difference between IO scholars and non-IO scholars is strikingly apparent in their views on foreign aid allocation and effectiveness. When asked about which was more effective, to dispense foreign aid multilaterally or unilaterally, IO scholars were 11% more likely to say multilateral and 2% more likely to say either, whereas non-IO scholars were 9% more likely to say bilateral, and 4% more likely to say neither. IO scholars are also more positive than other IR scholars about the effects of free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO on the United States, and they are less positive about the benefits of these agreements for the developing world.

IO scholars also use their expertise outside academia. 54 percent of IO scholars reported that they worked or consulted in a paid or unpaid capacity in the past two years, compared to 48 percent of other scholars. They account for 33 percent of paid consultants for international organizations, and 41 percent of unpaid consultants. Table 15 illustrates the different areas in which IO scholars consult compared to other scholars. IO scholars are generally more likely to work in an unpaid capacity. This could either be a result of generosity or limited resources for those positions requiring the expertise of an IO scholar. Not surprisingly, a larger percent of IO scholars consult for IOs, but a larger percent also consult for NGOs and in the public sector. A smaller percent of IO scholars consult for the U.S. government.

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[35] Maliniak et al 2007d.

**Table 15: Paid and Unpaid Consulting of IO and Non-IO Scholars**

	Paid		Unpaid	
	Non-IO	IO	Non-IO	IO
Foreign Governments	5%	6%	6%	5%
Interest Groups	2%	2%	8%	10%
International Organizations	5%	10%	5%	12%
Non-governmental Organizations	9%	14%	19%	28%
Private Sector	10%	13%	6%	5%
Think Tanks	11%	11%	11%	10%
US Government	22%	15%	10%	7%

       IO scholars are exporting their expertise to the policy world in the form of consulting. But, are they also importing ideas into the discipline from individuals employed outside academic institutions? While we do not have a direct measures of theories brought in from outside IO, IR, or political science, we did analyze who is publishing IO articles. We coded the affiliation type of every author into six categories: political science/IR departments or their equivalents, economics departments, other academic departments, think tanks, government/inter-governmental, and business schools. Of our sample, 76 percent of author's primary affiliations were political science departments or their equivalent. Twenty percent of authors were based in a different academic department, generally sociology, interdisciplinary centers, or research institutions. Only one percent of authors come from economics departments.[36]

       Likely bolstering the high number of IO scholars who consult is the fact that research in the field of IO in often deals with relatively contemporary cases. Seventy-eight percent of IO articles published since 1980 include data or cases drawn from within ten years of the article's publication. Figure 8 illustrates this and provides a comparison to the entire sample of IR articles. With the exception of 1980, a larger percent of IO articles include contemporary data in every year.

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[36] While this is quite low, we expect a similar analysis of top Economics journals would yield even fewer political scientists.

