

# **Teaching and Research Practices, Views on the Discipline, and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities**

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# **Teaching and Research Practices, Views on the Discipline, and Policy Attitudes of International Relations Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities**

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

Political science, like all sciences, attempts to describe and explain the world around us, including the momentous transformations in global politics during the last decade and a half. Indeed, international relations scholarship and teaching has not been blind to these changes. Traditional objects of study—such as anarchy, the balance of power, and the causes of war—now share space on university syllabi with studies on international organizations, development, political economy, the global environment, and international norms. Does this signal an important and significant shift in the way that international relations is researched and taught? Alternatively, is the international relations field still mainly characterized by Cold War era paradigms? To what extent and in what ways have research and pedagogy changed in the past few decades? To what

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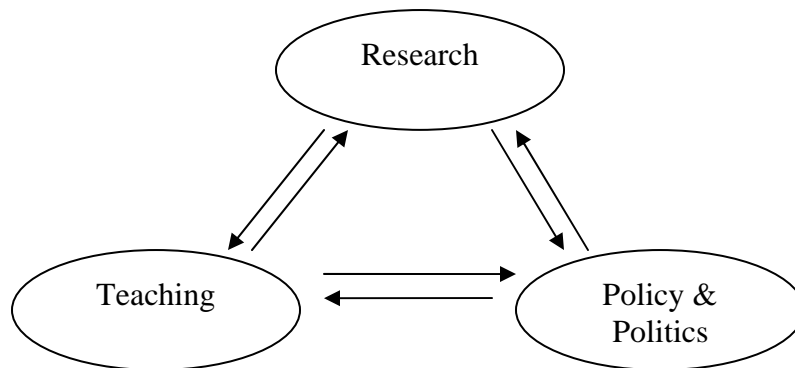
<sup>1</sup> The ubiquitous stock-taking exercises and “histories” of the discipline come to dramatically different conclusions about the trends in international relations research. For examples, see Holsti 1985; Hollis and Smith 1990; Kahler 1993; Katzenstein, Keohane and Krasner 1998; and Elman and Elman 2003. In the area of international relations research, we have identified only five studies where scholars use systematic methods to track changes in the literature (Weaver 1998; Vasquez 1999; Martin 1999; Bennett et al 2003; Sprinz and Wolinski-Nahmias 2004); however all these studies restrict their inquiry to six or fewer journals, ten or fewer years, and three or fewer variables per article. In a project that parallels this survey research, we cover 25 years, 11 journals, and 24 variables (see Long et al 2005). In the area of undergraduate teaching, very little systematic work exists. Robles (1993) offers some interesting impressions regarding the lack of “international” readings in 12 introductory syllabi that were selected for APSA’s Political Science Course Syllabi Collection. But no comparable work on undergraduate international relations education has been done to parallel the classic (but dated) study on graduate education in international relations by Alker and Bierstecker (1984). Alker and Bierstecker analyzed just over 20 graduate level syllabi from leading scholars in the discipline who were training the next generation of scholars.

extent, more generally, do our ideas about international politics influence what we teach our students and how we structure international relations curricula? To answer these questions, we undertake the first systematic empirical analysis of international relations research and teaching among American scholars. We compare, in short, what we preach (research) with what we teach (pedagogy in the classroom). One method for answering these questions employs a survey methodology. The bulk of this report describes the practices and opinions of international relations scholars as reflected in their responses to a questionnaire conducted during the fall semester 2004 about their teaching and research, as well as their views on the state of the discipline and various international policy issues.

This survey is one part of a larger project on Teaching, Research, and International Politics (TRIP) designed to study the relationship among these three variables. The survey results reported here provide important data on all three variables. This data is supplemented by two other components of the larger project: a database of all international relations articles published in twelve top international relations and political science journals from 1980 to 2004; and an examination of the international relations curricula at 125 American colleges and universities.<sup>2</sup>

International relations scholars and political scientists already have produced a large number of datasets that measure political outcomes and policy choices, the lower right hand corner of the triad pictured in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The TRIP Triad



Numerous qualitative and quantitative data collections capture important features of international policy and politics, including data on trade flows, conflict processes, crisis decision making, terrorist attacks, aid flows, the diffusion of democracy, number and type of NGOs, event data, etc. We lack good data, however, for the other two corners of the triad—teaching and research. Our project seeks to complete the triad and provide a

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<sup>2</sup> For further information on these two studies, see <http://mjtier.people.wm.edu/intlpolitics/index.php>

sound descriptive basis upon which specific empirical conjectures and theoretically derived hypotheses might be tested. At the same time, we seek important new data for the policy corner of the triad. Specifically, the faculty survey asked a large number of questions about scholars' views on contemporary policy issues. Ultimately, our data-collection efforts let us explore the ways in which, first, events in the political world influence how we teach and study international relations and, second, how research and teaching might influence the policy world.

## **The Survey on Teaching, Research, and International Politics**

We attempted to identify and survey all faculty members in four-year colleges and universities in the United States who do research in the sub-field of international relations or who teach courses on international relations. Naturally, this meant that we excluded many researchers who are employed in government, private firms, or in think tanks. We also made no attempt to survey international relations scholars in other countries, though we believe that future comparative work would be complimentary to our efforts.

Several means of identifying U.S. faculty of international relations suggest themselves. First, we considered drawing our sample from membership lists of the American Political Science Association or the International Studies Association. This method would limit our sample, however, since many scholars do not belong or periodically allow their memberships to lapse. It is likely that defining our sample through membership in professional organizations would bias it against faculty employed at teaching institutions.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the ISA has many members from other fields, such as sociology, history, or economics. We sought to gather information on political scientists who teach and/or do research in the sub-field of international relations. We therefore used a list compiled by *U.S. News and World Report* of U.S. four-year colleges and universities in 2003-04. There were 1157 such institutions on the *USNWR* list. We added to this list seven military institutions that were not rated by *USNWR* but did have a relatively large number of political science faculty who taught courses on international relations.<sup>4</sup> We identified the individual faculty members through web searches, email contacts, and phone calls to Department Chairs, secretaries, and individual scholars.

By September 2004 we had identified 2,406 individuals who appeared to research and/or teach international relations at these institutions. Starting on September 29, 2004 we sent emails to each of these individuals and asked them to fill out an online survey

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<sup>3</sup> Since we have data on the type of institution where each respondent is employed, we can segment our sample to compare the opinions and practices of faculty members in research universities, liberal arts colleges, state colleges, and military institutions. Instead of using membership in professional associations as a selection mechanism, we made it a variable. See question 37.

<sup>4</sup> These institutions, such as the National War College and the Army War College, were not included in the original sample because they do not have undergraduate programs. However, we chose to gather data on faculty there because we were interested to compare the opinions and practices of faculty teaching civilian undergraduates with those teaching military officers. There were 39 respondents from these institutions, 35 of whom have taught Introduction to International Relations.

that would take “roughly 16-35 minutes.” We provided a live link to a web survey that had four sections: Teaching International Relations, The International Relations Discipline, Questions about Your Research Interests, and Policy and Politics. We promised confidentiality to all respondents, so that no answers can be publicly linked to any individual respondent. For respondents who failed to fill out the survey, we sent four additional follow up emails between October 26, 2004 and November 19, 2004, asking them to respond. If respondents contacted us and asked for a hard copy or if the respondent had no email address, we sent a hard copy of the survey via regular mail. After being contacted by us, 86 respondents (or their agents) informed us that they did not belong in the sample because either he/she had been mis-identified and neither taught nor did research in the field of international relations, or because he/she had died, changed jobs, or retired. These individuals were removed from the denominator and thus are not included in our calculation of a response rate. 1084 scholars responded to the survey, either online or through the mail. Certainly, there are additional individuals who were mis-identified by our selection process but who never informed us. Hence, our response rate for international relations scholars of 47 percent is likely a conservative estimate.

In addition to the overall response rate of 47 percent, we find it interesting and mildly surprising that our response rate among the most famous and well established scholars in the field was much higher. Of the top 30 (living) U.S. scholars rated as having “the largest impact on the field over the past 20 years” (see question 22), 76.6 percent completed the survey. Some economists, philosophers, deceased scholars, and IR scholars at non-American colleges and universities were frequently mentioned as having a major impact on the field (for example, Morgenthau, Schelling, Foucault, Carr) but these individuals never received the survey.

Below we provide simple descriptive statistics, rather than detailed discussion and analysis, for each question that appeared on the survey. We report all results by question in the order they appeared on the survey.

## Survey Results

*(1) Have you ever taught Introduction to International Relations (or its equivalent)? N=1084*

Yes	940	87%
No	144	13%

*(2) If so, please enter the year in which you taught your first Introduction to International Relations at the college level. N=770*

Average	1989.69
Median	1993

## **Section I: Teaching International Relations**

(3) *Do you teach courses in any of the following (please check all that apply)?*  
N=1041

<b>Subject Area</b>	<b>Responses</b>	<b>Percent</b>
American Politics	246	24
Comparative Politics	534	51
Comparative Foreign Policy	148	14
Environmental Politics	78	7
International Security	408	39
U.S. Foreign Policy	492	47
International Health	5	0.5
International Organization(s)	322	31
International Political Economy	361	35
IR Historiography	33	3
IR Theory	504	48
Formal Methods	62	6
Human Rights	122	12
Philosophy of Science	40	4
Policy Analysis	67	6
Political Theory	100	10
Qualitative Methods	88	8
Statistics	108	10
Other	248	24

While 87 percent of our respondents have taught Introduction to International Relations at some point during their career, no other issue area, never mind individual course, approaches this level. Over half (51 percent) of respondents have taught a course in Comparative Politics. Within the field of international relations, scholars most often reported offering courses on international relations theory, US foreign policy, international security, and international political economy.

**Respondents who have never taught International Relations or its equivalent were asked to skip to question 10. Only those instructors who have taught the introductory course were asked to answer questions 4-9.**

(4) *In your Introduction to International Relations course, what areas of the world do you study in substantial detail (i.e., you devote one or more classes to discussion of that area)? (Please check all that apply). N=880*

Region	Responses	Percent
United States	484	55
Canada and Western Europe	389	44
Latin America (including Mexico)	234	27
Sub-Saharan Africa	222	25
FSU/Soviet Union/Eastern Europe	306	35
Middle East/North Africa	385	44
East Asia (incl. China)	328	37
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	163	19
Southeast Asia	122	14
Oceania	11	1
None (detailed case studies are not used)	279	32

The heavy emphasis on the U.S. case in Introduction to International Relations courses may reflect a natural bias of American scholars who seek to make the material relevant to their students. Alternatively, it may reflect the fact that for the entire period that our respondents have been teaching, the United States was the most powerful country in the world and the most active in international politics. A comparative survey of IR scholars in other parts of the world might help to resolve this question.