Figure 8: Percent of articles including contemporary data: IO and IR.
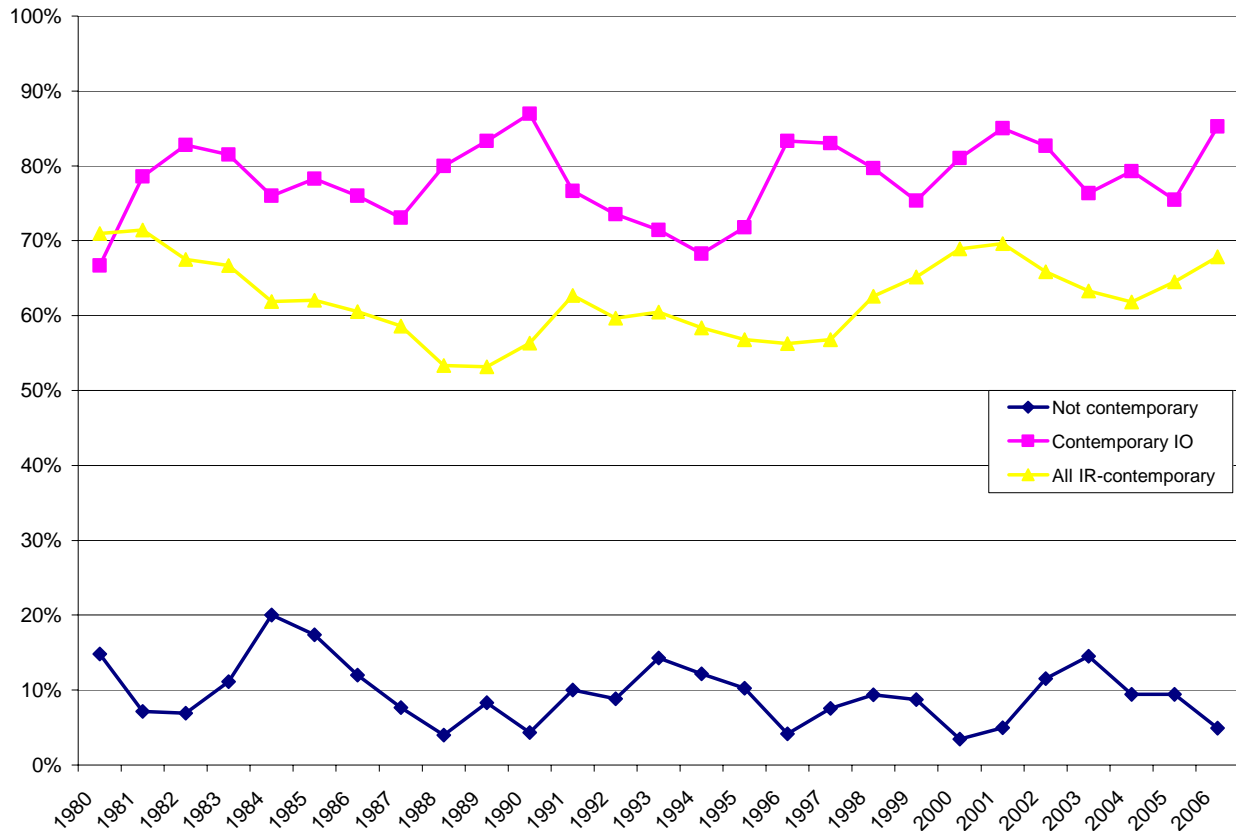
As Mansfield and Pevehouse argue, "In recent years, [IOs] have become increasingly pervasive features of the global landscape. Both the number of such organizations and the range of issue-areas they cover have grown rapidly."[37] This rapid growth likely helps to focus the IO literature on issues closer to the present. Whether or not this is the causal factor, IO scholars are engaged in research that draws upon contemporary cases. Figure 9 shows the different time periods in which data or case studies fell for IO articles. In comparison to all of IR (Figure 10), the IO literature always has larger percentages on the more recent time periods. In addition, as new periods emerge, IO is much quicker to include them. This is not to necessarily suggest that the IO is more responsive to changes in the field, rather the contemporary variable captures…

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[37] Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouce. "Democratization and International Organizations." *International Organization*. 60, Winter (1) 2006, p. 137