(5) *Is your Introduction to International Relations course designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of IR or to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international politics and foreign policy? N=889*

I. It is primarily designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of international relations

II. It is primarily designed to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international relations and foreign policy

Options	Responses	Percent
Option I	83	9
Option II	100	11
Options I and II about equally	278	31
Both I and II but gives greater weight to I	235	26
Both I and II but gives greater weight to II	193	22

Respondents avoid both extremes for this question with relatively small numbers focusing exclusively on the scholarly discipline or policy debates. However, while the

smallest percent of instructors focuses exclusively on the scholarly discipline (9 percent), the “balanced” respondents lean slightly toward disciplinary education over a focus on policy debates.

(6) *When you first began teaching Introduction to International Relations, was your course designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of international relations or to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international politics and foreign policy? N=896*

I. It was primarily designed to introduce students to the scholarly discipline of international relations

II. It was primarily designed to prepare students to be informed participants in policy debates about international relations and foreign policy

Options	Responses	Percent
Option I	235	26
Option II	108	12
Options I and II about equally	207	23
Both I and II but gives greater weight to I	208	23
Both I and II but gives greater weight to II	138	15

The comparison with the previous question is striking. Apparently, new faculty who are fresh out of graduate school focus much more heavily on training students in scholarly debates in the discipline than on introducing students to policy debates; three times as many respondents in question 6 chose option 1 compared to the previous question. Interestingly, as faculty move away from a strict focus on scholarly debates early in their careers, they tend to shift to a more balanced approach that addresses both policy and theory, rather than to a focus on policy debates alone: about the same number of respondents chose option 2 in response to both questions 5 and 6.

(7) *What percentage of your Introduction to International Relations course do you devote to analyzing current policies and events? A policy/event is considered "current" if it has occurred within the last five years. Please pick one. N=888*

Answer	Responses	Percent
75-100%	33	4
50-75%	187	21
25-50%	295	33
10-25%	305	34
1-10%	60	7
0%	8	1



(8) *What percentage of your Introduction to International Relations class is devoted to policy analysis and/or policy relevant research? (The policies analyzed need not be considered current.) Please pick one. N=884*

Answer	Responses	Percent
75-100%	27	3
50-75%	127	14
25-50%	261	30
10-25%	293	33
1-10%	147	17
0%	29	3

(9) *Approximately what percentage of the assigned readings in your Introduction to International Relations class are written by non-Americans? Pick one. N= 863*

Answer	Responses	Percent
75-100%	10	1
50-75%	31	4
25-50%	122	14
10-25%	308	36
1-10%	305	35
0%	87	10

As the responses to this question demonstrate, international relations instructors in the United States overwhelmingly assign readings that are authored by Americans. This may result from the wide use of introductory text books, most of which are authored by Americans, it may reflect the view that “international relations is an American social science,” or it simply may confirm the oft-stated claim that American international relations systematically ignores international voices.

(10) *To what extent do events in the real world influence the way you teach undergraduate courses in International Relations? (Select the response that comes closest.) N=1022*

Answer	Responses	Percent
I adjust the content of my course from day to day depending on events in the world.	171	17
I adjust my course a few times per semester when policy changes or events warrant.	367	36
I only make adjustments within the semester in rare circumstances and only in response to major events like 9/11 or the Berlin Wall coming down.	257	25
I only make adjustments from one semester to the next because of events in the world.	146	14
I don't change my course based on events in the world because the core concepts of IR should be applicable no matter what.	81	8

**Faculty members who began teaching after 1992 skipped directly to question 13. Only faculty who began teaching before 1993 were asked to complete questions 11-12.**

*(11) Did you discontinue teaching certain courses or teach any new courses because of the end of the Cold War? N=512*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Yes	180	35%
No	332	65%

*(12) How did the end of the Cold War influence existing courses—including Introduction to International Relations—that you continued to teach?*

	Theoretical approaches I taught changed N=485		Geographic focus of the course changed N=485		Issue areas covered changed* N=489	
significantly	74	15%	115	24%	207	42%
somewhat	253	52%	238	49%	237	48%
not at all	158	33%	132	27%	45	9%

\*percents sum to less than 100 due to rounding.

*(13) Did you discontinue teaching certain courses or teach any new courses because of the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and the subsequent "war on terrorism"? N=1014*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Yes	210	21
No	804	79

Survey responses indicate that faculty members are responsive to real world events. Of the 1014 respondents to this question, 21 percent have adjusted the courses they teach as a direct result of 9/11. In an academic world, where new course adoptions face barriers at the institutional and department levels and new courses imply significant transaction costs for individual faculty members, a 21 percent shift seems quite large. If the faculty who teach in areas that are less subject to change as a result of the events of 9/11 (international relations of Latin America, for example), or who have not changed their course offerings for other reasons, also were less likely to answer this question, then 21 percent may overestimate the actual change in class offerings.

(14) How did the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent "war on terrorism" influence existing courses, including Introduction to International Relations, which you continued to teach?

	theoretical approaches I taught changed N=976		geographic focus of the course changed N=980		issue areas covered changed N=997	
significantly	52	5%	112	11%	188	19%
somewhat	417	43%	508	51%	666	67%
not at all	507	52%	360	37%	143	14%

Unlike the previous question, this one asks about pedagogical and substantive shifts within pre-existing courses. Some of these internal shifts are dramatic, so we can confidently conclude that instructors are adapting their courses based on major events in the real world. Among those who answered the question, only 5 percent altered the theoretical content of their courses significantly. However, a much larger 11 percent adjusted the geographic focus significantly, and a full 62 percent at least somewhat. The most dramatic change occurred in the issue areas covered within existing courses. Here 19 percent agreed that they changed the issue areas covered in their courses significantly and over 86 percent of instructors changed the issue area at least somewhat. These changes likely reflect a renewed focus on the issue of terrorism and the Middle East region in the wake of 9/11.

(15) Since you began teaching, what real world events or issues have influenced most significantly the way you teach Introduction to International Relations? Please list up to five answers in descending order of their influence. N=796 respondents, 2974 total votes

Topic	Raw Votes	Weighted	Percent
September 11, 2001/Terrorist acts since then	590	2323	74
End of Cold War/Break up of the Soviet Union	403	1802	51
2003 Iraq War – Events leading up to and problem associated with it directly	251	927	32
Globalization and anti-globalization	151	543	19
Genocide and Ethnic Conflict – including issues in the Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Darfur, as well as others	123	360	15
European Integration – Social, political and economic issues associated with it	103	296	13
Bush doctrine/Bush FP – generally those who attribute a change in foreign policy as influencing their teaching	87	296	11

This question was open-ended allowing respondents to enter any answer they chose on the five lines provided. Many elected to record answers that were not “events” per se, but were more akin to processes (i.e., globalization, European integration). The open-ended nature of the question and the resulting data encouraged us to group the answers into broader categories so that patterns emerge. The categories were created inductively after reviewing the answers provided. As respondents were asked to rank their choices, we

provide the raw vote count, as well as a weighted count. Those answers listed first were given a score of five, those ranked second given a score of four, etc. The percent column identifies the percent of respondents who had that entry in one of their five choices. Seventy-four percent of respondents mention September 11<sup>th</sup> or other acts of terrorism. Indeed, these events account for 20 percent of all responses given. Since many respondents only recently started teaching, of course, there may be a bias toward more recent events. Because of this bias and the inherent problems of open-ended questions, the results should be interpreted with caution.

**Respondents who have not taught Introduction to International Relations were asked to skip forward to question 18.**

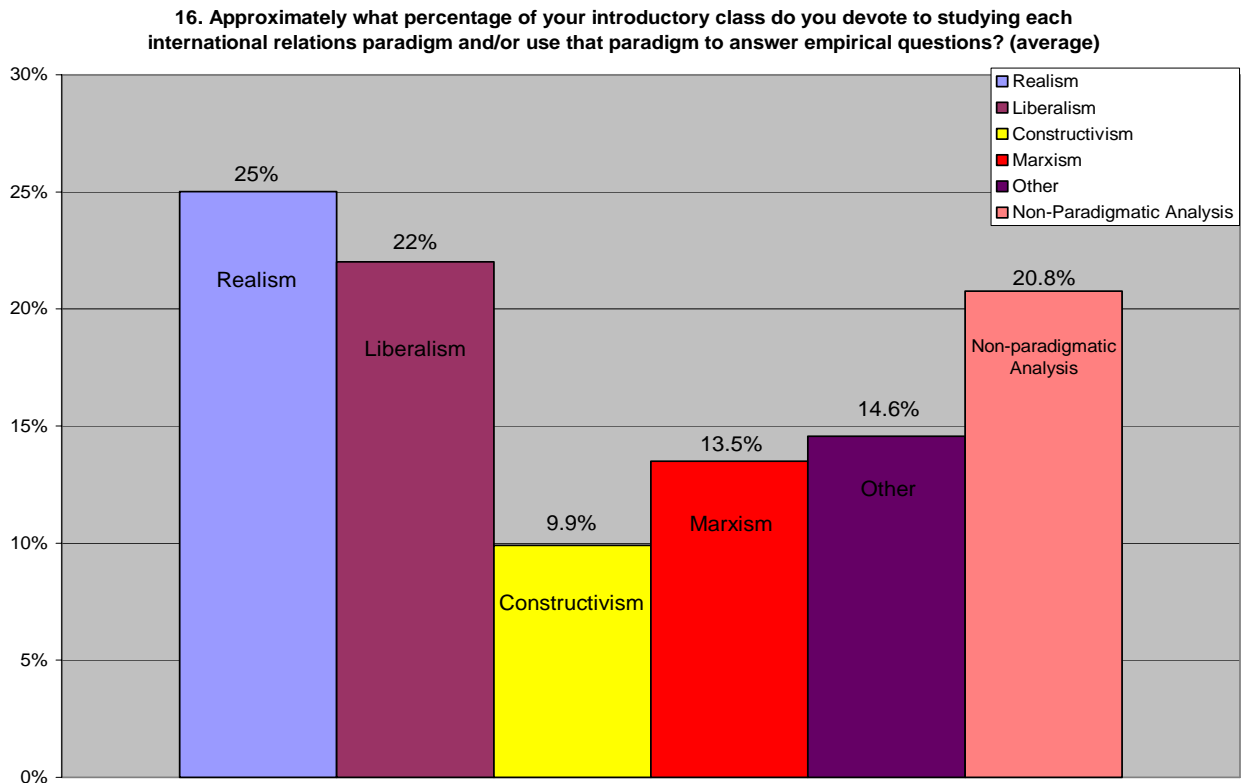
*(16) Approximately what percentage of your introductory class do you devote to studying each international relations paradigm and/or use that paradigm to answer empirical questions? (If you have multiple answers for "other," only record the most prominent "other" paradigm.)*