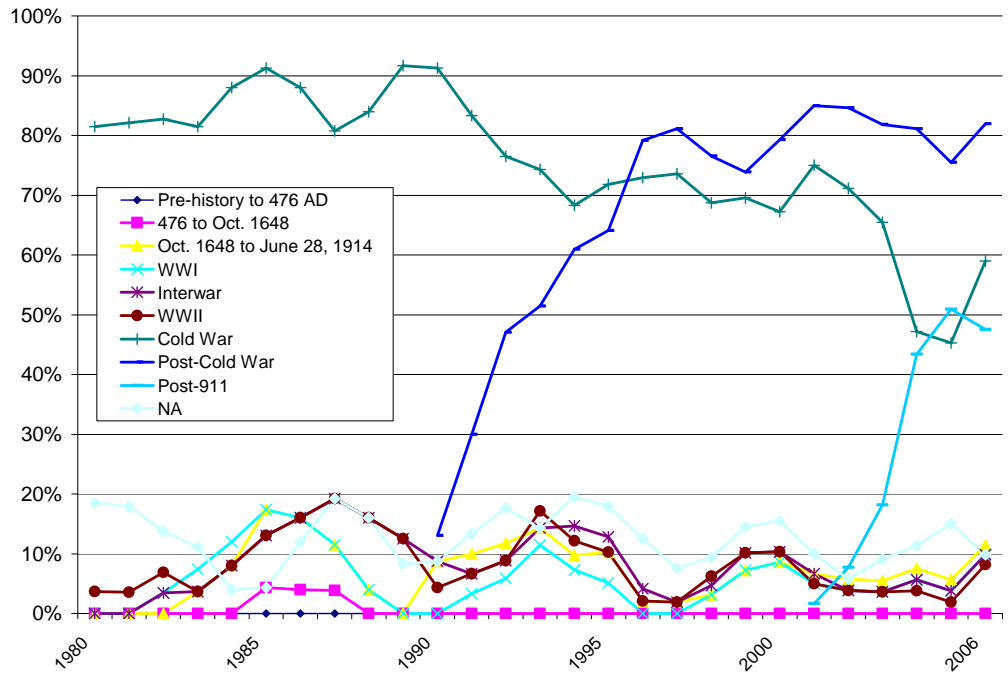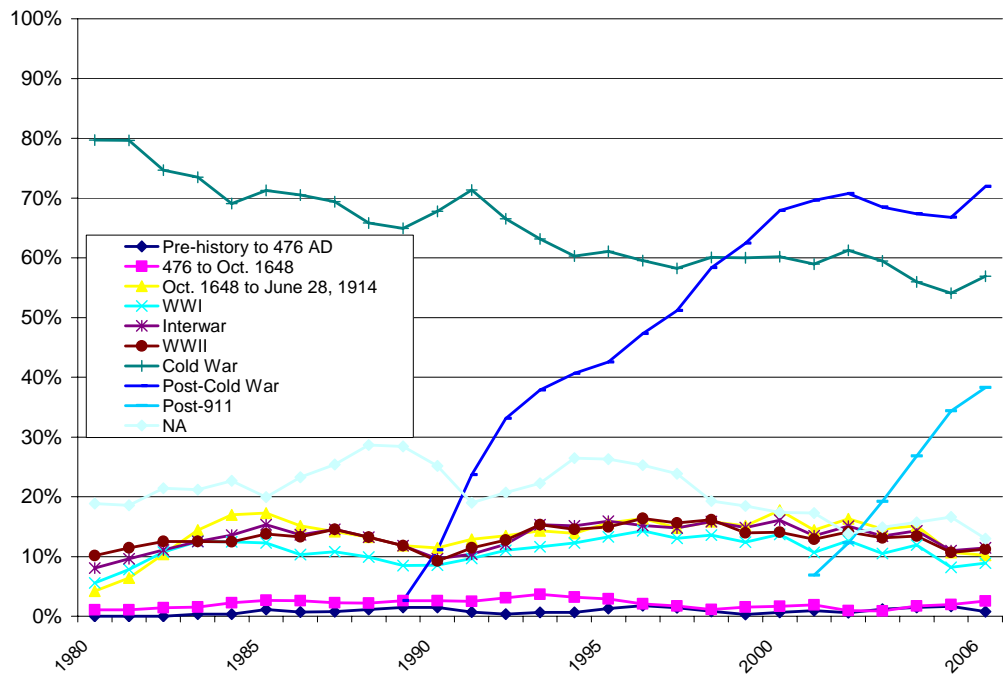**Figure 9: Time Periods for IO articles**

Figure 10: Time Periods for all IR articles

Conclusions

In this paper we do not advance any grand thesis about the nature, quality, or future of IO research by political scientists. Nor do we provide a coherent explanation for the views and practices of IO scholars. Instead, we seek to open a dialogue about the nature of research that has been done over the past quarter century by systematically describing several salient features of the IO sub-field within political science. We share the goals of those who believe that our collective understanding of the politics in an around international organizations and the economic effects of IO behavior can be enhanced through research that draws upon knowledge and techniques developed within both economics and political science. This descriptive paper has addressed some conventional and unconventional wisdom about the past and present of the IO sub field in political science. We hope that by developing a clear picture of current and previous IO research, we can make a modest contribution to ongoing efforts at bridging disciplinary gaps between economics and political science.

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Appendix A

**Codebook and User's Guide for TRIP Journal Article Database
2005, revised May 2007**

Variables Coded for Each Article

The variable names, descriptions, and coding explanations are listed in the order they appear in the database. When you code using the TRIP article database you don't need to memorize any of these numerical codes. You simply click on the appropriate button next to the value of a specific variable that appears in the online coding interface.

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*
   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 2006: IO, IS, ISQ, WP, JCR, EJIR, SS, and JPR.[38] 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

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[38] 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. Coders should write the word "Comparative," "Theory," "Economics," "American", or the appropriate descriptor in the comment field for any article that is not an IR article in any "IR journal."

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.

4) **Journal Editor Paradigm (Editpar).** This variable captures the preferred paradigm of the journal editor during his or her tenure as 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 is currently the only variable in the TRIP journal article database that has not been coded (as of 8/2007).

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.[39] 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 below[40]:

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[39] Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner refer to these four categories as "general theoretical orientations" and distinguish them from "specific research programs" (Katzenstein et al 1999).

[40] 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 more conceptually coherent) definition of

0—Realist
1—Liberal
2—Marxist
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.[41] 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 editor as realist if he or she employs the following assumptions in his/her work: (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. To be considered a realist, it is necessary (but not sufficient) for the author to frequently employ the role of power or anarchy as key explanatory variables. Some explanatory variables which would meet these criteria include hegemony, polarity, offense-defense balance, or relative and absolute power. Additionally, the researcher must include other assumptions listed above.

We code an editor as liberal if his/her work 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;[42] (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; Keohane 1984; and Keohane and Nye 1977). Liberals often highlight the importance of the following causal variables: domestic institutions, the preferences of societal actors and trans-national actors, the relative competitiveness of economic producers in the international market, economic interdependence, international law, regimes, international institutions, ideas, and beliefs.

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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.

[41] For an alternative approach that includes the DV as part of the coding criteria for paradigm, see Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics.*

[42] 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.

We code an editor as Marxist if his/her work rests on the following assumptions: (1) economic actors are the dominant unit of analysis in international politics; (2) the international system is hierarchic; 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 editor as constructivist if his/her work assumes 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,[43] but because it has become the fourth major category for organizing research by IR scholars (Katzenstein et al 1999; Nye 2003).[44]

We also employ a "non-paradigmatic" category, which captures scholars that do advance or test coherent theories, 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 alternatives 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 editors who do not employ any theory at all are coded as "atheoretic." Generally, the work of atheoretic scholars is purely descriptive or tests inductively derived hypotheses that are not related to any theory or paradigm.

In some cases, editors' work may cross paradigmatic boundaries during their tenure. As long as the majority of their work falls into a single category, we code the editor as falling within that category.

5) **Total articles (Total, TotalIR).** This variable measures the total number of articles published in a given volume of the journal, and how many of these are IR articles.

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[43] 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.

[44] In this respect we take seriously the constructivist idea that the field of IR has inter-subjectively defined the four major paradigms. These categories themselves are socially constructed and they define our discourse as a field.

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.

   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.[45] 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 article 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. We do not code articles based on the publicly stated preferences of the author. Instead, we read the article to determine which paradigm is advanced in this particular piece of research. So, if Alexander Wendt writes an article that argues that the distribution of power influences the probability of war, that article is coded as "realist," even though nobody in the discipline would consider Wendt a realist. The unit of analysis is the article. The six values for "Paradigm" are listed below[46]:

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

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[45] Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner refer to these four categories as "general theoretical orientations" and distinguish them from "specific research programs" (Katzenstein et al 1999).
[46] 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 more conceptually 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.

Authors drawing upon 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.[47] 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.

Realist articles frequently employ 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. To be considered a realist article it is necessary that the role of power or anarchy is *the* key explanatory variable.[48] Other explanatory variables that are frequently employed in realist analyses include hegemony, polarity, offense-defense balance, or relative and absolute power.