Paradigm	75-100%		50-75%		25-50%		10-25%		1-10%		0%		N
Realism	23	3%	59	7%	240	27%	351	40%	194	22%	9	1%	876
Liberalism	14	0.5%	24	3%	232	27%	381	44%	208	24%	15	2%	874
Constructivism	3	0.4%	9	1%	46	6%	198	24%	400	48%	174	21%	830
Marxism	10	1%	10	1%	80	10%	268	32%	395	47%	79	9%	842
Other	9	2%	8	2%	45	12%	101	27%	125	34%	85	23%	373
Non-Paradig.	18	4%	43	8%	81	16%	144	28%	133	26%	89	18%	508

Several interesting trends appear in the responses to this question. We illustrate these trends graphically in the figure below. First, while constructivism may be increasingly prominent in international relations journals, it appears as a distant last among the four approaches listed as answer-choices to this question. Constructivism is the least taught paradigm, finishing behind even Marxism. This finding is striking given both the meteoric rise of constructivist scholarship in IR journals and the virtual disappearance of Marxism in these same journals. Second, more than half of the respondents volunteered an answer for “other” paradigm. By far the most common answer under “other” was “feminism” or “gender analysis.” This answer was volunteered by 9 percent of those who entered an answer under “other,” and this percent almost certainly would have been higher if the answer had been offered as a choice. Other paradigms mentioned less frequently were “political psychology” and “rational choice.”<sup>5</sup> Finally, and most obviously, realism and liberalism are the two most prominent paradigms in introductory courses, with realism holding a slightly larger percentage. The graph below illustrates the average response for each category. To generate these averages, we identified the midpoint of each range above and multiplied by the number of respondents; then those

<sup>5</sup> These results highlight a problem with the question (and with the field of international relations). There is no consensus on the primary paradigms in the field. In fact, there is no consensus on what “ism” qualifies as a paradigm, theory, or approach. We selected these four approaches as paradigmatic for IR because they are most frequently discussed as if they are the main paradigmatic alternatives (Keohane, Katzenstein, and Krasner 1998; Frieden and Lake 1995).

responses were averaged across each paradigm in order to compare the overall percent variation across paradigms.



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

Paradigm	increasingly important		about the same		less important		N
Realism	134	15%	531	61%	203	23%	868
Liberalism	267	31%	523	60%	78	9%	868
Constructivism	399	48%	299	36%	128	15%	826
Marxism	54	6%	258	30%	535	63%	847
Other	158	59%	86	32%	23	9%	267
Non-Paradigmatic	82	21%	280	70%	36	9%	398

At first glance, the responses to this question seem to be at odds with those to the previous question, which showed constructivism receiving on average only 10 percent of class time in introductory courses. Here, we see that 48 percent of respondents who evaluated the role of constructivism in international relations courses estimated that constructivism has become increasingly important in the years since they first began teaching. Of course, mathematically these results may be compatible. Since constructivism is a relatively new approach to the study of international relations, even the relatively small amount of time spent on this paradigm -- on average 10 percent --

may in fact constitute a significant increase of 100 percent or more over time in introductory classes. Alternatively, we may be witnessing large scale misperception among international relations faculty, who teach relatively little constructivism themselves but who believe that others increasingly are teaching this approach to their students. Feminism again led the “other” category (75 votes), followed by globalism (20) and game theory/strategic choice (16).

## **Section II: The International Relations Discipline**

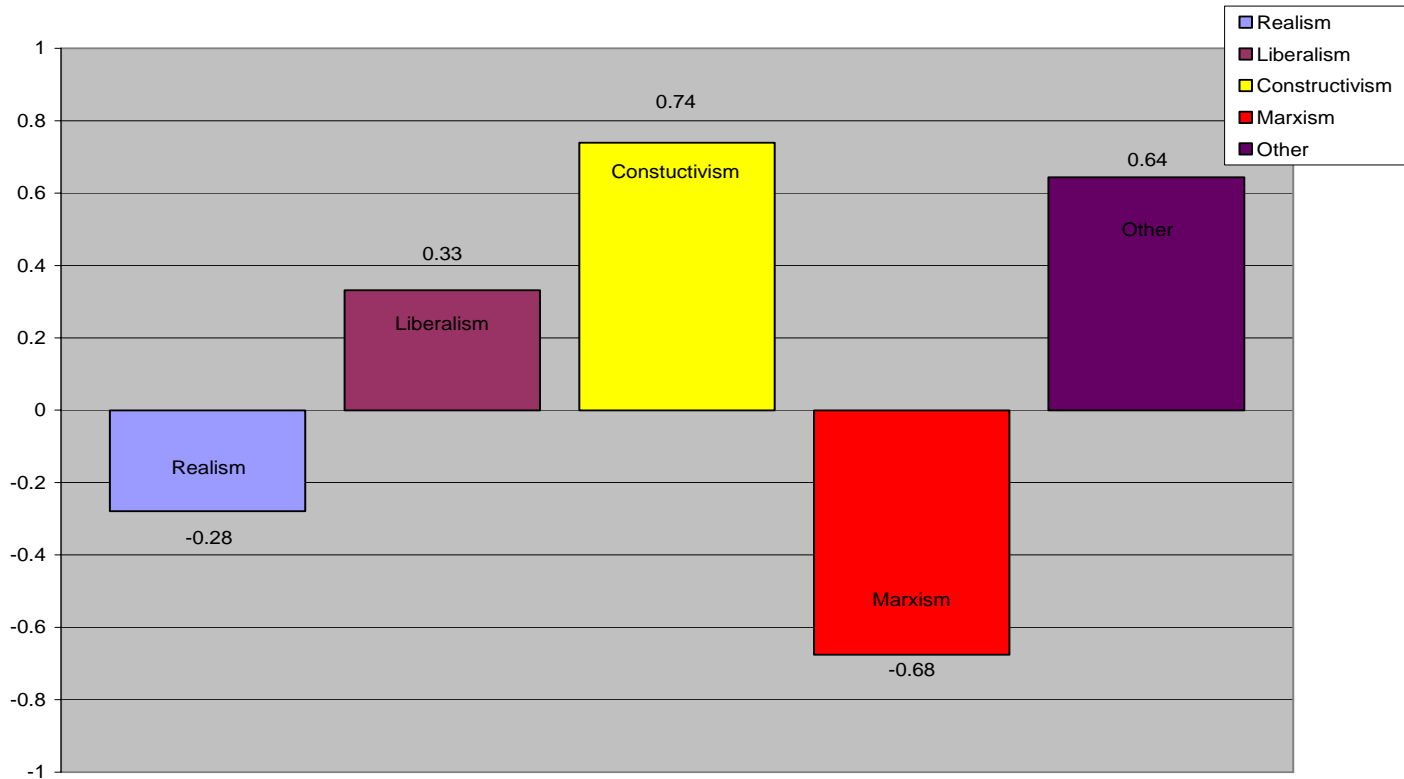
In this section, we report data on respondents’ perception of the international relations literature and field. We find some significant differences between what is taught in undergraduate classes and what scholars believe to be important in the field of international relations. Many of these questions parallel questions from the first section to make them easily comparable and to facilitate further study.

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

	More Prevalent (1)	About the Same (0)	Less Prevalent (-1)	Average Value	N
Realism	92	427	328	-0.3	847
Liberalism	386	353	106	0.3	845
Constructivism	671	86	64	0.7	831
Marxism	72	124	631	-0.7	827
Other	149	34	19	.6	202

Conventional wisdom holds that realism has been the dominant paradigm in the study of international relations. There is broad consensus within the American international relations community, however, that the paradigm is in decline. This belief is supported by systematic analysis of published journal articles (Long et al 2005; Walker and Morton 2005). Liberalism is perceived to have become more prevalent over the same time period. Almost universally scholars perceive constructivism to be more prevalent in the literature and the field. Since this school of thought only emerged in international relations less than 20 years ago, by definition it has become more prevalent. Our finding does speak, however, to constructivism’s continued relevance as a major paradigm. Respondents overwhelmingly agree on the decline of Marxism. This shift toward constructivism and away from Marxism is not reflected in the material taught in introductory courses in international relations (see question 16 above). Feminism accounted for 34 percent of the responses in the “other” category, while rational choice accounted for 11 percent. Both had extremely high average values—0.85 for feminism and 0.88 for rational choice—suggesting that respondents believe that both are becoming more prevalent. However, these judgments of the increased prevalence of feminism and rational choice should be interpreted cautiously. Since these were open ended responses and there were few of them (less than one-fourth as many respondents provided an “other” answer-choice as answered each of the other four parts of the question) it is likely that only proponents of such approaches listed them.

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

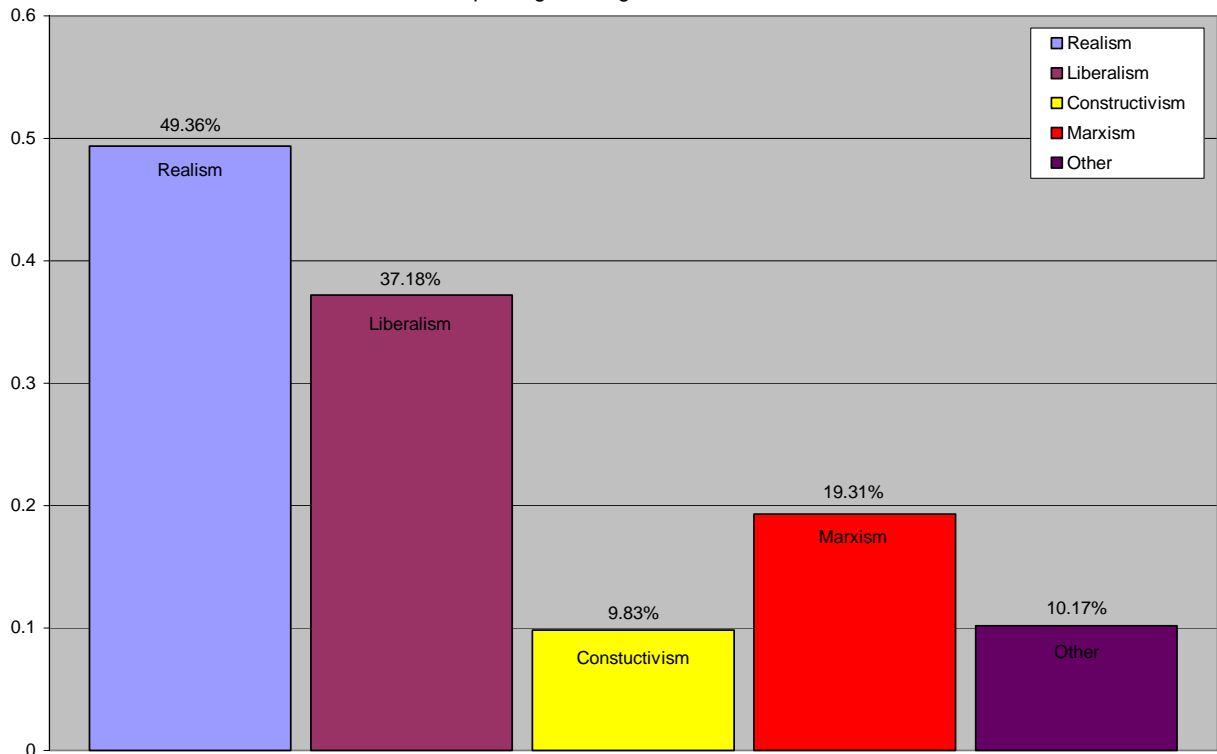


(19) What percentage of the *international relations literature* would you estimate was devoted to each paradigm during the *1980s*?

Paradigm	75-100%	50-75%	25-50%	10-25%	1-10%	0%	N
Realism	57	316	347	57	9	0	786
Liberalism	12	110	494	153	17	0	786
Constructivism	3	10	33	168	453	102	769
Marxism	6	31	124	372	230	8	771
Other	1	2	13	25	91	29	161

Several interesting patterns emerge regarding scholars' perceptions of the discipline in the 1980s. First, realism is clearly perceived to dominate the literature in the 1980s, with liberalism second, Marxism third, and constructivism last. Second, the alternative paradigm that continues to stand out in the "other" category is feminism. The chart below averages the percentage devoted to each paradigm, using the mean value of each category (i.e., 75-100%=87.5%; 50-75%=62.5%) to illustrate respondents' estimates of the amount of the IR literature devoted to each paradigm in the 1980s.

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



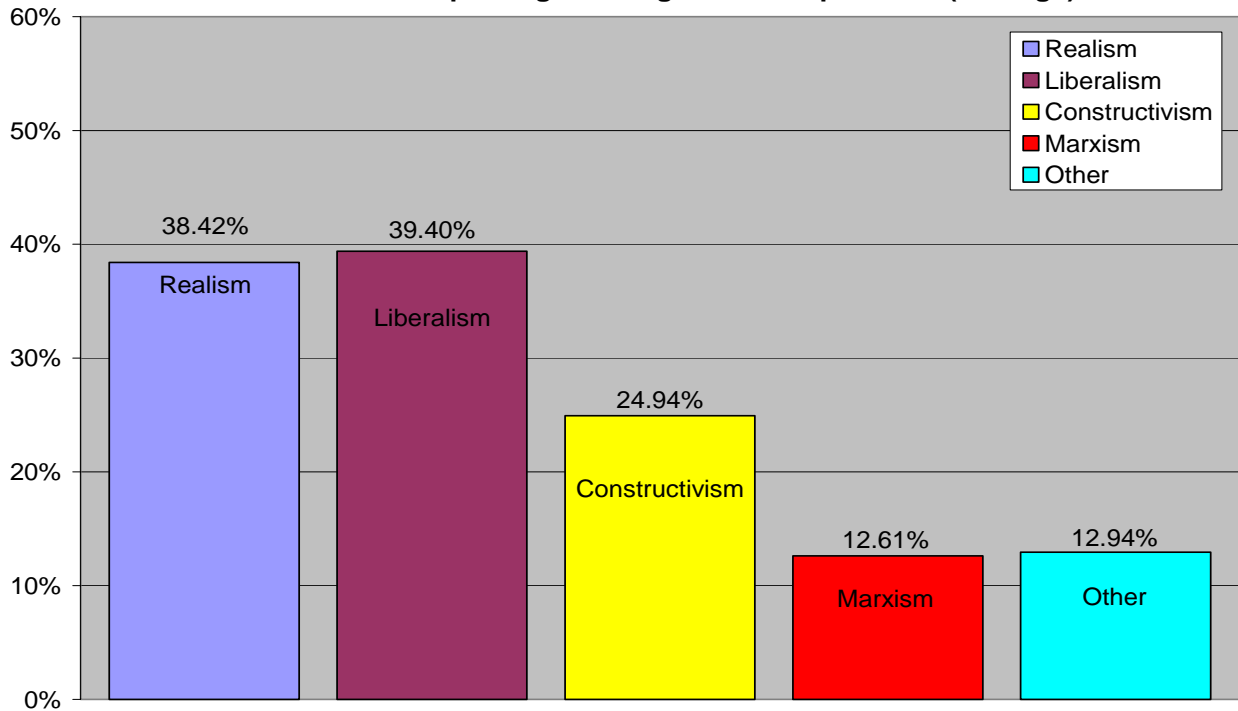
(20) What percentage of the *international relations literature* do you think was devoted to each paradigm during the 1990s-present?

Paradigm	75-100%	50-75%	25-50%	10-25%	1-10%	0%	N
Realism	33	139	412	188	20	0	792
Liberalism	24	133	491	132	12	0	792
Constructivism	10	24	266	369	104	4	777
Marxism	6	16	55	213	454	34	778
Other	2	1	17	56	84	19	179

Compared with the previous question, some interesting trends emerge. First, realism is no longer perceived as the pre-eminent paradigm. Instead, liberalism is now thought to be the most prevalent by a small margin. Second, the prevalence of realism falls by roughly 10 percent in the 1990s and beyond, while Marxism falls by 7 percent. Liberalism rises a modest 2 percent, while constructivism gains 15 percent. Once again, feminism accounts for the largest part of the “other” category with 29 percent of “other” responses.



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



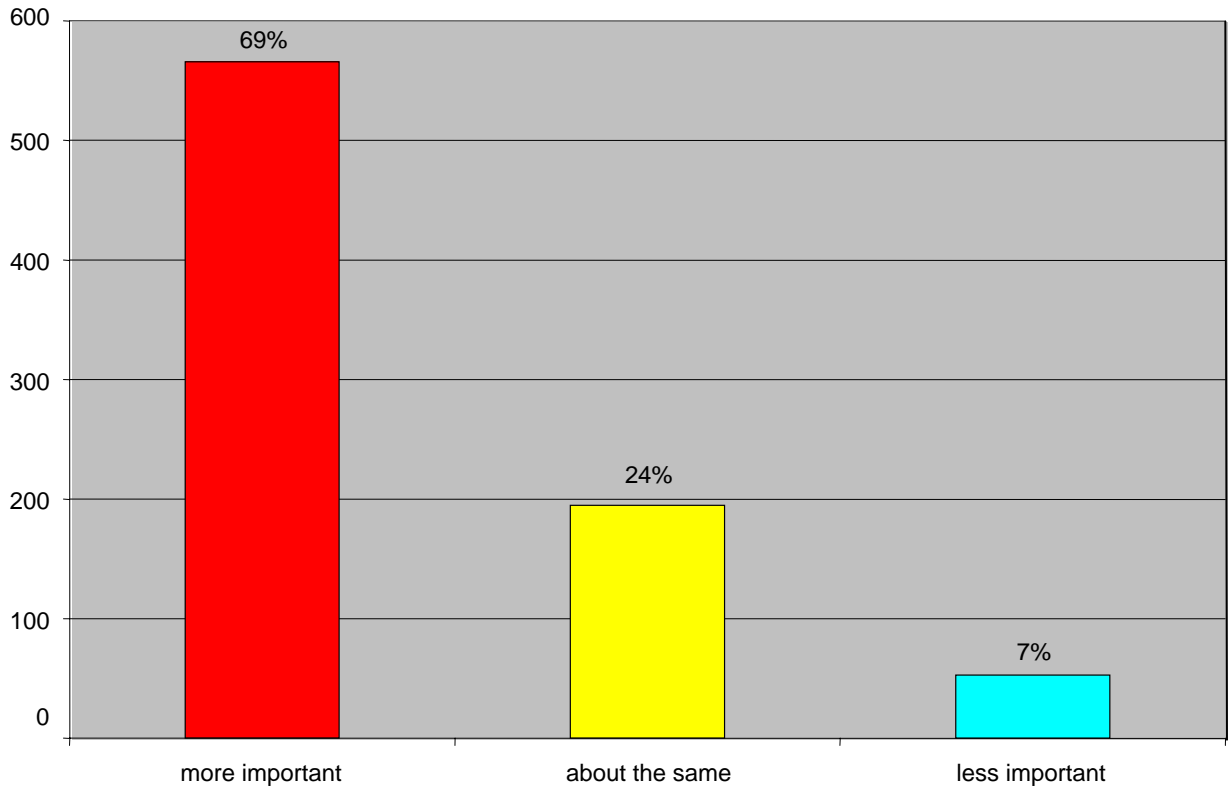
*(21) What is your impression of the role of ideational variables in international relations research over the past 20 years? N=814*

Answer	Responses	Percent
more important	566	70
about the same	195	24
less important	53	7

The overwhelming majority of respondents (70 percent) believe that ideational variables have become more important in the study of international relations. This result confirms the conventional wisdom that there has been a perceived ideational shift in the field. Objective analysis of the content of journal articles supports this view, though the shift toward ideational explanatory variables is not large in percentage terms (Long et al 2005).