We code an article as liberal if it is consistent with some or all of 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;[49] (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; Doyle 1983; Keohane 1984; and Keohane and Nye 1977). Liberals often highlight the importance of the following causal variables (and at least one should appear for any article to be coded as "liberal"): domestic institutions, the preferences of societal actors and trans-national 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 hierarchic; 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,

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[47] For an alternative approach that includes the DV as part of the coding criteria for paradigm, see Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics.*

[48] For the first systematic empirical study along these lines see Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*.

[49] 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.

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,[50] but because it has become the fourth major category for organizing research by IR scholars (Katzenstein et al 1999; Nye 2003). While the term "constructivism" does not enter the IR lexicon until the 1990s, articles that share the features described above published prior to the use of the term "constructivist" can still be coded as "constructivist." For example, Wendt's work in the late 1980s is coded as constructivist even when he and others are giving it different names.

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 alternatives 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.

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, used to derive testable hypotheses 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." The fact that a particular model or theory has implications for a given paradigm does not mean that the article takes that paradigm seriously. With one exception, we DO NOT allow the same value to be entered for #11 as for #10. For example, if an author is advancing a "defensive realist" approach and he/she tests an alternative "offensive realist" approach, then the coder would enter "realist" for #10 but not for #11.[51] The one exception in which we DO allow the same value to be entered for #10 and #11 is when the value selected in both cases is "non-

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[50] 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.

[51] While there is certainly some value to measuring the amount of intra-paradigmatic debate, our purpose is to measure the degree to which scholars advancing one paradigm are simultaneously engaging or taking seriously arguments from alternative paradigms. Of course, "Non-Paradigmatic" theories can be "taken seriously" or synthesized with one or more of the big four and we capture this in our coding.

paradigmatic," and the paradigm or non-paradigmatic explanation advanced (#10) and the paradigm or non-paradigmatic explanation taken seriously (#11) are different. We employ the same values as in variables #4 and #10 above. If no other paradigms are taken seriously in an article then the coder should click on "Atheoretic/None."

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 paradigm and the second paradigm mentioned as synthesized. So, for this variable (#12) we enter the value for the synthesized paradigm only.

0—Realism
1—Liberalism
2—Marxism
3—Constructivism
4—No synthesis
5—Non-paradigmatic

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 argument must take into account the assumptions and the outlook (or worldview) of another paradigm. In most cases this will involve taking the explanatory variables from different paradigms and integrating them as part of a single explanation. Thus, the use only of an imported methodology (an econometric technique, or formal model) is not sufficient to be considered a synthesis because it does not extend to the worldview put forward by the article. However, if an article combines insights from one of the big four paradigms (Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, and Constructivism) with some other theoretical approach normally classified as "Non-Paradigmatic" (such as Feminism, Cognitive Psychology, Long Cycle Theory, etc…), then we code this as synthesis.

13) **Ideational (Idea).** This variable attempts to capture the role of ideas in explanations for outcomes in IR. Any article where *ideas, beliefs, perceptions*, *learning*, *norms*, *identity*, *knowledge*, or *personality traits* play a central explanatory role in the argument is coded as ideational (NB: If the word *perception* can be replaced with either "calculation" or "expectation" and still mean the same thing, the variable is not 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 questions 13 and 14 (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).

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, the IV, or the major concepts (the evaluative framework) used in an article are 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 (material variables are not used)
1—Yes (material variables are used)

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. They also can include formal and objective rules or formal organizations and institutions. An article that attempts to elaborate or extend realist theory will be coded as "yes" for MATER.

In an article that does not contain "variables," evaluative frameworks that emphasize material components will be coded as "yes" (for example policy analysis that highlights the importance of military capabilities).

15) Epistemology (Epist). This variable seeks to answer the question, by what criteria does the author establish knowledge claims?

0-Positivist
1-Non-positivist/interpretivist/post-positivist

We code articles as positivist if they implicitly or explicitly assume that theoretical or empirical propositions are testable, make causal claims, seek to explain and predict phenomena, assume that research is supported by empirical means, and aspire to the use of a scientific method. Generally, these articles present and develop theory, derive hypotheses from their theory, and test them using data (empirical observations from the world). However, we code an article as positivist, even when it does not explicitly employ the scientific method, if scientific principles are used to judge the validity of a study or the author is defending a concept of social science that uses these methods to establish knowledge claims. We also code an article as positivist if it describes a scientific research project—such as POLITY, COW, KEDS, or TRIP—and/ or explains coding rules and evidence collection procedures. Although these articles do not test hypotheses, make causal claims, or use evidence to make inferences, they clearly are part of a positivist research agenda.