21. What is your impression of the role of ideational variables in international relations research

over the past 20 years?



(22) Please list the four scholars who have had the greatest impact on the field of international relations over the past 20 years. N=752

Rank	Names	Responses	Percent
1	Robert Keohane	422	56
2	Kenneth Waltz	311	41
3	Alexander Wendt	248	33
4	Samuel Huntington	155	21
5	John Mearsheimer	138	18
6	Joseph Nye	125	17
7	Robert Jervis	113	15
8	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita	109	14
9	Bruce Russett	83	11
10	Robert Gilpin	78	10
11	Peter Katzenstein	69	9
12	Stephen Krasner	68	9
13	James Rosenau	60	8
14	John Ruggie	49	7
15	Michael Doyle	42	6
16	James Fearon	41	5
17	Immanuel Wallerstein	31	4
18	Robert Cox	28	4
19	Hans Morgenthau	27	4
20	Francis Fukuyama	26	3
21	J. David Singer	21	3
22	Stephen Walt	19	3
23	Jack Snyder	17	2
23	Robert Axelrod	17	2
23	Stanley Hoffmann	17	2

The table above displays the twenty-five most frequently mentioned scholars with the number of votes received and the percentage of respondents that identified each scholar as one of the four most influential of the past 20 years. Respondents were not asked to rank their four choices, so the results are not weighted. Nevertheless, Robert Keohane not only was listed most often; he also was listed first more often than any other scholar. Further, Keohane is the only scholar to be listed by more than half of all respondents. Unsurprisingly, very few younger scholars make the list. The other striking result is the absence of any women among the top twenty-five responses. Ann Tickner and Susan Strange were the most frequently mentioned women, with 15 and 13 votes, respectively. Readers should compare these results to the next two questions, in which several women and younger scholars are ranked among the top 25.

(23) *Aside from you, who has been doing the most interesting work in international relations in recent years? (List up to three scholars) N=674*

Rank	Answer	Responses	Percent
1	James Fearon	77	11
2	Alexander Wendt	70	10
3	Samuel Huntington	60	9
4	John Mearsheimer	52	8
5	Joseph Nye	50	7
6	Martha Finnemore	49	7
7	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita	45	7
8	Jack Snyder	38	6
9	G. John Ikenberry	35	5
9	Kathryn Sikkink	35	5
11	Robert Keohane	34	5
12	Peter Katzenstein	32	5
13	Robert Jervis	27	4
14	Stephen Krasner	25	4
15	John Ruggie	21	3
16	Bruce Russett	20	3
17	Kenneth Schultz	19	3
18	Beth Simmons	16	2
18	James Rosenau	16	2
18	Robert Powell	16	2
18	Thomas Risse	16	2
22	Michael Barnett	14	2
23	Cynthia Enloe	13	2
24	Andrew Moravcsik	12	2
24	Barry Buzan	12	2

Unsurprisingly, the dispersion among respondents was much greater than in the previous question, since different respondents may be interested in very different issues. No single scholar comes close to the 54 percent consensus on Keohane for the previous question. Instead, two relatively young scholars, Fearon and Wendt, top the list at 11 and 10 percent respectively. A much larger total number of names were offered for this question, even though respondents were only allowed to list three names rather than four. Unlike the previous question about impact on the field, a large number of relatively young scholars and four women made the top 25 in terms of “most interesting” research.

(24) What three scholars have had the most profound impact on your own research and the way that you think about international relations? N=713

Rank	Answer	Responses	Percent
1	Robert Keohane	102	14
2	Kenneth Waltz	85	11
3	Robert Jervis	82	11
4	Alexander Wendt	58	8
5	Joseph Nye	56	7
6	Hans Morgenthau	53	7
7	Robert Gilpin	41	5
8	Bruce Bueno de Mesquita	38	5
9	James Fearon	34	5
9	Samuel Huntington	34	5
11	James Rosenau	31	4
11	Peter Katzenstein	31	4
13	John Ruggie	30	4
14	Bruce Russett	26	4
15	Stephen Krasner	25	3
16	John Mearsheimer	24	3
17	Alexander George	23	3
18	Stanley Hoffmann	22	3
19	Immanuel Wallerstein	20	3
19	Jack Snyder	20	3
21	Robert Cox	18	2
22	Ernst Haas	17	2
23	David Lake	16	2
24	David Singer	15	2
24	Kathryn Sikkink	15	2
24	Martha Finnemore	15	2

These results are interesting when juxtaposed with the two previous questions. One would expect that those scholars who have had the greatest impact on the field would also have had the greatest impact on individual respondents' own research and understanding of the field. We would also expect that answers would be more dispersed than for question 22. For the most part, this is what we observe. Keohane and Waltz remain at the top of this list, but the percentages of respondents naming them as having a profound impact on their own research are four times smaller. After the top two, there is interesting variation. First, while Robert Jervis is perceived to have had a large impact on the field as a whole (7<sup>th</sup>), he has had an even greater impact at the individual level (3<sup>rd</sup>). Perhaps this results from developing a research program on the impact of perceptions and mis-perceptions that has spawned numerous papers and books over the past 30 years. Alternatively, perhaps Jervis has trained more graduate students than the other leading scholars on this list. Other scholars who rate significantly higher on this question are Hans Morgenthau (who moves from 19<sup>th</sup> in question 23 to 6<sup>th</sup> in question 24) and Robert Gilpin (who moves from 28<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup>). Conversely, Samuel Huntington (who moves from

4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup>) and John Mearsheimer (who moves from 5<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup>) are perceived as having a greater impact on the field than they have had on the research practices of individual respondents. Perhaps this follows from the fact that these scholars have stated clear and often controversial ideas with few caveats and conditions. These ideas often emerge as poles around which debate swirls and numerous articles are framed (“clash of civilizations” and “offensive realism”). However, these signal ideas have not yet been picked up and developed as active research programs by large numbers of other scholars. Indeed, both Huntington (3<sup>rd</sup>) and Mearsheimer (4<sup>th</sup>) rank very high in terms of doing “interesting work” as reflected in responses to question 23. Alternatively, these scholars may teach fewer graduate students and/or serve on fewer dissertation committees than Keohane, Waltz, or Jervis. Such activities are most likely to shape individual research agendas.

*(25) List the top four journals in international relations (these can include general political science journals and/ or non-political science journals). Specifically, which journals publish articles that have the greatest impact on the way international relations scholars think about their subject and their work? N=749*

Rank	Journal Name	Responses	Percent
1	International Organization	521	70
2	International Studies Quarterly	371	50
3	International Security	366	49
4	World Politics	278	37
5	Foreign Affairs	228	31
6	American Political Science Review	210	28
7	Journal of Conflict Resolution	122	16
8	Foreign Policy	101	14
9	European Journal of International Relations	51	7
10	American Journal of Political Science	46	6
11	International Studies Review	36	5
11	Security Studies	36	5
13	Millennium	34	5
14	Journal of Peace Research	30	4
15	Review of International Political Economy	22	3
16	Review of International Studies	18	2
17	International Affairs	17	2
18	National Interest	16	2
19	Orbis	15	2
19	Political Science Quarterly	15	2
21	Global Governance	14	2
22	Survival	11	1
23	Alternatives	10	1
24	Comparative Politics	8	1
24	International Interactions	8	1
24	Journal of International Affairs	8	1

*International Organization (IO)* is overwhelmingly perceived as the premier journal in the field of international relations. There is far more consensus on this question than on any of the questions about the impact of individual scholars or the prevalence of particular paradigms. Fully 70 percent of respondents believe that *IO* is one of the top four journals. We did not ask respondents to make an ordinal list, but *IO* was listed first more often than any other journal.<sup>6</sup> *International Studies Quarterly* and *International Security* are virtually tied at second and third. Interestingly, *Foreign Affairs* (5<sup>th</sup>) and *Foreign Policy* (8<sup>th</sup>) are non-peer reviewed journals, but they are still perceived as having a major impact on the way international relations scholars see their subject. The *American Political Science Review* (6<sup>th</sup>) is the top rated general political science journal. Only one journal published outside the United States is ranked in the top ten, the *European Journal of International Relations* (9<sup>th</sup>).

(26) Recently, much international relations scholarship has been categorized as either “rationalist” or “constructivist.” How should we conceive of the models developed within these broader categories? Please pick one. N=800

Answer	Responses	Percent
As alternative approaches to be tested against each other	159	20
As complementary explanations that should remain distinct and that explain different features of IR	345	43
As two important paradigms that could be usefully synthesized to create a more complete theory of IR	296	37

Forty-three percent of respondents suggest that these two approaches are complements and thus ought to be used to explain different aspects of international relations. A number of recent studies (Fearon and Wendt 2002; Jupille et al 2003; Tierney and Weaver 2005) suggest that the two approaches may be more than complementary; indeed, they could be usefully combined. Thirty-seven percent of respondents seem to take this view. Only one-fifth of respondents believe that such models should be tested against each other.

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<sup>6</sup> This result is broadly consistent with previous studies that attempt to measure journal reputation and/or impact. However, in surveys on political science as a whole, rather than the international relations sub-field, the *American Political Science Review* typically comes out on top (Moore 2000; Hix 2004). The results from our survey diverge in a few important respects from another recent survey by Garand and Giles (2003), who find that *World Politics*, *ISQ*, and *IO* are the top three journals among international relations scholars, while *International Security* rates a distant fifth (see Table 6, 301). However, their original sample was drawn from APSA membership data and the sub-sample of international relations scholars was fewer than 100. Readers should be more confident in our results since we have a larger and more representative sample of the sub-field that was not drawn using organizational membership as a screen.

(27) *What is the most useful kind of research political scientists can provide to policymakers? Please pick one. N=842.*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Theoretical models	120	14
Quantitative studies	58	7
Area studies	144	17
Historical case studies	77	9
Contemporary case studies	126	15
Policy Analysis	214	25
N/A-IR research is not applicable to policymaking	12	1
Other	91	11

The largest group of respondents, roughly one-fourth of the total, felt that policy analysis constitutes the most useful form of research that scholars of international relations can provide to policymakers. Interestingly, this answer is identical to the percent of scholars who report that they do in fact consult for some agency of the U.S. government (see question 31). Further, we found in questions 5 and 6 above that older and more established scholars tended to emphasize policy issues in their classes to a greater extent than they did early in their careers. These same senior scholars also are disproportionately likely to receive government contracts.