We code articles as non-positivist/interpretivist/post-positivist if they implicitly or explicitly employ interpretative, critical or normative methods, reject the possibility of or are not primarily concerned with establishing causal relationships through the systematic collection and analysis of empirical evidence, strive for "thick description"(Geertz), or make explicit normative judgments about policy or behavior. We code an article as non-positivist if the author attempts to represent a world which is empirically determinable but does not adhere to the rules of positivism (hypotheses, scientific method etc.).

An article evaluating the claim of another author is coded as employing the same epistemological stance as the reviewed article, unless the article being reviewed is challenged on epistemic grounds (a review of a positivist work is assumed to be positivist unless the use of empirical data to establish knowledge claims is challenged in which case it is coded "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 by coding multiple periods. Articles about the history of the discipline are coded as Timena unless they also evaluate some empirical claims. For example, if the article discusses an empirical event such as the end of the Cold War having an effect on the discipline, it would be coded as Timepcw. Conversely, if the article describes the discipline's effect on an empirical event, the time period of that event would also be coded as Timepcw. 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 policymakers. 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. The fact that a model has implications that are relevant for policy makers does not count as a policy prescription. A throw away line in the conclusion does not qualify as a policy prescription.

    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	8—History of the IR Discipline
1—International Political Economy	9—Philosophy of Science
2—Human Rights	10—International Law
3—Environment	13—International Organization
4—Health	11—Other
5—IR theory	12—General (or non-specific)
6—US Foreign Policy	14—Methodology
7—Comparative Foreign Policy	

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 most prominent issue area or one listed first is coded (assuming the article is not "general"). Note that we capture more specific information that is often closely related to issue area in variable #23, "Substantive Focus." Variable #23 allows multiple substantive areas to be selected.

20) Level of analysis (1image–no level) "Level of analysis" refers to the unit of study. 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 market forces, 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 DVs 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. Most qualitative evidence is organized in a systematic manner for the purpose of testing a 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.[52]

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[52] 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. For a thoughtful and more expansive view of different tools employed in qualitative research, see Munck (2004).

King, Keohane and Verba (1994) argue that "quantitative and qualitative traditions are only stylistic and are methodologically and substantively unimportant" (4). We remain agnostic about the substance of this claim; consequently, our qualitative label captures two types of qualitative research, those which abide by strict rules of inference as defined in King, Keohane and Verba, and those which test hypotheses through broader forms of qualitative evidence. As such, the use of descriptive statistics embedded within an historical narrative can be part of a qualitative argument. Further, non-positivist approaches, such as textual analysis, (broadly conceived) are also coded as qualitative methodology.

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. The use of examples to illustrate the empirical implications of a formal model does not count as a separate methodology. However, if the article rigorously tests hypotheses generated from the formal model (for example using statistics or case studies), then the appropriate methodology is coded in addition to formal modeling (for example, quantitative and qualitative, respectively, in the examples above).

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 of analytical/non-formal conceptual articles). We do not code an article this way if it employs any of the empirical methods described above. This means that articles with a significant non-formal theoretical component DO NOT get coded as "Analytic/Non-formal" even if they make a significant theoretical contribution. (For example, Lake 2006).

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 a hypothesis or develop broader theoretical generalizations. We do not code an article as descriptive if it employs any of the empirical methods described above.

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

8—Experimental: This category includes articles which use experimental research designs or simulations to test or defend their claims.

22) **Region under study (Reg1–Reg6).** If an article *specifically* employs evidence from a particular region or 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 (10). If an article is coded as "global" because of a large n study that includes a large number of regions, we still select particular regions if the article also contains a case study or otherwise focuses on those regions in greater depth. If an article's theory claims to explain *all* global phenomena, but only presents evidence for specific countries/regions, we only 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. If the study intends to be global in nature but data limitations restrict the number of regions covered (there is no good data on infant mortality in Oceana), it is still coded as "Global."

0—US	6—East Asia (incl. China)
1—Canada and Western Europe	7—South Asia (including Afghanistan)
2—Latin America (including Mexico)	8—Southeast Asia
3—Sub-Saharan Africa	9—Oceania
4—FSU/Soviet Union/Eastern Europe,	12—Antarctica
including Central Asian states, except	10—Global
for Afghanistan	11—None/purely theoretical
5—Middle East/North Africa	

These categories contain the following countries:

0. United States of America
1. Canada and Western Europe
Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Canary Islands (Spain), Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Vatican City

2. Latin America and Carribean
Antigua, Argentina, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bolivia , Brazil, Cayman Islands, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, French Guiana, Grenada, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Trinidad & Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela, [All possessions, ex. St. Barts, Guadeloupe, Bermuda, Puerto Rico

3. Sub-Saharan Africa
Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros Islands, Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa), Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville),, Rwanda, Sao Tome & Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia , South Africa, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe

4. FSU/Soviet Union/ Eastern Europe, including Central Asian states, except Afghanistan
Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, East Germany (German Democratic Republic) from 1949 to 1990, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan

5. Middle East/North Africa
Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco (incl. Western Sahara), Bahrain, Gaza & West Bank, Iran, Iraq, Israel , Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey (incl. Turkish Cyprus), United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, etc.), Yemen

6. East Asia
China, Hong Kong, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, Taiwan, Tibet

7. South Asia
Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka

8. Southeast Asia
Brunei, Cambodia, East Timor, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar/Burma, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam

9. Oceania
Australia, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Zealand, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu

23) **Substantive Focus (Sub1–Sub3).** This variable captures the substantive focus of the article, often 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 and Arms Control
- ➢ 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/International norms
- ➢ 15—Regime type
- ➢ 16—Foreign policy
- ➢ 17—Weapon systems, defense spending and arms races
- ➢ 18—Bargaining, Deterrence and strategy
- ➢ 19—Sanctions
- ➢ 20—Diplomacy
- ➢ 21—Foreign Aid, lending and debt
- ➢ 22—Monetary policy
- ➢ 24— Domestic Politics
- ➢ 25— Intra-state conflict/Civil war
- ➢ 26— Interstate Crisis (international conflict short of war)
- ➢ 27—Public Opinion
- ➢ 28—Immigration
- ➢ 29—Public Health/Infectious Disease
- ➢ 23— Other: _____

24. Author's Affiliation (AuthAfil). This variable records the author's institutional affiliation (Harvard University, the Rand Corporation, etc…). In almost all journals for all years, this information is provided on the first page of the article or in the "About Authors" section in the front matter. If this information is missing, the author's CV should be located and coder should determine the affiliation of the author at the time of publication.

25. Author's Rank. (AuthRank). This variable records the author's academic rank at the time the article was published. It can take one of X values listed below.

0 – Assistant Professor[53]
1 – Associate Professor

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[53] An author classified as a "lecturer" in a European university is equivalent to an Assistant Professor.

2 – Full Professor[54]
3 – Visiting Professor
4 – Adjunct Professor
5 – Graduate Student or PhD Candidate
6 – Instructor
7 – Professor Emeritus
8 -- Other

Comment Field: This field can be used to make general comments on the article. Coders may use this field to help the third coder resolve potential disagreements. For example, if a coder recognizes an important but easy to miss piece of an article, one could highlight it in the comment section so that the third coder does not miss it. The other standard uses of the comment section follow:

1. If an article is not an IR article but it must be coded because of the journal that it is in, then the coder indicates this by writing "Comparative Politics" or "American Politics" or "Economics" as the first line in the comment section.

2. If the article is part of a "Controversy" or a "Response" to a previous article published in the journal, the coder indicates that in the comment section.

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 to any tables, graphs, or illustrations), and read the introduction and conclusion. 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 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 any two coders disagreed on the value of any observation, however, then a senior coder would independently code that observation.

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[54] Deans, Chancellors, and Provosts should be coded as full professors unless otherwise indicated in the title.