(28) *What are the most important ways in which political scientists and international relations scholars should contribute to the policy-making process? Please pick up to two. N=849*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Active participants	93	11
Advisors	317	37
Creators of new information/ knowledge for policymakers	563	66
Trainers of policymakers	363	43
Should not be involved in the policymaking process	25	3
Other	37	4



(29) What are the five best PhD programs in the United States for a student who wants to pursue an academic career in international relations? N=656

Rank	School	Responses	Percent
1	Harvard University	491	75
2	Columbia University	318	48
3	Stanford University	309	47
4	Princeton University	284	43
5	University of Chicago	236	36
6	Yale University	190	29
7	University of Michigan	184	28
8	University of California, Berkeley	176	27
9	University of California, San Diego	102	16
10	Cornell University	77	12
11	MIT	73	11
12	Duke University	64	10
13	Johns Hopkins University	57	9
14	Georgetown University	55	8
15	Ohio State University	49	7
16	University of Minnesota	46	7
17	University of California, Los Angeles	42	6
18	New York University	41	6
19	University of Rochester	28	4
20	Tufts University	20	3
21	Pennsylvania State University	18	3
22	University of Southern California	17	3
22	University of Wisconsin	17	3
24	George Washington University	14	2
25	American University	10	2
25	Indiana University	10	2
25	University of Pennsylvania	10	2

While the top 10 PhD programs offer no surprises, the margin by which Harvard ranks first is considerable and makes three-quarters of all respondents' lists of top-five programs. In fact, no other PhD program makes it onto a majority of top-five lists. Most international relations PhD programs are embedded within broader political science PhD programs. In some instances these rankings differ significantly from lists of the top political science PhD programs. For example, Columbia, Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Georgetown, and George Washington rank higher in this survey of international relations scholars than these same schools fare in reputational rankings of their related political science PhD programs. Alternatively, Michigan, UCLA, and UNC rank much lower here than in the broader political science rankings.<sup>7</sup> These differences may result from genuine differences in the quality of training and faculty within particular sub-fields. Alternatively, it could reflect the number of respondents who received their PhDs from

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<sup>7</sup> See U.S. News 2005.

the institutions listed. When we subtract all votes for respondents' PhD granting institution, the results change very little. The most significant change observed is Columbia falling to fourth, with Stanford and Princeton moving up to second and third, respectively. Even after subtracting the votes from PhD recipients at Harvard, that program remains first, albeit by a smaller margin. In the end, the rankings are remarkably stable even when controlling for respondents' degree-granting institution.

*(30) What do you consider the top five terminal masters programs in international relations for students looking to pursue a policy career? N=566*

Rank	School	Responses	Percent
1	Johns Hopkins University	370	65
2	Georgetown University	353	62
3	Harvard University	267	47
4	Tufts University	255	45
5	Columbia University	252	45
6	Princeton University	221	39
7	George Washington University	149	26
8	American University	92	16
9	Syracuse University	37	7
10	University of California, San Diego	30	5
10	University of Denver	30	5
12	Yale University	29	5
13	University of Chicago	23	4
14	University of Pittsburgh	22	4
15	University of Maryland	19	3
16	MIT	13	2
16	Stanford University	13	2
18	University of Kentucky	12	2
19	New York University	10	2
19	University of Southern California	10	2
21	University of Michigan	8	1
22	Cornell University	7	1
22	George Mason University	7	1
22	London School of Economics	7	1
22	University of Washington	7	1

Johns Hopkins and Georgetown are the only two programs to appear on the majority of respondent lists and are substantially ahead of 3<sup>rd</sup> place Harvard. Compared to PhD programs, there seems to be more of a consensus on the top MA programs in international relations. The top six programs are bunched more tightly and receive an overwhelming majority of the total votes cast. The top six are followed by a precipitous drop off. The 10<sup>th</sup> ranked MA program is mentioned by only five percent of respondents while the 10<sup>th</sup> ranked PhD program is mentioned by twelve percent of respondents. It is possible that the quality of an MA program inflates the rankings of related PhD programs at the same institution. This would help explain the fact that Johns Hopkins,

Georgetown, and George Washington do much better in international relations PhD rankings than in broader political science rankings.

*(31) Do you consult or work in any paid capacity for any of the following? Please check all that apply. N= 797*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Non-governmental Organizations	117	15
International Organizations	68	9
US Government	197	25
Foreign Governments	44	6
Private Sector	86	11
Think Tanks	110	14
Interest Groups	22	3
Other	39	5
None	447	56

In question 28 above, 38 percent of respondents answered that giving advice to policy makers was an important way in which political scientists could assist U.S. policy makers. In fact, 44 percent of respondents to question 31 report that they work in a paid capacity for at least one type of organization listed above. The largest single outside employer of American scholars of international relations is the U.S. government, which contracts with 25 percent of respondents. This is striking evidence for those critics who claim that American scholars of international relations may be biased toward the U.S. government because of a financial interest (Oren 2004). It is very hard, however, to square such a claim with the answers provided later in this survey. At least in 2004, American scholars of international relations were overwhelmingly critical of U.S. foreign policy (see section 4 below). The government may be funding scholars, but it is not buying their support. After the government, NGOs and think tanks are the largest providers of external consulting contracts

*(32) In the field of international relations and political science more generally, there have been heated debates over the direction of the field. What is the principal divide among international relations scholars? Pick one. N=833*

Answer	Responses	Percents
Issue Area	82	10
Epistemology	153	18
Methodology	280	34
Generational	21	3
General	5	1
Paradigms	238	29
Region	7	1
Other	41	5
None	6	1

(33) *What do you consider the most productive controversies/ research programs in international relations in recent years? Pick up to three. N=827*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Relative vs. Absolute Gains	70	8
Democratic Peace	401	48
Clash of Civilizations	203	25
End of History	43	5
Agent-Structure Debate	172	21
Hegemonic Stability Theory	132	16
Structural Realism Debate	131	16
Levels of Analysis	128	15
Positivism vs. Post-Positivism	91	11
Two-Level Games	128	15
Rationalism vs. Constructivism	270	33
The New Institutionalism	212	7

(34) *What do you consider the least productive controversies/research programs in international relations in recent years? Please pick up to three. N=902*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Relative vs. Absolute Gains	222	25
Democratic Peace	95	11
Clash of Civilizations	264	29
End of History	404	45
Agent-Structure Debate	107	12
Hegemonic Stability Theory	69	8
Structural Realism Debate	107	12
Levels of Analysis	103	11
Positivism vs. Post-Positivism	263	29
Two-Level Games	140	16
Rationalism vs. Constructivism	126	14
The New Institutionalism	49	5
Other	12	1

Overwhelmingly, respondents report in question 32 that the greatest divides in international relations are along methodological or paradigmatic lines. Interestingly, scholars split over whether those methodological and paradigmatic debates are fruitful. For example, one-third of respondents noted that the “rationalism vs. constructivism” debate was one of the most productive controversies of recent years, but one-fourth found the debate between liberalism and realism over “relative vs. absolute gains” one of the least productive controversies. Interestingly, the “clash of civilizations” debate makes the top three in both lists, illustrating the sharp divide between scholars on this issue.

**Section III: Questions About Your Research Interests**

(35) *Where did you receive your graduate training=858*

Rank	Program	Responses	Percent
1	Columbia University	71	8
2	Harvard University	42	5
3	University of California, Berkeley	29	3
4	MIT	28	3
5	University of Michigan	26	3
6	Stanford University	22	3
6	University of Virginia	22	3
8	Cornell University	21	2
8	Yale University	21	2
10	Ohio State University	20	2
10	University of Wisconsin	20	2
12	Princeton University	19	2
13	Johns Hopkins University	18	2
13	University of California, Los Angeles	18	2
15	University of California, San Diego	14	2
15	University of Denver	14	2
15	University of Illinois	14	2
18	University of Chicago	13	2
18	University of Texas	13	2
20	Florida State University	12	1
20	University of Minnesota	12	1
22	American University	11	1
22	Indiana University	11	1
22	University of North Carolina	11	1
22	University of South Carolina	11	1

Respondents were a diverse group in terms of graduate training. Columbia appears to have produced more international relations PhDs than any other program in the United States, having trained 8 percent of survey respondents. Harvard is second at 5 percent of the sample. No other PhD program produced more than 3 percent of our sample.

(36) *When did you receive or do you expect to receive your PhD? N=825*

Mean	1990
Median	1993

As question 1 in section I suggested, our sample includes a large number of younger scholars. That the median is three years more recent than the mean may reflect the significant increase in the 1980s and beyond in the number of students entering international relations PhD programs at U.S. institutions.

(37) Do you belong to the following professional organizations? Please check all that apply. N=766

Answer	Responses	Percent
APSA	634	83
ISA	556	73
Other	310	40

Many of the respondents wrote in multiple answers in the “other” field. The largest group of “other” responses are the Mid-west Political Science Association and the Peace Science Society, with 44 and 43 responses, respectively. Also, the Latin American Studies Association had the largest response rate for a regionally focused organization, with 33 responses.

(38) What is your primary subfield within political science? N=849

Answer	Responses	Percent
International Relations	642	76
Comparative Politics	162	19
American Politics	19	2
Political Philosophy/Theory	18	2
Methods	8	1

As expected, the overwhelming majority of respondents are primarily scholars of international relations. It is noteworthy, however, that fully 24 percent of all respondents teaching international relations at American colleges and universities have their primary training in another subfield of political science. Future research will determine whether these respondents disproportionately hail from small colleges, where we hypothesize faculty are more likely to be required to teach in areas beyond their immediate expertise.

(39) What is your secondary subfield? (Please check all that apply.)N=821

Answer	Responses	Percent
International Relations	173	21
Comparative Politics	407	50
American Politics	80	10
Political Philosophy/Theory	72	9
Methods	96	12
None	70	9

Among scholars for whom international relations is not their primary subfield, half report that their primary focus is comparative politics. Although respondents were asked to check all answers that apply, most chose only a single secondary subfield: 821 respondents gave a total of 898 responses.

(40) *What paradigm within international relations are you primarily committed to in your research? If you don't think of yourself as "committed," please pick the paradigm in which most other scholars would place your work. N=790*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Realism/neorealism	197	25
Liberalism/neoliberalism	257	33
Marxism/globalism	56	7
Constructivism	122	15
Other	158	20

Not surprisingly, liberalism/ neoliberalism and realism/ neorealism combined account for 58 percent of responses. Eight percent more respondents describe themselves as liberal or neoliberal than as realist or neorealist. More surprisingly, 20 percent of respondents chose “other,” suggesting that many respondents do not believe that their work is easily categorized in terms of the major paradigms. “Rational choice” appears under “other” more often than any other entry and constitutes 25 percent of all answers in this category. Despite the wording of the question, which invites respondents to report how other scholars see their work, 20 percent of respondents are simply unwilling to categorize themselves in terms of the four major paradigms. Interestingly, “feminism” only accounts for four percent of the “other” answers, which distinguishes this question from other questions above in which respondents volunteered answers. We also note that over 20 of the 790 respondents indicated that they believed our “Marxism/globalism” category made little sense and that in the future we should distinguish between these distinct schools of thought.

(41) *What is your main area of study/substantive focus of your research? Please check one. N=823*

Answer	Responses	Percent
International Security	212	26
International Political Economy	159	19
Human Rights	32	4
The Environment	17	2
IR Theory	58	7
US Foreign Policy	86	10
Comparative Foreign Policy	43	5
IR Historiography	9	1
Philosophy of Science	1	0.1
International Law	15	2
International Organization	53	6
International Health	3	0.4
Other	135	16

(42) *What are your secondary areas of study? Please check all that apply.*  
*N=786*

Answer	Responses	Percent
International Security	178	23
International Political Economy	135	17
Human Rights	89	11
The Environment	43	5
IR Theory	9	1
US Foreign Policy	166	21
Comparative Foreign Policy	226	29
IR Historiography	185	24
Philosophy of Science	108	14
International Law	36	5
International Organization	28	4
International Health	80	10
Other	123	16

As the answers to questions 41 and 42 show, international political economy and, especially, international security are the dominant subfields within international relations. While 16 percent of respondents chose “other” as their main or secondary area of study, there is little similarity among the “other” answers provided. No single answer in this category received more than 1 percent of responses.

(43) *In your research, what is the main region of the world you study, if any?*  
*N=824*

Region	Responses	Percent
US	112	14
Canada and Western Europe	103	13
Latin America (including Mexico)	76	9
Sub-Saharan Africa	47	6
FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states	64	8
Middle East/North Africa	56	7
East Asia (including China)	72	9
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	17	2
Southeast Asia	15	2
Oceania	2	0.2
Global/use cross-regional data	128	16
Transnational actors/International Organizations/ International Non-Governmental	80	10
Other	52	6



(44) *In your research, what other regions of the world do you study, if any?*  
*N=739*

Region	Responses	Percent
US	254	34
Canada and Western Europe	214	29
Latin America (including Mexico)	114	15
Sub-Saharan Africa	93	13
FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states	102	14
Middle East/North Africa	151	20
East Asia (including China)	124	17
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	89	12
Southeast Asia	65	9
Oceania	18	2
Global/use cross-regional data	197	27
Transnational actors/International Organizations/International Non-Governmental	180	24
Other	51	7

Comparison of responses to questions 43 and 44 with the results of question 4, which asked what areas of the world respondents devote substantial attention to in their Introduction to International Relations courses, provides some startling results. Thirty-seven percent reported covering the Middle East/ North Africa in substantial detail, while 32 percent said they paid substantial attention to East Asia. Despite overwhelming agreement on the importance of these regions, only 7 percent of respondents in question 43 identify the Middle East/ North Africa as their main region of study and another 20 percent list it as a secondary research interest. Similarly, only 9 percent of respondents identify East Asia as their primary region of study with another 17 percent listing it as a secondary region of research interest.

(45) *Please list your three most recent journal publications, including title, journal name, and year of publication. N=551*

Answers vary by respondent and are not reported here.

(46) *How would you characterize your work in epistemological terms? N=733*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Positivist	466	64
Non-positivist	168	23
Post-positivist	99	14

(47) *In your research do you emphasize the role of ideational factors (such as culture, perceptions, ideology, beliefs, etc.) when explaining international outcomes?*  
*N=810*

	Responses	Percent
Yes	639	79
No	171	21

(48) *If yes, which ideational variables do you study? (Choose all that apply).*  
*N=639*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Religion	199	31
Societal/Political Culture	388	61
Organizational Culture	197	31
Beliefs	342	54
Perceptions	346	54
Identity	321	50
International norms	348	54
Domestic Norms	222	35
Other	39	6

(49) *Has your attention to such ideational factors changed over time? N=786*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Increased	411	52
Stayed the same	350	45
Decreased	25	3

The three previous questions speak directly to the “ideational turn” within the international relations literature. The number of scholars who emphasize the role of ideational variables is quite large (79 percent), and it is rising. In fact, only 3 percent of respondents reported a shift away from ideational factors in their own research compared to a whopping 52 percent who claimed they have increased their attention to ideational factors in world politics. Political culture is the most prominent (61 percent) ideational variable employed in analysis, but identity, international norms, beliefs, and perceptions are also employed by over 50 percent of those scholars who take ideas seriously. This trend is consistent with reported declines in materialist paradigms such as Marxism and realism and the subsequent rise of liberalism and constructivism. Interestingly, the answers to question 49 suggest that this shift is not merely a result of young scholars replacing retiring materialists. Instead, individual scholars are shifting their own research interests to incorporate ideational variables.

(50) In your research, what methodologies do you employ (check all that apply)?  
N=807

Answer	Responses	Percent
Quantitative analysis	366	45
Qualitative analysis	723	90
Formal modeling	118	15
Experimental	36	4
Counterfactual analysis	178	22
Pure Theory	120	15
Legal and ethical analysis	138	17

(51) Does your research tend to be basic or applied? By basic research, we mean research for the sake of knowledge, without any particular immediate policy application in mind. Conversely, applied research is done with specific policy applications in mind.  
N=815

Answer	Responses	Percent
Primarily Basic (1)	203	25
Both basic and applied but more basic than applied(2)	253	31
Both equally(3)	111	14
Both basic and applied but more applied than basic(4)	178	22
Primarily applied(5)	70	9
Mean	2.581595	---

(52) To what extent do events in the real world influence your research? N=808

Answer	Responses	Percent
I regularly adjust the substantive area of my research depending on events in the world	193	24
I sometimes adjust the substantive area of my research depending on events in the world	405	50
I only make adjustments in rare circumstances and only in response to major events like 9/11 or the Berlin Wall coming down	93	12
My research agenda is largely determined by theoretical and empirical issues within an established scholarly discipline and does not change based on real world events	117	14

**Respondents who received their Ph.D.s after 1994 were asked to proceed to question 54. Only those respondents who received their Ph.D.s in 1994 or before answered question 53.**

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

	The theoretical approaches I use in my research changed		The geographic focus of my research changed		The issue areas covered by my research changed	
Significantly	49	14%	49	14%	86	25%
Somewhat	146	42%	123	36%	160	46%
Not at all	151	44%	173	50%	100	29%
N	346		345		346	

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

	The theoretical approaches I use in my research changed		The geographic focus of my research changed		The issue areas covered by my research changed	
Significantly	28	4%	52	7%	84	11%
Somewhat	215	27%	239	30%	364	46%
Not at all	554	70%	504	63%	349	44%
N	797		795		797	

As the two previous questions demonstrate, both the end of the Cold War and 9/11 had large impacts on international relations research, but to date the end of the Cold War has had a greater influence. Fifty-six percent of respondents report that they changed their theoretical focus significantly or somewhat in response to this event, while 50 percent altered their geographic focus, and 71 percent changed the issue areas studied. By comparison, in response to 9/11 only 31 percent changed their theoretical focus, 37 percent their geographic focus, and 57 percent their issue areas. It is possible that not enough time passed between 9/11 and when the survey was administered, so the full effects of that event had not been fully felt. Alternatively, there could also be an inherent difference between these two events that make the end of the Cold War more important.

Questions 53 and 54 provide an interesting comparison with questions 12 and 14 above: research changes more slowly than teaching practices. Far fewer scholars changed their research in response to momentous international events than changed the focus of their teaching. Forty-four percent of respondents said the theoretical focus of their research changed not at all in response to the end of the Cold War, while only 33 percent reported not changing the theoretical approaches taught in the classroom. Half of respondents did not alter the geographic focus of their research and 29% chose not to change the issue areas they studied in response to the end of the Cold War, but these numbers are considerably lower (and faculty members considerably more willing to change) in teaching: only 27 percent did not change their geographic focus in the classroom and only 9 percent chose not to alter their substantive focus. The numbers are similar for scholars' reaction to 9/11: fully 70 percent of respondents clung to existing theoretical approaches in their research following 9/11, but only 52 percent did so in the classroom; 63 percent stuck to the geographic focus of their earlier research, but only 37 percent did the same in their teaching; and 44 percent held to their prior substantive focus in research, but only 14 percent did so in the classroom. This comparison provides compelling initial evidence on the gap between what we teach and what we research.

(55) *What real world events or issues most significantly influence (or influenced) your research? Please list up to five answers in descending order of influence. N=599*

Rank	Topic	Raw Votes	Weighted votes
1	End of Cold War/Break up of the Soviet Union	212	904
2	September 11, 2001/Terrorist acts since then	231	827
3	2003 Iraq War – Events leading up to and problem associated with it directly	102	344
4	Globalization and anti-globalization	72	301
5	European Integration – Social, political and economic issues associated with it	80	285
5	Genocide and Ethnic Conflict – including issues in the Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Darfur, as well as others	82	285
7	Events of the Cold War	54	220
8	Democratization issues	40	142
9	Bush doctrine/Bush FP – generally those who attribute a change in foreign policy as influencing their teaching	43	133
10	Environmental Issues	29	107
11	Rise of China	24	79

A benefit of open ended questions is that respondents are not restricted by the assumptions of the authors and thus unanticipated answers can emerge. See question 15 for a discussion of open-ended questions and our methodology for inductively categorizing answers. As in question 15, respondents listed both discrete events and longer-term processes. More people listed 9/11 than they listed the end of the Cold War; however, the end of the Cold War was ranked higher by more respondents; so its weighted vote is actually higher than September 11th. About half of the respondents to the survey had not received their PhD when the Cold War ended, so that September 11<sup>th</sup>, and other recent events, should be over-represented in responses.

#### **Section IV: Policy and Politics**

In this section we asked a series of questions that dealt with contemporary policy issues. Some of these questions contain identical phrasing to public opinion surveys that were conducted by the Pew Research Center during the summer and fall of 2004 (Kohut et al 2004). We replicated these questions in order to facilitate comparisons between U.S. public opinion and the opinions of international relations scholars. Such comparisons are most valid when we compare public and scholarly opinion during the same time period. In an imperfect attempt to capture opinions held prior to the fall of 2004, we asked a series of retrospective questions (58-61). Given the validity problems inherent to retrospective questions, answers to such questions should be interpreted with caution.

(56) *As an expert on international relations, which area of the world do you consider to be of greatest strategic importance to the United States today? (Please pick one.) N=813*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Canada and Western Europe	144	18
Latin America (including Mexico)	14	2
Sub-Saharan Africa	5	1
FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states	27	3
Middle East/North Africa	475	58
East Asia (including China)	129	16
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	16	2
Southeast Asia	2	0.2
Oceania	1	0.1

By far the highest number of respondents (58%) believes that the Middle East/ North Africa is of greatest strategic importance to the United States today. Readers will recall that only 32 percent of respondents reported in question 4 that they devoted substantial attention to the Middle East/ North Africa in their Introduction to International Relations courses, and question 44 showed that only 7 percent of respondents identified the Middle East/ North Africa as their main region of study. When comparing the data from question 56 on respondents' policy views with that collected on teaching and research, some glaring differences appear. First, the Middle East and North Africa are not covered in the classroom and especially in scholarship in proportion to respondents' beliefs about the region's geostrategic importance.

(57) *As an expert on international relations, which area of the world do you believe will be of greatest strategic importance to the United States in 20 years? (Please pick one.) N=807*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Canada and Western Europe	74	9
Latin America (including Mexico)	20	2
Sub-Saharan Africa	16	2
FSU/Soviet Union, including Central Asian states	30	4
Middle East/North Africa	152	19
East Asia (including China)	486	60
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	17	2
Southeast Asia	11	1
Oceania	1	0.1

Scholars overwhelmingly agree that in twenty years East Asia will be the region of greatest strategic importance to the United States, although nearly one-fifth believe that the Middle East/ North Africa will continue to be most important. Half as many respondents report that Canada and Western Europe will be of greatest strategic significance in twenty years as responded that it is the most significant region today. This thinking is not reflected in the classroom, however, where substantially fewer

international relations scholars (37 percent) report devoting substantial attention to East Asia (see question 4). Similarly, only 7 percent of respondents reported that East Asia was their main region of study (see question 43). One could hypothesize, given the answers regarding the effects of the Cold War ending and September 11<sup>th</sup>, there may need to be some major event that would necessitate a change in curriculums. A severe security crisis or war in the Taiwan straits or on the Korean peninsula, for example, might lead to a comparable shift within the classroom.

*(58) In the Spring of 2003, did you support the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq? N=819*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Strongly supported (1)	34	4
Supported (2)	86	11
Neutral (3)	56	7
Opposed (4)	214	26
Strongly opposed (5)	429	52
Mean	4.1209	--

International relations scholars appear to have overwhelmingly opposed the U.S. decision to go to war in Iraq in 2003. A word of caution is in order, however. This and the next three questions asked respondents in the fall of 2004 to report what their policy views had been in the spring of 2003, potentially introducing bias and selective memory problems.

*(59) Based on your expert knowledge of international relations—rather than your political, moral, religious, or other beliefs—in the Spring of 2003 did you believe that the United States should go to war in Iraq? N=822*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Yes strongly (1)	33	4
Yes (2)	77	9
Neutral (3)	52	6
No (4)	247	30
No strongly (5)	413	50
Mean	4.131387	--

Again, the overwhelming majority (80 percent) believed on intellectual grounds that the United States should not have gone to war, suggesting either that respondents do not distinguish moral from intellectual arguments, that both moral and intellectual arguments opposed war, or that respondents base their policy choices on intellectual rather than moral arguments.

(60) *If, in the Spring of 2003, you had incontrovertible evidence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, would you have supported the US decision to go to war with Iraq? N=813*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Strongly supported (1)	67	8
Supported (2)	139	17
Neutral (3)	94	12
Opposed (4)	338	42
Strongly opposed (5)	175	22
Mean	3.5105	--

The movement of respondents toward support for the war if incontrovertible evidence of WMD existed suggests that some scholars considered the evidence insufficient. Even in the face of incontrovertible evidence of Iraqi WMDs, however, opposition to war remained strong. Seventy-eight percent of respondents opposed or strongly opposed war, and 64 percent reported that they would have opposed it even if Iraq possessed WMDs. Both results are dramatically different from general public opinion surveys of U.S. citizens.

(61) *Based on your expert knowledge of international relations—rather than your political, moral, religious, or other beliefs—did you believe in the Spring of 2003 that the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq would end up enhancing U.S. security or making the United States less secure? N=817*

Answer	Responses	Percent
definitely would enhance U.S. security (1)	25	3
probably would enhance U.S. security (2)	102	12
no impact on U.S. security (3)	45	6
probably would decrease U.S. security (4)	299	37
definitely would decrease U.S. security (5)	346	42
Mean	4.026928	--

(62) *Based on your expert knowledge of international relations—rather than your political, moral, religious, or other beliefs—do you currently believe that the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq will end up enhancing U.S. security or making the United States less secure? N=816*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Will greatly enhance U.S. security (1)	12	1
Will enhance U.S. security (2)	69	8
no impact on U.S. security (3)	25	3
Will decrease U.S. security (4)	232	28
Will greatly decrease U.S. security (5)	478	59
Mean	4.341912	--



As the two previous questions demonstrate, very few U.S. scholars of international relations believed in the spring of 2003 or in the fall of 2004, when the survey was conducted, that war in Iraq would make the United States more secure. The most dramatic shift between the two time periods involved 11 percent of respondents who in the spring of 2003 believed war in Iraq probably would decrease U.S. security. By the fall of 2004, they were certain that the war would undermine U.S. security.

*(63) Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism? N=815*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Helped (1)	64	8
Had no effect (2)	38	5
Hurt (3)	713	87
Mean	2.796319	--

This question provides additional evidence that international relations scholars believe that the war in Iraq is not achieving its intended goals. Eighty-seven percent of respondents—exactly the same percentage in the previous question who reported that the war in Iraq will decrease U.S. security—report that the Iraq war has hurt the war on terrorism.

*(64) Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the United States is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks? N=814*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Much greater	28	3
Greater	110	14
The Same	341	42
Less	301	37
Much less	34	4
Mean	3.249386	--

Despite the fact that most respondents believe that the war in Iraq has hurt US security and the war on terrorism, few (17 percent) believe that terrorists are better able to attack the United States today than before 9/11. These results likely reflect the fact that the U.S. government has adopted policies to enhance homeland security and thus made it more difficult for terrorist attacks to reach the U.S.

*(65) What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? N=807*

Answer	Responses	Percent
the single world leader	46	6
shared leadership role	745	92
No leadership role	16	2

Overwhelmingly, American scholars believe that the United States should play a shared leadership role in the world. This finding suggests that paradigm, ideology, years in the profession and other factors have very little impact on scholars' views on the appropriate world role for the United States.

**Those respondents who said that the United States should play a shared leadership role were then asked:**

*(66) Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations? N=600*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Most active	428	71
About as active	172	29

*(67) Compared with the past, how respected is the United States by other countries today? N=812*

Answer	Responses	Percent
More respected than in the past (1)	7	1
As respected as it was in the past (2)	55	7
Less respected than in the past (3)	750	92
Mean	2.915025	--

**Those respondents who answered that the United States is less respected than in the past were then asked:**

*(68) Do you think less respect for the United States is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all? N=609*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Major Problem (1)	482	79
Minor Problem (2)	125	21
Not a problem at all (3)	2	0.3
Mean	1.211823	--

Again, American scholars of international relations show remarkable consensus: 92 percent believe that the United States is less respected than in the past. Of these, fully 79 percent believe that this is a major problem for the United States.

(69) *In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization have been a good or bad thing for the United States? N=817*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Very good thing (1)	167	20
Good thing (2)	463	57
Neither good nor bad (3)	126	15
Bad thing (4)	52	6
Very bad thing (5)	9	1
Mean	2.110159	--

The foreign policy consensus among international relations scholars observed in the previous questions about Iraq extends to the issue of free trade. More than three-fourths of all respondents report that free trade agreements have been a good thing for the United States, while only 7 percent report that they have been a bad thing.

(70) *In general, how should the United States determine its foreign policy? N=794*

Answer	Responses	Percent
It should be based mostly on the national interests of the United States	185	23
It should take into account the interests of U.S. allies	104	13
It should be based on both the national interest of the United States and the interests of U.S. allies	472	59
It should be based on neither the national interest of the United States nor the interests of U.S. allies	33	4

(71) *Do you think that the United States should increase its spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back? N=807*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Increase (1)	77	10
Keep same (2)	333	41
Cut back (3)	397	49

Mean: 2.39653

(72) *How would you describe your political philosophy? N=791*

Answer	Responses	Percent
Extremely Liberal (1)	108	14
Liberal (2)	287	36
Slightly Liberal (3)	150	19
Middle of the Road (4)	141	18
Slightly Conservative (5)	65	8
Conservative (6)	34	4
Extremely Conservative (7)	6	1
Mean	2.865992	--

Many respondents refused to answer this last question and wrote to us complaining that this one dimensional ideological space could not possibly capture their political philosophy. Such refusals are reflected in a drop of 16 responses compared to the previous question. We asked the question, like most survey researchers do, so that when we conduct data analysis we can control for political ideology and compare its effect to other factors such as gender, paradigm, and regional specialty. As important, any comparisons to American public opinion more broadly, require that we have comparable data on the ideology of our scholar respondents. Unsurprisingly, scholars of international relations at American colleges and universities overwhelmingly identify themselves as “liberal.” Only 13 percent identify themselves as right of center.

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